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Bishop *BURNET*'s
HISTORY
OF
His Own Time.

VOL. I.

From the Restoration of King *CHARLES II.*

TO THE

Settlement of King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*
at the *REVOLUTION*:

To which is prefix'd

A Summary Recapitulation of Affairs in Church and State from King
JAMES I. to the Restoration in the Year 1660.



LONDON:

Printed for *THOMAS WARD* in the *Inner-Temple Lane*. 1724.

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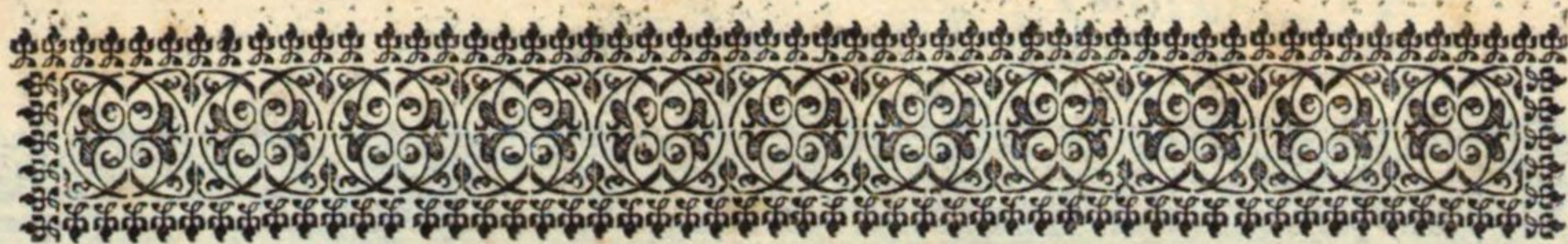
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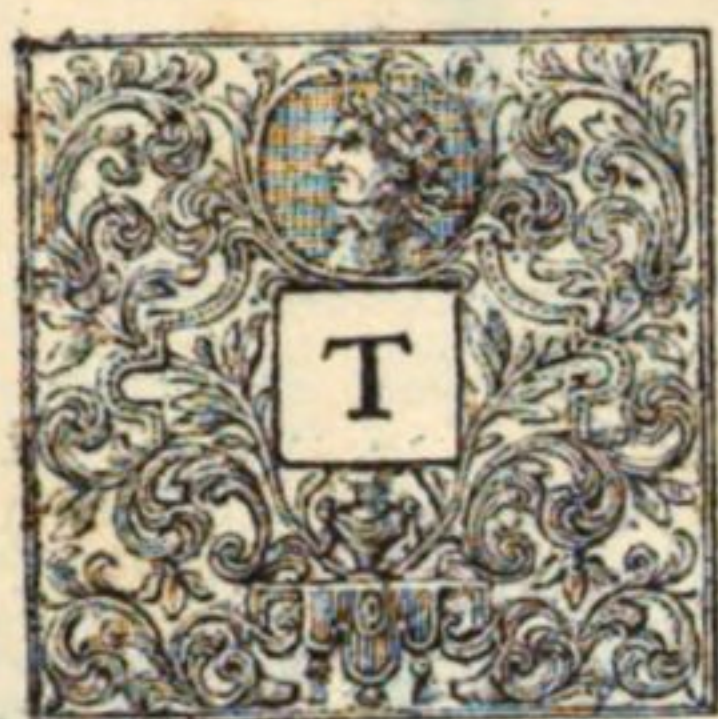
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Mr. Yates.

The

The P R E F A C E.

retired from all business, as he took my education wholly into his own hands, so he took a sort of pleasure to relate to me the series of all publick affairs. And as he was a man so eminent for probity and true piety that I had all reason to believe him, so I saw such an impartial sense of things in him, that I had as little reason to doubt his judgment as his sincerity. For tho' he adhered so firmly to the King and his side, that he was the singular instance in *Scotland* of a man of some note who from the beginning to the end of the war never once owned or submitted to the new form of Government set up all that while; yet he did very freely complain of the errors of the King's Government, and of the Bishops of *Scotland*. So that upon this foundation I set out at first to look into the secret conduct of affairs among us.

I fell into great acquaintance and friendships with several persons who either were or had been Ministers of state, from whom when the secret of affairs was over I studied to know as many particulars as I could draw from them. I saw a great deal more among the Papers of the Dukes of *Hamilton* than was properly a part of their memoirs, or fit to be told at that time: For when a licence was to be obtained, and a work was to be published fit for that family to own, things foreign to their Ministry, or hurtful to any other families, were not to be intermixed with the account I then gave of the late wars. And now for above thirty years I have lived in such intimacy with all who have had the chief conduct of affairs, and have been so much trusted, and on so many important occasions employed by them, that I have been able to penetrate far into the true secrets of counsels and designs.

This made me twenty years ago write down a relation of all that I had known to that time: Where I was in the dark, I pass over all, and only opened those transactions that I had particular occasions to know. My chief design in writing was to give a true view of men and of counsels, leaving publick transactions to Gazetts and the publick historians of the times. I writ with a design to make both my self and my readers wiser and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all sides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I my self understood it, concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known, and representing things in their natural colours without art or disguise, without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties or interests: For I do solemnly say this to the world, and make my humble
appeal

appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occasions, as fully and freely as upon my best inquiry I have been able to find it out. Where things appear doubtful I deliver them with the same incertainty to the world.

Some may perhaps think that instead of favouring my own profession, I have been more severe upon them than was needful. But my zeal for the true interest of Religion and of the Clergy made me more careful to undeceive good and well meaning men of my own order and profession for the future, and to deliver them from common prejudices and mistaken notions, than to hide or excuse the faults of those who will be perhaps gone off the stage before this work appear on it. I have given the characters of men very impartially and copiously; for nothing guides ones judgment more truly in a relation of matters of fact, than the knowing the tempers and principles of the chief actors.

If I have dwelt too long on the affairs of *Scotland*, some allowance is to be made to the affection all men bear to their native countrey. I alter nothing of what I wrote in the first draught of this work, only I have left out a great deal that was personal to my self, and to those I am descended from: So that this is upon the matter the same work with very little change made in it.

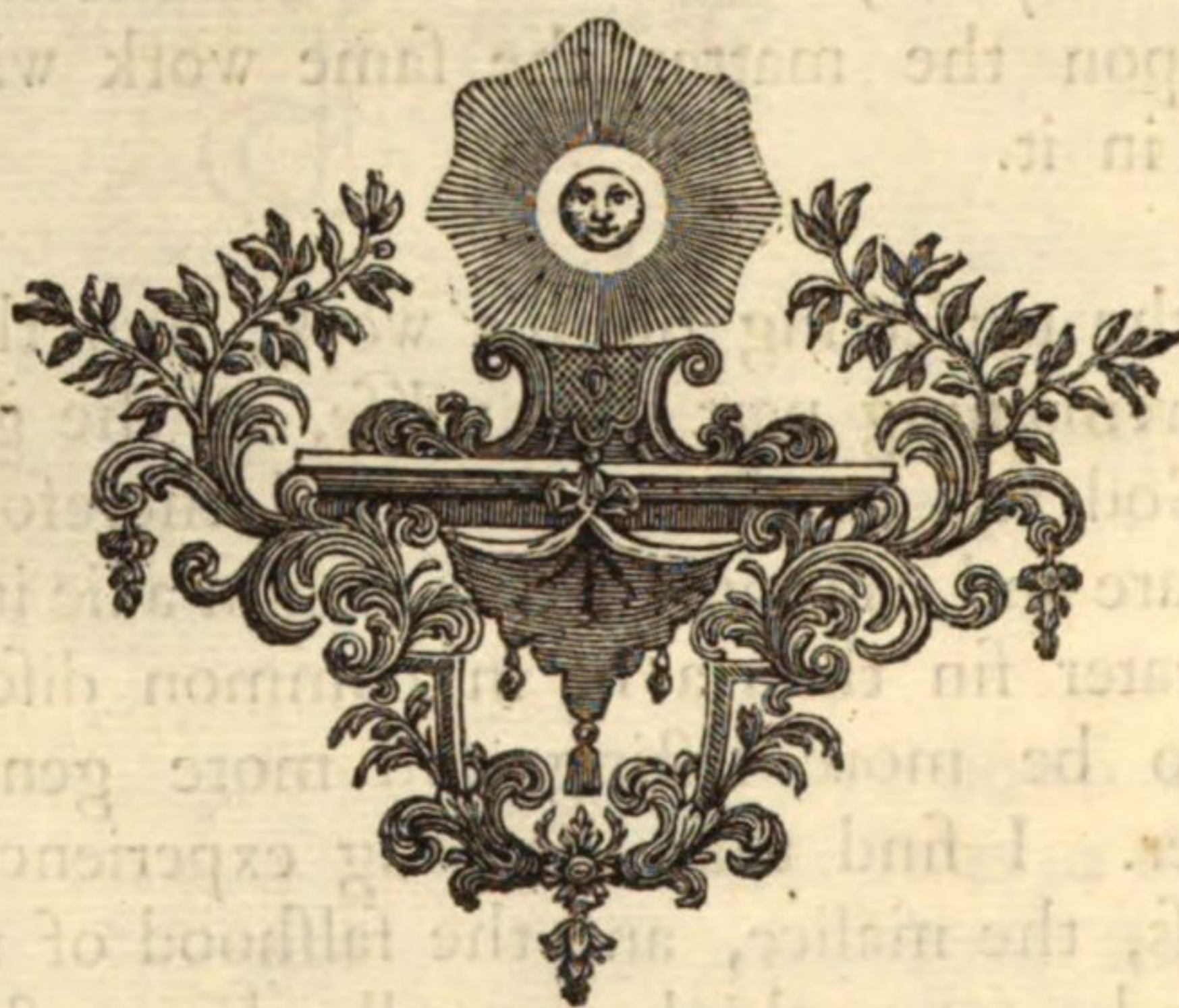
I look on the perfecting of this work, and the carrying it on thro' the remaining part of my life, as the greatest service I can do to God and to the world; and therefore I set about it with great care and caution. For I reckon a lie in history to be as much a greater sin than a lie in common discourse, as the one is like to be more lasting and more generally known than the other. I find that the long experience I have had of the baseness, the malice, and the falshood of mankind, has inclined me to be apt to think generally the worst both of men and of parties: and indeed the peevishness, the ill nature, and the ambition of many clergymen has sharpened my spirits perhaps too much against them: So I warn my reader to take all that I say on these heads with some grains of allowance, tho' I have watched over my self and my pen so carefully that I hope there is no great occasion for this apology.

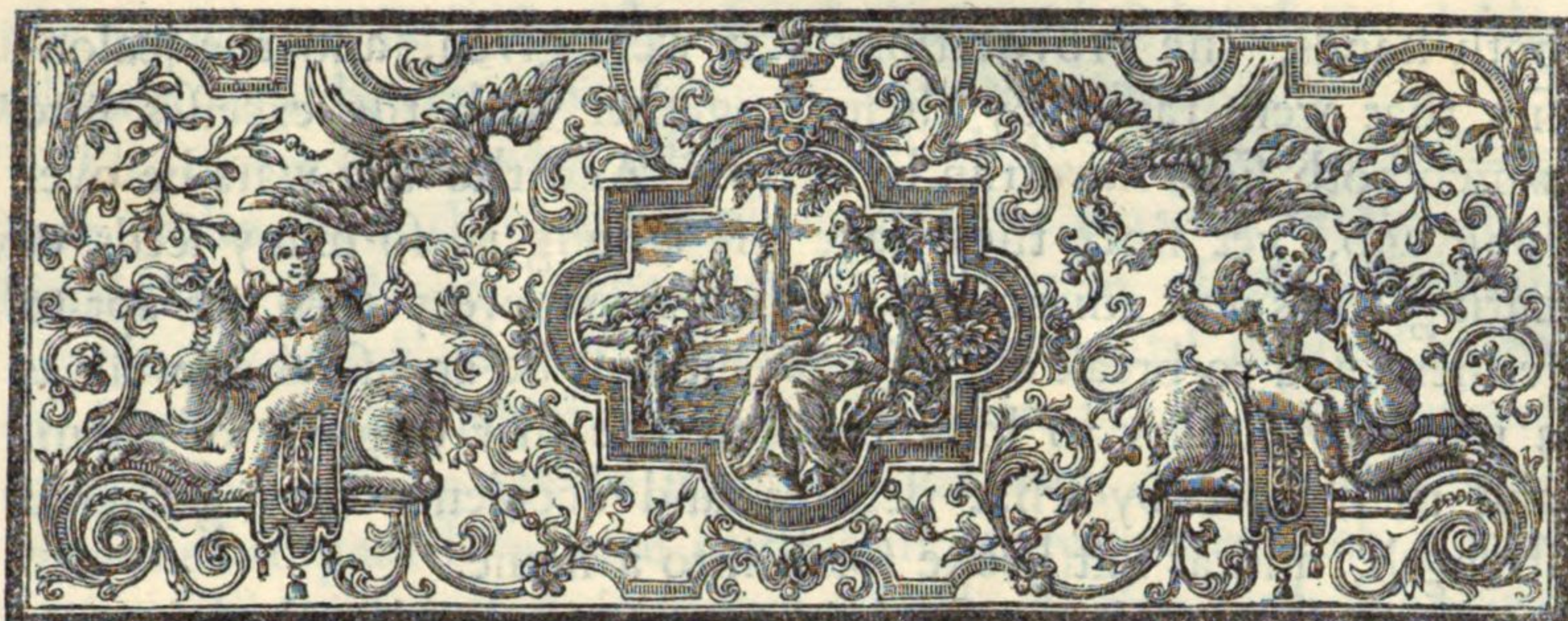
I have shewed this history to several of my friends, who were either very partial to me, or they esteemed that this work (chiefly

The PREFACE.

ly when it should be over and over again retouched and polished by me, which very probably I shall be doing as long as I live) might prove of some use to the world. I have on design avoided all laboured periods or artificial strains, and have writ in as clear and plain a style as was possible, chusing rather a copious enlargement, than a dark conciseness.

And now, O my God, the God of my life, and of all my mercies, I offer this work to thee, to whose honour it is chiefly intended; that thereby I may awaken the world to just reflections on their own errours and follies, and call on them to acknowledge thy Providence, to adore it, and ever to depend on it.

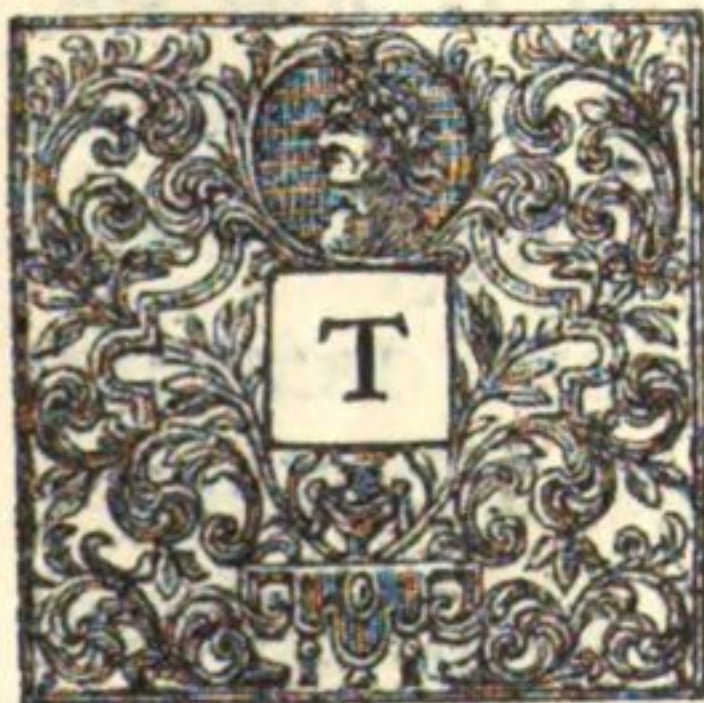




THE
HISTORY
OF
My Own Times.

BOOK I.

A summary Recapitulation of the state of Affairs in Scotland, both in Church and State; from the beginning of the Troubles, to the Restoration of King Charles the Second, 1660.



THE mischiefs of civil wars are so great and lasting, and the effects of them branching out by many accidents, that were not thought on at first much less intended, into such mischievous consequences, that I have thought it an enquiry that might be of great use both to Prince and People, to look carefully into the first beginnings and occasions of them, to observe their progress, and the errors of
C both

both hands, the provocations that were given, and the jealousies that were raised by these, together with the excesses into which both sides have run by turns. And tho' the wars be over long ago, yet since they have left among us so many seeds of lasting feuds and animosities, which upon every turn are apt to ferment and to break out of new, it will be as useful as well as a pleasant enquiry to look back to the first original of them, and to observe by what degrees and accidents they gathered strength, and at last broke forth into a flame.

The distractions during King James's minority.

The Reformation of *Scotland* was popular and parliamentary: The Crown was, during that time, either on the head of a Queen that was absent, or of a King that was an infant. During his minority matters were carried on by the several Regents, so as was most agreeable to the prevailing humour of the Nation. But when King *James* grew to be of age, he found two parties in the Kingdom. The one was of those who wished well to the interest of the Queen his Mother, then a prisoner in *England*: These were either professed Papists, or men believed to be indifferent as to all religions. The rest were her inveterate enemies, zealous for the Reformation, and fixed in a dependence on the Crown of *England*, and in a jealousy of *France*. When that King saw that those who were most in his interests were likewise jealous of his authority, and apt to encroach upon it, he hearkned first to the insinuations of his Mother's party, who were always infusing in him a jealousy of these his friends; saying, that by ruining his Mother, and setting him in her room while a year old, they had ruined monarchy, and made the Crown subject and precarious; and had put him in a very unnatural posture, of being seized of his Mother's Crown while she was in exile and a prisoner; adding, that he was but a King in name, the power being in the hands of those who were under the management of the Queen of *England*.

The practices of the House of Guise.

Their insinuations would have been of less force, if the House of *Guise*, who were his Cousin Germans, had not been engaged in great designs, of transferring the Crown of *France* from the House of *Bourbon* to themselves; in order to which it was necessary to embroil *England*, and to draw the King of *Scotland* into their interests. So under the pretence of keeping up the old alliances between *France* and *Scotland*, they sent creatures of their own to be Ambassadors there; and they also sent a graceful young man, who, as he was the King's nearest kinsman by his father, was of so agreeable a temper that he became his favourite, and was made by him Duke of *Lenox*. He was

was known to be a Papist, tho' he pretended he changed his religion, and became in profession a Protestant.

The Court of *England* discovered all these artifices of the *Guiseans*, who were then the most implacable enemies of the Reformation, and were managing all that train of plots against Queen *Elizabeth*, that in conclusion proved fatal to the Queen of *Scots*. And when the *English* Ministers saw the inclinations of the young King lay so strongly that way, that all their applications to gain him were ineffectual, they infused such a jealousy of him into all their party in *Scotland*, that both Nobility and Clergy were much alarmed at it.

But King *James* learnt early that piece of King-craft, of disguising, or at least denying every thing that was observed in his behaviour that gave offence.

The main instance in which the *French* management appeared, was that he could not be prevailed on to enter into any treaty of marriage. It was not safe to talk of marrying a Papist; and as long as the Duke of *Guise* lived, the King, tho' then three and twenty and the only person of his family, would hearken to no proposition for marrying a Protestant.

But when the Duke of *Guise* was killed at *Blois*, and that *Henry* the third was murdered soon after, so that *Henry* the fourth came in his room, King *James* was no more in a *French* management: So presently after he married a Daughter of *Denmark*, and ever after that he was wholly managed by Queen *Elizabeth* and her Ministers. I have seen many letters among *Walsingham's* papers that discover the commerce between the House of *Guise* and him: But the most valuable of these is a long paper of instructions to one Sir *Richard Wigmor*, a great man for hunting, and for all such sports, to which King *James* was out of measure addicted. The Queen affronted him publickly: Upon which he pretended he could live no longer in *England*, and therefore withdrew to *Scotland*. But all this was a contrivance of *Walsingham's*, who thought him a fit person to get into that King's favour: So that affront was designed to give him the more credit. He was very particularly instructed in all the proper methods to gain upon the King's confidence, and to observe and give an account of all he saw in him; which he did very faithfully. By these instructions it appears that *Walsingham* thought that King was either inclined to turn Papist, or to be of no religion. And when the Court of *England* saw that they could not depend on him, they raised all possible opposition to him in *Scotland*, infusing strong jealousies into those who were enough inclined to receive them.

This

A censure
of *Spots-*
wood's his-
tory.

King *James*
studied to
gain the Pa-
pists.

And to se-
cure the
succession
to the
Crown of
England.

This is the great defect that runs thro' Archbishop *Spotswood's* history, where much of the rude opposition that King met with, particularly from the Assemblies of the *Kirk*, is set forth; but the true ground of all the jealousies they were possessed with is suppressed by him. After his marriage they studied to remove these suspicions all that was possible; and he granted the *Kirk* all the laws they desired, and got his temporal authority to be better established than it was before: Yet as the jealousies of his fickleness in religion were never quite removed, so they gave him many new disgusts: They wrought in him a most inveterate hatred of presbytery, and of the power of the *Kirk*; and he fearing an opposition in his succeeding to the Crown of *England*, from the Papist party, which, tho' it had little strength in the House of Commons, yet was very great in the House of Lords, and was very considerable in all the northern parts, and among the body of the people, employed several persons who were known to be Papists tho' they complied outwardly. The chief of these were *Elphinston*, Secretary of State, whom he made Lord *Balmerinock*; and *Seaton*, afterwards Chancellour and Earl of *Dunfermling*. By their means he studied to assure the Papists that he would connive at them. A letter was also writ to the Pope by him giving assurance of this, which when it came to be published by *Bellarmin*, upon the prosecution of the recusants after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, *Balmerinock* did affirm, that he out of zeal to the King's service got his hand to it, having put it in the bundle of papers that were signed in course without the King's knowing any thing of it. Yet when that discovery drew no other severity but the turning him out of office, and the passing a sentence condemning him to die for it (which was presently pardoned, and he was after a short confinement restored to his liberty,) all men believed that the King knew of the letter, and that the pretended confession of the Secretary was only collusion to lay the jealousies of the King's favouring Popery, which still hung upon him notwithstanding his writing on the *Revelation*, and his affecting to enter on all occasions into controversy, asserting in particular that the Pope was Antichrist.

As he took these methods to manage the Popish party, he was much more careful to secure to himself the body of the *English* nation. *Cecill*, afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*, Secretary to Queen *Elizabeth*, entred into a particular confidence with him: And this was managed by his Ambassador *Bruce*, a younger brother of a noble family in *Scotland*, who carried the matter with such address and secrecy, that all the great Men of *England*,
with

without knowing of one another's doing it, and without the Queen's suspecting any thing concerning it, signed in writing an engagement to assert and stand by the King of *Scots* right of succession. This great service was rewarded by making him Master of the Rolls, and a Peer of *Scotland*: And as the King did raise *Cecil* and his friends to the greatest posts and dignities, so he raised *Bruce's* family here in *England*.

When that King came to the Crown of *England* he discovered his hatred to the *Scotish* Kirk on many occasions, in which he gratified his resentment without consulting his interests. He ought to have put his utmost strength to the finishing what he but faintly begun for the union of both Kingdoms, which was lost by his unreasonable partiality in pretending that *Scotland* ought to be considered in this union as the third part of the Isle of *Great Britain*, if not more. So high a demand ruined the design. But when that failed, he should then have studied to keep the affections of that Nation firm to him: And certainly he, being secure of that Kingdom, might have so managed matters, as to have prevented that disjointing which happened afterwards both in his own reign, and more tragically in his son's. He thought to effect this by his profuse bounty to many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, and to his domestick servants: But as most of these settling in *England* were of no further use to him in that design, so his setting up Episcopacy in *Scotland*, and his constant aversion to the Kirk, how right soever it might be in it self, was a great error in policy; for the poorer that Kingdom was, it was both the more easy to gain them, and the more dangerous to offend them. So the terrour which the affections of the *Scotch* Nation might have justly given the *English* was soon lost, by his engaging the whole Government to support that which was then very contrary to the bent and genius of the Nation.

That King's errors in Government.

But tho' he set up Bishops, he had no revenues to give them, but what he was to purchase for them. During his minority all the tithes and the church lands were vested in the Crown: But this was only in order to the granting them away to the men that bore the chief sway. It is true, when he came of age he according to the law of *Scotland* past a general revocation of all that had been done in his infancy: And by this he could have resumed all those grants. He, and after him his son, succeeded in one part of his design: For by act of Parliament a Court was erected that was to examine and sequester a third part of the tithes in every parish, and so make a competent provision out of them to those who served the cure; which had

He set up Episcopacy in Scotland.

been reserved in the great alienation for the service of the church. This was carried at first to a proportion of about thirty pounds a year, and was afterwards in his son's time raised to about fifty pounds a year; which considering the plenty and way of living in that country is a very liberal provision, and is equal in value to thrice that sum in the southern parts of *England*. In this he had both the clergy and the body of the people on his side. But he could not so easily provide for the Bishops: They were at first forced to hold their former cures with some small addition.

With a design to carry matters farther.

But as they assumed at their first setting up little more authority than that of a constant president of the presbyters, so they met with much rough opposition. The King intended to carry on a conformity in matters of religion with *England*, and he begun to buy in from the Grantees many of the estates that belonged to the Bishopricks. It was also enacted, that a form of prayer should be drawn for *Scotland*: And the King was authorized to appoint the habits in which the divine offices were to be performed. Some of the chief holy-days were ordered to be observ'd. The Sacrament was to be received kneeling, and to be given to the sick. Confirmation was enacted; as also the use of the Cross in Baptism. These things were first past in general assemblies, which were composed of Bishops and the deputies chosen by the Clergy, who sat all in one house: And in it they reckoned the Bishops only as single votes. Great opposition was made to all these steps: And the whole force of the Government was strained to carry elections to those meetings, or to take off those who were chosen; in which it was thought that no sort of practice was omitted. It was pretended, that some were frightened, and others were corrupted.

Errours of the Bishops.

The Bishops themselves did their part very ill. They generally grew haughty: They neglected their functions, and were often at Court, and lost all esteem with the people. Some few that were stricter and more learned did lean so grossly to Popery, that the heat and violence of the Reformation became the main subject of their sermons and discourses. King *James* grew weary of this opposition, or was so apprehensive of the ill effects that it might have, that, what through sloth or fear, and what by reason of the great disorder into which his ill conduct brought his affairs in *England* in his latter years, he went no further in his designs on *Scotland*.

Prince Henry was believed to be poisoned.

He had three children. His eldest, Prince *Henry*, was a Prince of great hopes; but so very little like his father, that he was rather feared than loved by him. He was so zealous a Protestant,

testant that, when his father was entertaining propositions of marrying him to popish Princesses, once to the Archduchess, and at another time to a daughter of *Savoy*, he in a letter that he wrote to the King on the twelfth of that *October* in which he died (the original of which Sir *William Cook* shewed me) desired, that if his father married him that way it might be with the youngest person of the two, of whose conversion he might have hope, and that any liberty she might be allowed for her religion might be in the privatest manner possible. Whether this aversion to Popery hasten'd his death or not I cannot tell. Colonel *Titus* assured me that he had from King *Charles* the first's own mouth, that he was well assured he was poisoned by the Earl of *Somerset's* means. It is certain, that from the time of the Gunpowder Plot, King *James* was so struck with the terror of that danger he was then so near, that ever after he had no mind to provoke the Jesuits; for he saw what they were capable of.

And since I name that conspiracy which the Papists in our days have had the impudence to deny, and to pretend it was an artifice of *Cecill's* to engage some desperate men into a Plot, which he managed so that he could discover it when he pleased, I will mention what I my self saw, and had for some time in my possession. Sir *Everard Digby* died for being of the Conspiracy: He was the Father of the famous Sir *Kenelm Digby*. The family being ruined upon the death of Sir *Kenelm's* Son, when the executors were looking out for writings to make out the titles of the estates they were to sell, they were directed by an old servant to a cupboard that was very artificially hid, in which some papers lay that she had observed Sir *Kenelm* was oft reading. They looking into it found a velvet bag, within which there were two other silk bags: (So carefully were those relicks kept:) And there was within these a collection of all the letters that Sir *Everard* writ during his imprisonment. In these he expresses great trouble, because he heard some of their friends blamed their undertaking: He highly magnifies it; and says, if he had many lives he would willingly have sacrificed them all in carrying it on. In one paper he says, they had taken that care that there were not above two or three worth saving, to whom they had not given notice to keep out of the way: And in none of those papers does he express any sort of remorse for that which he had been engaged in, and for which he suffered.

Upon the discovery of that Plot there was a general prosecution of all Papists set on foot: But King *James* was very uneasy at it; which was much encreased by what Sir *Dudly Carlton* told him upon his return from *Spain*, where he had been Ambassador; King James was afraid of the Jesuits.

bassadour; (which I had from the Lord *Hollis*, who said to me that Sir *Dudly Carlton* told it to himself, and was much troubled when he saw it had an effect contrary to what he had intended.) When he came home, he found the King at *Theobald's* hunting in a very careless and unguarded manner: And upon that, in order to the putting him on a more careful looking to himself, he told the King he must either give over that way of hunting, or stop another hunting that he was engaged in, which was Priest hunting: For he had intelligence in *Spain* that the Priests were comforting themselves with this, that if he went on against them they would soon get rid of him: Queen *Elizabeth* was a woman of form, and was always so well attended, that all their plots against her failed, and were never brought to any effect: But a Prince who was always in woods or forests would be easily overtaken. The King sent for him in private to enquire more particularly into this: And he saw it had made a great impression on him: But wrought otherwise than as he intended. For the King, resolved to gratifie his humour in hunting and in a careless and irregular way of life, did immediately order all that prosecution to be let fall. I have the minutes of the Council Books of the year 1606, which are full of orders to discharge and transport Priests, sometimes ten in a day. From thence to his dying day he continued always writing and talking against Popery, but acting for it. He married his only daughter to a Protestant Prince, one of the most zealous and sincere of them all, the Elector *Palatine*; upon which a great Revolution happen'd in the affairs of *Germany*. The eldest branch of the House of *Austria* retained some of the impressions that their Father *Maximilian II.* studied to infuse into them, who as he was certainly one of the best and wisest Princes of these latter ages, so he was unalterably fixed in his opinion against persecution for matters of conscience: His own sentiments were so very favourable to the Protestant Doctrine, that he was thought inwardly theirs. His brother *Charles* of *Grats* was on the other hand wholly managed by the Jesuits, and was a zealous patron of theirs, and as zealously supported by them. *Rodolph* and *Matthias* reigned one after another, but without issue. Their brother *Albert* was then dying in *Flanders*: So *Spain* with the popish interest joined to advance *Ferdinand*, the son of *Charles* of *Grats*: And he forced *Matthias* to resign the Crown of *Bohemia* to him, and got himself to be elected King. But his government became quickly severe: He resolved to extirpate the Protestants, and began to break thro' the privileges that were secured to them by the laws of that Kingdom.

The Elector
Palatine's
Marriage.

This

This occasioned a general insurrection, which was followed by an assembly of the States, who together with those of *Silesia* *Moravia* and *Lusatia* joined in deposing *Ferdinand*: And they offered their Crown first to the Duke of *Saxony* who refused it, and then to the Elector *Palatine* who accepted of it, being encouraged to it by his two uncles *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Bullion*. But he did not ask the advice of King *James*: He only gave him notice of it when he had accepted the offer. Here was the probablest occasion that has been offered since the Reformation for its full establishment.

The Affairs
of Bohemia.

The *English* Nation was much inclined to support it: And it was expected that so near a conjunction might have prevailed on the King: But he had an invincible aversion to war; and was so possessed of the opinion of a divine right in all Kings, that he could not bear that even an elective and limited King should be called in question by his subjects: So he would never acknowledge his son-in-law King, nor give him any assistance for the support of his new dignity. And tho' it was also reckoned on that *France* would enter into any design that should bring down the house of *Austria*, and *Spain* by consequence, yet even that was diverted by the means of *De Luynes*; a worthless but absolute favourite, whom the Archduchess *Isabella*, Princess of the *Spanish Netherlands*, gained to oblige the King into a neutrality by giving him the richest heiress then in *Flanders*, the daughter of *Peguiney*, left to her disposal, whom he married to his brother.

Thus poor *Frederick* was left without any assistance. The jealousy that the *Lutherans* had of the ascendant that the *Calvinists* might gain by this accession had an unhappy share in the coldness which all the Princes of that confession shewed towards him; tho' *Saxony* only declared for *Ferdinand*, who likewise engaged the Duke of *Bavaria* at the head of a catholick league to maintain his interests. *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* had embroiled *Holland* by the espousing the controversy about the decrees of God in opposition to the *Arminian* party, and by erecting a new and illegal court by the authority of the States General to judge of the affairs of the Province of *Holland*; which was plainly contrary to their constitution, by which every Province is a Sovereignty within itself, not at all subordinate to the States General, who act only as Plenipotentiaries of the several Provinces to maintain their union and their common concerns. By that assembly *Barnevelt* was condemned and executed: *Grotius* and others were condemned to perpetual imprisonment: And an assembly of the ministers of the several Provinces met at

The disorders
in Hol-
land.

Dort by the same authority, and condemned and deprived the *Arminians*. *Maurice's* enemies gave it out that he managed all this on design to make himself master of the Provinces, and to put those who were like to oppose him out of the way. But tho' this seem a wild and groundless imagination, and not possible to be compassed; yet it is certain that he looked on *Barnevelt* and his party as men who were so jealous of him and of a military power, that as they had forced the truce with *Spain* so they would be very unwilling to begin a new war; tho' the disputes about *Juliers* and *Cleves* had almost engaged them, and the truce was now near expiring; at the end of which he hoped, if delivered from the opposition that he might look for from that party, to begin the war anew. By these means there was a great fermentation over all the Provinces, so that *Maurice* was not then in condition to give the elected King any considerable assistance; tho' indeed he needed it much, for his conduct was very weak. He affected the grandeur of a regal court, and the magnificence of a crowned head too early: And his Queen set up some of the gay diversions that she had been accustomed to in her father's court, such as balls and masks, which very much disgusted the good *Bohemians*, who thought that a revolution made on the account of religion ought to have put on a greater appearance of seriousness and simplicity. These particulars I had from the children of some who belonged to that court. The elected King was quickly overthrown, and driven not only out of those his new dominions, but likewise out of his hereditary countries: He fled to *Holland* where he ended his days. I will go no farther in a matter so well known as King *James's* ill conduct in the whole series of that war, and that unheard-of practice of sending his only Son thro' *France* into *Spain*, of which the relations we have are so full that I can add nothing to them.

Some passages of the Religion of some Princes.

I will only here tell some particulars with relation to *Germany*, that *Fabricius*, the wisest divine I knew among them, told me he had from *Charles Lewis* the Elector *Palatine's* own mouth. He said, *Frederick II.* who first reformed the *Palatinate*, whose life is so curiously writ by *Thomas Hubert* of *Liege*, resolved to shake off Popery, and to set up *Lutheranism* in his countrey: But a counsellour of his said to him, that the *Lutherans* would always depend chiefly on the House of *Saxony*: So it would not become him who was the first Elector to be only the second in the party: It was more for his dignity to become a Calvinist: He would be the head of that party: It would give him a great interest in *Switzerland*, and make the *Huguenots* of

of *France* and in the *Netherlands* depend on him. He was by that determined to declare for the *Helvetian* confession. But upon the ruin of his family the Duke of *Newburgh* had an interview with the Elector of *Brandenburgh* about their concerns in *Juliers* and *Cleves*: And he persuaded that Elector to turn *Calvinist*; for since their family was fallen, nothing would more contribute to raise the other than the espousing that side, which would naturally come under his protection: But he added, that for himself he had turned Papist, since his little Principality lay so near both *Austria* and *Bavaria*. This that Elector told with a sort of pleasure, when he made it appear that other Princes had no more sense of religion than he himself had.

Other circumstances concurred to make King *James's* reign inglorious. The States having borrowed great sums of money of Queen *Elizabeth*, they gave her the *Brill* and *Flushing*, with some other places of less note, in pawn till the money should be repaid. Soon after his coming to the Crown of *England* he entered into secret treaties with *Spain*, in order to the forcing the States to a peace: One article was, that if they were obstinate he would deliver these places to the *Spaniards*. When the truce was made, *Barnevelt*, tho' he had promoted it, yet knowing the secret article, he saw they were very unsafe while the keys of *Holland* and *Zealand* were in the hands of a Prince who might perhaps sell them, or make an ill use of them: So he persuaded the States to redeem the mortgage by repaying the money that *England* had lent, for which these places were put into their hands: And he came over himself to treat about it. King *James*, who was profuse upon his favourites and servants, was delighted with the prospect of so much money; and immediately, without calling a Parliament to advise with them about it, he did yield to the proposition. So the money was paid, and the places were evacuated. But his profuseness drew two other things upon him, which broke the whole authority of the Crown, and the dependence of the Nation upon it. The Crown had a great estate over all *England*, which was all let out upon leases for years, and a small rent was reserved. So most of the great families of the Nation were the tenants of the Crown, and a great many burroughs were depending on the estates so held. The renewal of these leases brought in fines to the Crown, and to the great officers: Besides that the fear of being denied a renewal kept all in a dependence on the Crown. King *James* obtained of his Parliament a power of granting, that is selling, those estates for ever, with the reserve of the old quit-rent: And all the money raised by this was profusely squandred away.

King *James*
parted with
the cautionary
Towns.

King *James*
broke the
greatness of
the Crown.

way. Another main part of the regal authority was the Wards, which anciently the Crown took into their own management. Our Kings were, according to the first institution, the Guardians of the Wards. They bred them up in their courts, and disposed of them in marriage as they thought fit. Afterwards they compounded, or forgave them, or gave them to some branches of the family, or to provide the younger children. But they proceeded in this very gently: And the chief care after the Reformation was to breed the Wards Protestants. Still all were under a great dependence by this means. Much money was not raised this way: But families were often at mercy, and were used according to their behaviour. King *James* granted these generally to his servants and favourites: And they made the most of them. So that what was before a dependence on the Crown, and was moderately compounded for, became then a most exacting oppression, by which several families were ruined. This went on in King *Charles's* time in the same method. Our Kings thought they gave little when they disposed of a Ward, because they made little of them. All this raised such an outcry, that Mr. *Pierpoint* at the Restoration gathered so many instances of these, and represented them so effectually to that House of Commons that called home King *Charles* the second, that he persuaded them to redeem themselves by an offer of excise, which indeed produces a much greater revenue, but took away the dependence in which all families were held by the dread of leaving their heirs exposed to so great a danger. *Pierpoint* valued himself to me upon this service he did his country, at a time when things were so little considered on either hand, that the court did not seem to apprehend the value of what they parted with, nor the country of what they purchased.

Other errors in his reign.

Besides these publick actings King *James* suffered much in the opinion of all people by his strange way of using one of the greatest men of that age, Sir *Walter Raleigh*; against whom the proceedings at first were much censured, but the last part of them was thought both barbarous and illegal. The whole business of the Earl of *Somerset's* rise and fall, of the Countess of *Essex* and *Overbury*, the putting the inferiour persons to death for that infamous poysoning, and the sparing the principals, both the Earl of *Somerset* and his Lady, were so odious and inhuman, that it quite sunk the reputation of a reign, that on many other accounts was already much exposed to contempt and censure; which was the more sensible, because it succeeded such a glorious and happy one. King *James* in the end of his reign

was

was become weary of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who treated him with such an air of insolent contempt that he seemed at last resolved to throw him off, but could not think of taking the load of government on himself, and so resolved to bring the Earl of *Somerset* again into favour, as that Lord reported it to some from whom I had it. He met with him in the night in the gardens at *Theobalds*: Two bed-chamber men were only in the secret: The King embraced him tenderly and with many tears: The Earl of *Somerset* believed the secret was not well kept; for soon after the King was taken ill with some fits of an ague and died of it. My father was then in *London*, and did His Death. very much suspect an ill practice in the matter: But perhaps Doctor *Craig*, my mother's uncle, who was one of the King's physicians, possessed him with these apprehensions; for he was disgraced for saying he believed the King was poysoned. It is certain no King could die less lamented or less esteemed than he was. This sunk the credit of the Bishops of *Scotland*, who as they were his creatures, so they were obliged to a great dependence on him, and were thought guilty of gross and abject flattery towards him. His reign in *England* was a continued course of mean practices. The first condemnation of Sir *Walter Raleigh* was very black: But the executing him after so many years, and after an employment that had been given him, was counted a barbarous sacrificing him to the *Spaniards*. The rise and fall of the Earl of *Somerset*, and the swift progress of the Duke of *Buckingham's* greatness, were things that exposed him to the censure of all the world. I have seen the originals of about twenty letters that he wrote to the Prince and that Duke while they were in *Spain*, which shew a meanness as well as a fondness that render him very contemptible. The great Figure the Crown of *England* had made in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, who had rendered her self the arbiter of christendom, and was the wonder of the age, was so much eclipsed if not quite darkened during this reign, that King *James* was become the scorn of the age; and while hungry writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, subject to his favourites and delivered up to the counsels or rather the corruption of *Spain*.

The Puritans gained credit, as the King and the Bishops lost it. They put on external appearances of great strictness and gravity: They took more pains in their parishes than those who adhered to the Bishops, and were often preaching against the vices of the Court; for which they were sometimes punished, tho' very gently, which raised their reputation, and drew pre-

The Puritans gained ground.

sents to them that made up their sufferings abundantly. They begun some particular methods of getting their people to meet privately with them: And in these meetings they gave great vent to extemporary prayer, which was looked on as a sort of inspiration: And by these means they grew very popular. They were very factious and insolent; and both in their sermons and prayers were always mixing severe reflections on their enemies. Some of them boldly gave out very many predictions; particularly two of them who were held prophets, *Davison* and *Bruce*. Some of the things that they foretold came to pass: But my father, who knew them both, told me of many of their predictions that he himself heard them throw out, which had no effect: But all these were forgot, and if some more probable gueffings which they delivered as prophecies were accomplished, these were much magnified. They were very spiteful against all those who differed from them; and were wanting in no methods that could procure them either good usage, or good presents. Of this my father had great occasion to see many instances: For my great grand-mother, who was a very rich woman and much engaged to them, was most obsequiously courted by them. *Bruce* lived concealed in her house for some years: And they all found such advantages in their submissions to her, that she was counted for many years the chief support of the party: Her name was *Rachel Arnot*. She was daughter to Sir *John Arnot*, a man in great favour, and Lord Treasurer deputy. Her husband *Johnstoun* was the greatest merchant at that time; and left her an estate of 2000 pound a year, to be disposed of among his children as she pleased: And my father marrying her eldest grand child saw a great way into all the methods of the Puritans.

Gowry's conspiracy.

Gowry's conspiracy was by them charged on the King, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that Earl, who was then held in great esteem: But my father, who had taken great pains to enquire into all the particulars of that matter, did always believe it was a real conspiracy. One thing, which none of the Historians have taken any notice of, and might have induced the Earl of *Gowry* to have wished to put King *James* out of the way, but in such a disguised manner that he should seem rather to have escaped out of a snare himself than to have laid one for the King, was this: Upon the King's death he stood next to the succession to that Crown of *England*; for King *Henry* the seventh's daughter that was married to King *James* the fourth did after his death marry *Dowglas* Earl of *Angus*: But they could not agree: So a pre-contract was proved against him: Upon which, by a sentence from

from *Rome*, the marriage was voided, with a clause in favour of the issue, since born under a marriage *de facto* and *bona fide*. Lady *Margaret Dowglas* was the child so provided for. I did peruse the original Bull confirming the divorce. After that, the Queen Dowager married one *Francis Steward*, and had by him a son made Lord *Metbuen* by King *James* the fifth. In the patent he is called *frater noster uterinus*. He had only a daughter, who was mother or grandmother to the Earl of *Gowry*: So that by this he might be glad to put the King out of the way, that so he might stand next to the succession of the Crown of *England*. He had a brother then a child, who when he grew up and found he could not carry the name of *Ruthen*, which by an act of Parliament made after this conspiracy none might carry, he went and lived beyond sea; and it was given out that he had the philosopher's stone. He had two sons who died without issue, and one daughter married to Sir *Anthony Vandike* the famous picture drawer, whose children according to his pedigree stood very near to the succession of the Crown. It was not easy to persuade the nation of the truth of that conspiracy: For eight years before that time King *James*, on a secret jealousy of the Earl of *Murray*, then esteemed the handsomest man of *Scotland*, set on the Marquis of *Huntly*, who was his mortal enemy, to murder him; and by a writing all in his own hand he promised to save him harmless for it. He set the house in which he was on fire: And the Earl flying away was followed and murdered, and *Huntly* sent *Gordon* of *Buckey* with the news to the King: Soon after, all who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned, which laid the King open to much censure. And this made the matter of *Gowry* to be the less believed.

When King *Charles* succeeded to the Crown he was at first thought favourable to the Puritans; for his tutor, and all his Court were of that way: And Dr. *Preston*, then the head of the party, came up in the coach from *Theobalds* to *London* with the King and the Duke of *Buckingham*; which being against the rules of the Court gave great offence: But it was said, the King was so over charged with grief, that he wanted the comfort of so wise and so great a man. It was also given out, that the Duke of *Buckingham* offered Dr. *Preston* the Great Seal: But he was wiser than to accept of it. I will go no further into the beginning of that reign with relation to *English* affairs, which are fully opened by others. Only I will tell one particular which I had from the Earl of *Lothian*, who was bred up in the Court, and whose father, the Earl of *Ancram*, was gentleman of the Bed-chamber, tho' himself was ever much hated by the King. He

told

King *Charles*
at first a
friend to the
Puritans.

told me, that King *Charles* was much offended with King *James's* light and familiar way, which was the effect of hunting and drinking, on which occasions he was very apt to forget his dignity, and to break out into great indecencies: On the other hand the solemn gravity of the Court of *Spain* was more suited to his own temper, which was fullen even to a moroseness. This led him to a grave reserved deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and the affability that the nation naturally loved, to which they had been long accustomed: Nor did he in his outward deportment take any pains to oblige any persons whatsoever: So far from that, he had such an ungracious way of shewing favour, that the manner of bestowing it was almost as mortifying as the favour was obliging. I turn now to the affairs of *Scotland*, which are but little known.

He designed
to recover
the tithes
and church
lands in
Scotland to
the Crown.

The King resolved to carry on two designs that his father had set on foot, but had let the prosecution of them fall in the last years of his reign. The first of these was about the recovery of the tithes and church lands: He resolved to prosecute his father's revocation, and to void all the grants made in his minority, and to create titular Abbots as Lords of Parliament, but Lords, as Bishops, only for life. And that the two great families of *Hamilton* and *Lenox* might be good examples to the rest of the nation, he by a secret purchase, and with *English* money, bought the Abby of *Aberbroth* of the former, and the Lordship of *Glasgow* of the latter, and gave these to the two Archbishopricks. These Lords made a shew of zeal after a good bargain, and surrendered them to the King. He also purchased several estates of less value to the several Sees; and all men, who pretended to favour at Court, offered their church lands to sale at a low rate.

In the third year of his reign the Earl of *Nithisdale*, then believed a Papist, which he afterwards professed, having married a niece of the Duke of *Buckingham's*, was sent down with a power to take the surrender of all church lands, and to assure all who did readily surrender, that the King would take it kindly, and use them all very well, but that he would proceed with all rigour against those who would not submit their rights to his disposal. Upon his coming down, those who were most concerned in those grants met at *Edinburgh*, and agreed, that when they were called together, if no other argument did prevail to make the Earl of *Nithisdale* desist, they would fall upon him and all his party in the old *Scotish* manner, and knock them on the head. *Primrose* told me one of these Lords, *Belhaven* of the name of *Dowglass* who was blind, bid them set him by one of the

the party; and he would make sure of one. So he was set next the Earl of *Dunfrize*: He was all the while holding him fast: And when the other asked him what he meant by that, he said, ever since the blindness was come on him he was in such fear of falling, that he could not help the holding fast to those who were next to him: He had all the while a ponyard in his other hand, with which he had certainly stabbed *Dunfrize*, if any disorder had happen'd. The appearance at that time was so great, and so much heat was raised upon it, that the Earl of *Nithisdale* would not open all his instructions, but came back to Court, looking on the service as desperate: So a stop was put to it for some time.

In the year 1633 the King came down in person to be crowned. In some conventions of the States that had been held before that all the money that the King had asked was given; and some petitions were offered setting forth grievances, which those whom the King employed had assured them should be redressed: But nothing was done, and all was put off till the King should come down in person. His entry and coronation were managed with such magnificence, that the countrey suffered much by it: All was entertainment and shew. When the Parliament sate, the Lords of the articles prepared an act declaring the royal prerogative, as it had been asserted by law in the year 1606; to which an addition was made of another act pass'd in the year 1609, by which King *James* was impower'd to prescribe apparel to churchmen with their own consent. This was a personal thing to King *James*, in consideration of his great learning and experience, of which he had made no use during the rest of his reign. And in the year 1617, when he held a Parliament there in person, an act was prepared by the Lords of the articles, authorizing all things that should thereafter be determined in ecclesiastical affairs by his Majesty, with consent of a competent number of the clergy, to have the strength and power of a law. But the King either apprehended that great opposition would be made to the passing the act, or that great trouble would follow on the execution of it: So when the rubrick of the act was read, he ordered it to be suppress'd, tho' pass'd in the articles. In this act of 1633 these acts of 1606 and 1609 were drawn into one. To this great opposition was made by the Earl of *Rothes*, who desired the acts might be divided: But the King said, it was now one act, and he must either vote for it, or against it. He said, he was for the prerogative as much as any man, but that addition was contrary to the liberties of the Church, and he thought no determination ought to be made in such mat-

He was
crowned in
Scotland.

ters without the consent of the clergy, at least without their being heard. The King bid him argue no more, but give his vote: So he voted, not content. Some few Lords offered to argue: But the King stopt them, and commanded them to vote. Almost the whole Commons voted in the negative: So that the act was indeed rejected by the majority: Which the King knew; for he had called for a list of the numbers, and with his own pen had mark'd every man's vote: Yet the Clerk of Register, who gathers and declares the votes, said it was carried in the affirmative. The Earl of *Rothes* affirmed it went for the negative: So the King said, the Clerk of Register's declaration must be held good, unless the Earl of *Rothes* would go to the Barr and accuse him of falsifying the record of Parliament, which was capital: And in that case, if he should fail in the proof he was liable to the same punishment: So he would not venture on that. Thus the act was published, tho' in truth it was rejected. The King expressed a high displeasure at all who had concurred in that opposition. Upon that the Lords had many meetings: They reckoned that now all their liberties were gone, and a Parliament was but a piece of pageantry, if the Clerk of Register might declare as he pleased how the vote went, and that no scrutiny were allowed. Upon that *Hague* the King's solicitor, a zealous man of that party, drew a petition to be signed by the Lords, and to be offered by them to the King, setting forth all their grievances and praying redress: He shewed this to some of them, and among others to the Lord *Balmerinock*, who liked the main of it, but was for altering it in some particulars: He spoke of it to the Earl of *Rothes* in the presence of the Earl of *Cassilis* and some others: None of them approved of it. The Earl of *Rothes* carryed it to the King; and told him, that there was a design to offer a petition in order to the explaining and justifying their proceedings, and that he had a copy to shew him: But the King would not look upon it, and ordered him to put a stop to it, for he would receive no such petition. The Earl of *Rothes* told this to *Balmerinock*: So the thing was laid aside: Only he kept a copy of it, and interlined it in some places with his own hand. While the King was in *Scotland* he erected a new Bishoprick at *Edinburgh*, and made one *Forbes* Bishop, who was a very learned and pious man: He had a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time: His way of life and devotion was thought monastick, and his learning lay in antiquity: He studied to be a reconciler between Papists and Protestants, leaning rather to the first, as appears by his *Considerationes modestæ*: He was a very simple man, and knew little of the world:

So

Balmerinock's trial.

So he fell into several errors in conduct, but died soon after suspected of Popery, which suspicion was encreased by his son's turning Papist. The King left *Scotland* much discontented, but resolved to prosecute the design of recovering the church lands: And Sir *Thomas Hope*, a subtil lawyer, who was believed to understand that matter beyond all the men of his profession, tho' in all respects he was a zealous Puritan, was made the King's advocate, upon his undertaking to bring all the church lands back to the Crown: Yet he proceeded in that matter so slowly, that it was believed he acted in concert with the party that opposed it. Enough was already done to allarm all that were possessed of the church lands: And they to engage the whole countrey in their quarrel took care to infuse it into all people, but chiefly into the preachers, that all was done to make way for Popery. The winter after the King was in *Scotland*, *Balmerinock* was thinking how to make the petition more acceptable: And in order to that he shewed it to one *Dunmoor* a lawyer in whom he trusted, and desired his opinion of it, and suffered him to carry it home with him, but charged him to shew it to no person, and to take no copy of it. He shewed it under a promise of secrecy to one *Hay* of *Naughton*, and told him from whom he had it. *Hay* looking on the paper, and seeing it a matter of some consequence, carried it to *Spotswood* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*; who apprehending it was going about for hands was allarmed at it, and went immediately to *London*, beginning his journey as he often did on a Sunday, which was a very odious thing in that country. There are laws in *Scotland* loosely worded that make it capital to spread lies of the King or his Government, or to alienate his subjects from him. It was also made capital to know of any that do it, and not discover them: But this last was never once put in execution. The petition was thought within this act: So an order was sent down for committing Lord *Balmerinock*. The reason of it being for some time kept secret, it was thought done because of his vote in parliament. But after some consultation a special commission was sent down for the trial. In *Scotland* there is a Court for the trial of Peers, distinct from the jury who are to be fifteen, and the majority determine the verdict: The fact being only referred to the jury or assize as they call it, the law is judged by the Court: And if the majority of the jury are Peers, the rest may be gentlemen. At this time a private gentleman of the name of *Steward* was become so considerable that he was raised by several degrees to be made Earl of *Traquair* and Lord Treasurer, and was in great favour; but suffered afterwards such a reverse

reverse of fortune, that I saw him so low that he wanted bread, and was forced to beg; and it was believed died of hunger. He was a man of great parts, but of too much craft: He was thought the capablest man for business, and the best speaker in that Kingdom. So he was charged with the care of the Lord *Balmerinock's* trial: But when the ground of the prosecution was known, *Hague* who drew the petition writ a letter to the Lord *Balmerinock*, in which he owned that he drew the petition without any direction or assistance from him: And upon that he went over to *Holland*. The Court was created by a special commission: In the naming of Judges there appeared too visibly a design to have that Lord's life, for they were either very weak or very poor. Much pains was taken to have a jury; in which so great partiality appeared, that when the Lord *Balmerinock* was upon his challenges, and excepted to the Earl of *Dunfrise* for his having said that if he were of his jury tho' he were as innocent as *St. Paul* he would find him guilty, some of the Judges said, that was only a rash word: Yet the King's advocate allowed the challenge if proved, which was done. The next called on was the Earl of *Lauderdale*, father to the Duke of that title: With him the Lord *Balmerinock* had been long in enmity: Yet instead of challenging him, he said he was *omni exceptione major*. It was long considered upon what the prisoner should be tried: For his hand interlining the paper, which did plainly soften it, was not thought evidence that he drew it, or that he was accessory to it: And they had no other proof against him: Nor could they from that infer that he was the divulger, since it did appear it was only shewed by him to a lawyer for counsel. So it was settled on to insist on this, that the paper tended to alienate the subjects from their duty to the King, and that he, knowing who was the author of it, did not discover him, which by law was capital. The Court judged the paper to be seditious, and to be a lie of the King and his government: The other point was clear, that he knowing the author did not discover him. He pleaded for himself, that the statute for discovery had never been put in execution; that it could never be meant but of matters that were notoriously seditious; that till the Court judged so he did not take this paper to be of that nature, but considered it as a paper full of duty, designed to set himself and some others right in the King's opinion; that upon the first sight of it, tho' he approved of the main, yet he disliked some expressions in it; that he communicated the matter to the Earl of *Rothes*, who told the King of the design; and that, upon the King's saying he would receive no such petition

tion, it was quite laid aside: This was attested by the Earl of *Roth-*
thes. A long debate had been much insisted on, whether the
 Earl of *Traquair* or the King's ministers might be of the ju-
 ry or not: But the Court gave it in their favour. When the jury
 was shut up, *Gordon of Bucky*, who was one of them, being
 then very antient, who forty three years before had assisted in the
 murder of the Earl of *Murray*, and was thought upon this occasion
 a sure man, spoke first of all, excusing his presumption in being
 the first that broke the silence. He desired, they would all con-
 sider what they were about: It was a matter of blood, and they
 would feel the weight of that as long as they lived: He had in his
 youth been drawn in to shed blood, for which he had the King's
 pardon, but it cost him more to obtain God's pardon: It had
 given him many sorrowful hours both day and night: And as he
 spoke this, the tears ran over his face. This struck a damp on
 them all. But the Earl of *Traquair* took up the argument;
 and said, they had it not before them whether the law was a hard
 law or not, nor had they the nature of the paper before them,
 which was judged by the Court to be leasing-making; they were
 only to consider, whether the prisoner had discovered the contri-
 ver of the paper or not. Upon this the Earl of *Lauderdale* took
 up the argument against him, and urged, that severe laws never
 executed were looked on as made only to terrify people, that
 tho' after the Court's having judged the paper to be seditious it
 would be capital to conceal the author, yet before such judgment
 the thing could not be thought so evident that he was bound to
 reveal it. Upon these heads those Lords argued the matter ma-
 ny hours: But when it went to the vote, seven acquitted, but
 eight cast him: So sentence was given. Upon this many meet-
 ings were held: And it was resolved either to force the prison
 to set him at liberty, or if that failed to revenge his death both
 on the Court and on the eight jurors; some undertaking to kill
 them, and others to burn their houses. When the Earl of *Tra-*
quair understood this, he went to Court, and told the King
 that the Lord *Balmerinock's* life was in his hands, but the exe-
 cution was in no sort adviseable: So he procured his pardon, for
 which the party was often reproached with his ingratitude: But
 he thought he had been much wronged in the prosecution, and
 so little regarded in the pardon, that he never looked on him-
 self as under any obligation on that account. My father knew
 the whole steps of this matter, having been the Earl of *Lauder-*
dale's most particular friend: He often told me, that the ruin
 of the King's affairs in *Scotland* was in a great measure owing
 to that prosecution; and he carefully preserved the petition it
 self,

He was con-
demned.

But par-
doned.

self, and the papers relating to the trial; of which I never saw any copy besides those which I have. And that raised in me a desire of seeing the whole record, which was copied for me, and is now in my hands. It is a little volume, and contains, according to the *Scotch* method, the whole abstract of all the pleadings, and all the evidence that was given; and is indeed a very noble piece, full of curious matter.

A liturgy
prepared.

When the design of recovering the tithes went on, tho' but slowly, another design made a greater progress. The Bishops of *Scotland* fell on the framing of a liturgy and a body of canons for the worship and government of that church. These were never examined in any publick assembly of the clergy: All was managed by three or four aspiring Bishops, *Maxwell*, *Sidserfe*, *Whitford*, and *Banautine*, the Bishops of *Ross*, *Galloway*, *Dunblane*, and *Aberdeen*. *Maxwel* did also accuse the Earl of *Traquair*, as cold in the King's service, and as managing the treasury deceitfully; and he was aspiring to that office. *Spotswood*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews* then Lord Chancellour, was a prudent and mild man, but of no great decency in his course of life. The Earl of *Traquair*, seeing himself so pushed at, was more earnest than the Bishops themselves in promoting the new model of worship and discipline; and by that he recovered the ground he had lost with the King, and with Archbishop *Laud*: He also assisted the Bishops in obtaining commissions, subaltern to the High-commission Court, in their several dioceses, which were thought little different from the Courts of Inquisition. *Sidserfe* set this up in *Galloway*: And a complaint being made in Council of his proceedings, he gave the Earl of *Argile* the lie in full Council. He was after all a very learned and good man, but strangely heated in those matters. And they all were so lifted up with the King's zeal, and so encouraged by Archbishop *Laud*, that they lost all temper; of which I knew *Sidserfe* made great acknowledgments in his old age.

The feeble-
ness of the
government.

But the unaccountable part of the King's proceedings was, that all this while, when he was endeavouring to recover so great a part of the property of *Scotland* as the church lands and tithes were from men that were not like to part with them willingly, and was going to change the whole constitution of that Church and Kingdom, he raised no force to maintain what he was about to do, but trusted the whole management to the civil execution. By this all people saw the weakness of the government, at the same time that they complained of its rigour. All that came down from Court complained of the King's inexorable stiffness, and of the progress Popery was making, of the Queen's power
with

with the King, of the favour shewed the Popes *Nuntios*, and of the many profelytes who were daily falling off to the church of *Rome*. The Earl of *Traquair* infused this more effectually, tho' more covertly, than any other man could do: And when the country formed the first opposition they made to the King's proclamations, and protested against them, he drew the first protestation, as *Primrose* assured me; tho' he designed no more than to put a stop to the credit the Bishops had, and to the fury of their proceedings: But the matter went much farther than he seemed to intend: For he himself was fatally caught in the snare laid for others. A troop of horse and a regiment of foot had prevented all that followed, or rather had by all appearance established an arbitrary government in that Kingdom: But to speak in the language of a great man, those who conducted matters at that time had as little of the prudence of the serpent as of the innocence of the dove: And, as my father often told me, he and many others who adhered in the sequel firmly to the King's interest were then much troubled at the whole conduct of affairs, as being neither wise, legal, nor just. I will go no farther in opening the beginnings of the troubles of *Scotland*: Of these a full account will be found in the memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. The violence with which that Kingdom did almost unanimously engage against the administration may easily convince one, that the provocation must have been very great to draw on such an entire and vehement concurrence against it.

After the first pacification, upon the new disputes that arose, when the Earl of *Lowdun* and *Dunfermling* were sent up with the petition from the covenanters, the Lord *Saville* came to them, and informed them of many particulars, by which they saw the King was highly irritated against them: He took great pains to persuade them to come with their army into *England*. They very unwillingly hearken'd to that proposition, and looked on it as a design from the Court to ensnare them, making the *Scots* invade *England*, by which this Nation might have been provoked to assist the King to conquer *Scotland*. It is true, he hated the Earl of *Strafford* so much, that they saw no cause to suspect him: So they entred into a treaty with him about it. The Lord *Saville* assured them, he spake to them in the name of the most considerable men in *England*; and he shewed them an engagement under their hands to join with them, if they would come into *England*, and refuse any treaty but what should be confirmed by a Parliament of *England*. They desired leave to send this paper into *Scotland*, to which after much seeming difficulty

Saville's forgery prevailed on the Scots.

The ill state
of the King's
affairs.

The King was now in great straits: He had laid up 700000 *l.* before the troubles in *Scotland* began; and yet had raised no guards nor force in *England*, but trusted a very illegal administration to a legal execution. His treasure was now exhausted; his subjects were highly irritated; the ministry were all frightened, being exposed to the anger and justice of the Parliament: So that he had brought himself into great distress, but had not the dexterity to extricate himself out of it. He loved high and rough methods, but had neither the skill to conduct them, nor the height of genius to manage them. He hated all that offered prudent and moderate counsels: He thought it flowed from a meanness of spirit, and a care to preserve themselves by sacrificing his authority, or from republican principles: And even when he saw it was necessary to follow such advices, yet he hated those that gave them. His heart was wholly turned to the gaining the two armies. In order to that he gained the Earl of *Rothes* entirely, who hoped by the King's mediation to have married the Countess of *Devonshire*, a rich and magnificent lady that lived long in the greatest state of any in that age: He also gained the Earl of *Montrose*, who was a young man well learned, who had travelled, but had taken upon him the port of a hero too much. When he was beyond sea he travelled with the Earl of *Denbigh*; and they consulted all the astrologers they could hear of. I plainly saw the Earl of *Denbigh* relied on what had been told him to his dying day; and the rather because the Earl of *Montrose* was promised a glorious fortune for some time, but all was to be overthrown in conclusion. When the Earl of *Montrose* returned from his travels, he was not considered by the King as he thought he deserved: So he studied to render himself popular in *Scotland*; and he was the first man in the opposition they made during the first war. He both advised and drew the letter to the King of *France*, for which the Lord *Lowdun* who signed it was imprisoned in the Tower of *London*. But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, as he himself told me, when it came to his turn to sign that letter, found false *French* in it; for instead of *rayons de soleil* he had writ *raye de soleil*, which in *French* signifies a sort of fish; and so the matter went no farther at that time; and the treaty came on so soon after, that it was never again taken up. The Earl of *Montrose* was gained by the King at *Berwick*, and undertook to do great services. He either fancied, or at least he made the King fancy, that he could turn the whole Kingdom: Yet indeed he could do nothing. He was again trying to make a new party: And he kept a correspondence with the King when he lay at *Newcastle*; and was pretending

tending he had a great interest among the covenanters, whereas at that time he had none at all. All these little plottings came to be either known, or at least suspected. The Queen was a woman of great vivacity in conversation, and loved all her life long to be in intrigues of all sorts, but was not so secret in them as such times and such affairs required. She was a woman of no manner of judgment: She was bad at contrivance, but much worse in the execution: But by the liveliness of her discourse she made always a great impression on the King: And to her little practices, as well as to the King's own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes was owing. I know it was a maxim infused into his sons, which I have often heard from King *James*, that he was undone by his concessions. This is true in some respect: For his passing the act that the Parliament should sit during pleasure was indeed his ruin, to which he was drawn by the Queen. But if he had not made great concessions, he had sunk without being able to make a struggle for it; and could not have divided the Nation, or engaged so many to have stood by him: Since by the concessions that he made, especially that of the triennial Parliament, the honest and quiet part of the Nation was satisfied, and thought their religion and liberties were secured: So they broke off from those violenter propositions that occasioned the war.

The truth was, the King did not come into those concessions seasonably, nor with a good grace: All appeared to be extorted from him. There were also grounds, whether true or plausible, to make it to be believed, that he intended not to stand to them any longer than he lay under that force that visibly drew them from him contrary to his own inclinations. The proofs that appeared of some particulars, that made this seem true, made other things that were whispered to be more readily believed: For in all critical times there are deceitful people of both sides, that pretend to merit by making discoveries, on condition that no use shall be made of them as witnesses; which is one of the most pestiferous ways of calumny possible. Almost the whole Court had been concerned in one illegal grant or another: So these Courtiers, to get their faults pass'd over, were as so many spies upon the King and Queen: They told all they heard, and perhaps not without large additions, to the leading men of the House of Commons. This inflamed the jealousy, and push'd them on to the making still new demands. One eminent passage was told me by the Lord *Hollis*:

The Earl of *Strafford* had married his sister: So, tho' in that Parliament he was one of the hottest men of the party, yet when

An account
of the Earl
of *Strafford's*
being given
up by the
King.

that matter was before them he always withdrew. When the bill of attainder was pass'd, the King sent for him to know what he could do to save the Earl of *Strafford*. *Hollis* answered, that if the King pleased, since the execution of the law was in him, he might legally grant him a reprieve, which must be good in law; but he would not advise it. That which he proposed was, that Lord *Strafford* should send him a petition for a short respite, to settle his affairs and to prepare for death; upon which he advised the King to come next day with the petition in his hands, and lay it before the two houses with a speech which he drew for the King; and *Hollis* said to him, he would try his interest among his friends to get them to consent to it. He prepared a great many by assuring them, that if they would save Lord *Strafford* he would become wholly theirs in consequence of his first principles: And that he might do them much more service by being preserved, than he could do if made an example upon such new and doubtful points. In this he had wrought on so many, that he believed if the King's party had struck into it he might have saved him. It was carried to the Queen, as if *Hollis* had engaged that the Earl of *Strafford* should accuse her, and discover all he knew: So the Queen not only diverted the King from going to the Parliament, changing the speech into a message all writ with the King's own hand, and sent to the House of Lords by the Prince of *Wales*: [which *Hollis* had said, would have perhaps done as well, the King being apt to spoil things by an unacceptable manner:] But to the wonder of the whole world, the Queen prevailed with him to add that mean postscript, *if he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday*: Which was a very unhandsome giving up of the whole message. When it was communicated to both houses, the whole Court party was plainly against it: And so he fell truly by the Queen's means.

The mentioning this makes me add one particular concerning Archbishop *Laud*: When his impeachment was brought to the Lord's bar, he apprehending how it would end, sent over *Warner*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, with the keys of his closet and cabinet, that he might destroy or put out of the way all papers that might either hurt himself or any body else. He was at that work for three hours, till upon *Laud*'s being committed to the black rod a messenger went over to seal up his closet, who came after all was withdrawn. Among the writings he took away, it is believed the original *Magna Charta* passed by King *John* in the mead near *Stains* was one. This was found among *Warner*'s papers by his executor: And that descended to his son and

and executor, Colonel *Lee*, who gave it to me. So it is now in my hands; and it came very fairly to me. For this conveyance of it we have nothing but conjecture.

I do not intend to prosecute the history of the wars. I have told a great deal relating to them in the memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. *Rushworth's* collections contain many excellent materials: And now the first volume of the Earl of *Clarendon's* history gives a faithful representation of the beginnings of the troubles, tho' writ in favour of the Court, and full of the best excuses that such ill things were capable of. I shall therefore only set out what I had particular reason to know, and what is not to be met with in books.

The Kirk was now settled in *Scotland* with a new mixture of ruling elders; which, tho' they were taken from the *Geneva* pattern to assist or rather to be a check on the Ministers in the managing the parochial discipline, yet these never came to their assemblies till the year 1638, that they thought it necessary to make them first go and carry all the elections of the Ministers at the several presbyteries, and next come themselves and sit in the assemblies. The nobility and chief gentry offered themselves upon that occasion: And the Ministers, since they saw they were like to act in opposition to the King's orders, were glad to have so great a support. But the elders that now came to assist them beginning to take, as the Ministers thought, too much on them, they grew weary of such imperious masters: So they studied to work up the inferiour people to much zeal: And as they wrought any up to some measure of heat and knowledge, they brought them also into their eldership; and so got a majority of hot zealots who depended on them. One out of these was deputed to attend on the judicatories. They had synods of all the clergy, in one or more counties who met twice a year: And a general assembly met once a year: And at parting that body named some, called the commission of the Kirk, who were to sit in the intervals to prepare matters for the next assembly, and to look into all the concerns of the church, to give warning of dangers, and to inspect all proceedings of the state as far as related to the matters of religion: By these means they became terrible to all their enemies. In their sermons, and chiefly in their prayers, all that pass'd in the state was canvassed: Men were as good as named, and either recommended or complained of to God as they were acceptable or odious to them. This grew up in time to an insufferable degree of boldness. The way that was given to it, when the King and the Bishops were there common themes, made that afterwards the humour could not

The new model of the Presbytery in Scotland.

be restrained: And it grew so petulant, that the pulpit was a scene of news and passion. For some years this was managed with great appearances of fervour by men of age and some authority: But when the younger and hotter zealots took it up, it became odious to almost all sort of people, except some four enthusiasts, who thought all their impertinence was zeal and an effect of inspiration; which flowed naturally from the conceit of extemporary prayers being praying by the spirit.

The chief
Ministers of
the party.

Henderson, a Minister of *Edinburgh*, was by much the wisest and gravest of them all: But as all his performances that I have seen are flat and heavy, so he found it was an easier thing to raise a flame than to quench it. He studied to keep his party to him: Yet he found he could not moderate the heat of some fiery spirits: So when he saw he could follow them no more, but that they had got the people out of his hands, he sunk both in body and mind, and died soon after. The person next to him was *Douglas*, believed to be descended from the royal family tho' the wrong way: There appeared an air of greatness in him, that made all that saw him inclined enough to believe he was of no ordinary descent. He was a reserved man: He had the scriptures by heart to the exactness of a Jew; for he was as a concordance: He was too calm and too grave for the furious men, but yet he was much depended on for his prudence. I knew him in his old age; and saw plainly, he was a slave to his popularity, and durst not own the free thoughts he had of some things for fear of offending the people.

I will not run out in giving the characters of the other leading preachers among them, such as *Dickson*, *Blair*, *Rutherford*, *Baily*, *Cant*, and the two *Gillispy*s. They were men all of a sort: They affected great sublimities in devotion: They poured themselves out in their prayers with a loud voice, and often with many tears. They had but an ordinary proportion of learning among them; some thing of *Hebrew*, and very little *Greek*: Books of controversy with *Papists*, but above all with the *Armians*, was the height of their study. A way of preaching by doctrine, reason, and use was that they set up on: And some of them affected a strain of stating cases of conscience, not with relation to moral actions, but to some reflexions on their condition and temper: That was occasioned chiefly by their conceit of praying by the spirit, which every one could not attain to, or keep up to the same heat in at all times. The learning they recommended to their young divines were some *German* systemes, some commentators on the scripture, books of controversy, and practical books: They were so careful to ob-

Their studies, and other methods.

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lige them to make their round in these, that if they had no men of great learning among them, yet none were very ignorant: As if they had thought an equality in learning was necessary to keep up the parity of their Government. None could be suffered to preach as Expectants, (as they called them,) but after a tryal or two in private before the Ministers alone: Then two or three sermons were to be preached in publick, some more learnedly, some more practically: Then a head in divinity was to be common placed in *Latin*, and the person was to maintain *Theses* upon it: He was also to be tried in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and in scripture chronology. The questionnaire trial came last, every Minister asking such questions as he pleased. When any had pass'd thro' all these with approbation, which was done in a course of three or four months, he was allowed to preach when invited. And if he was presented or called to a Church, he was to pass thro' a new set of the same tryals. This made that there was a small circle of knowledge in which they were generally well instructed. True morality was little studied or esteemed by them: They took much pains among their people to maintain their authority: They affected all the ways of familiarity that were like to gain on them.

They forced all people to sign the covenant: And the greatest part of the Episcopal Clergy, among whom there were two Bishops, came to them, and renounced their former principles, and desired to be received into their body. At first they received all that offered themselves: But afterwards they repented of this: And the violent men among them were ever pressing the purging the Kirk, as they called it, that is the ejecting all the Episcopal Clergy. Then they took up the term of Maligants, by which all who differed from them were distinguished: But the strictness of piety and good life, which had gained them so much reputation before the war, began to wear off; and instead of that a fierceness of temper, and a copiousness of many long sermons, and much longer prayers, came to be the distinction of the party. This they carried even to the saying grace before and after meat some times to the length of a whole hour. But as every new war broke out, there was a visible abatement of even the outward shews of piety. Thus the war corrupted both sides. When the war broke out in *England*, the *Scots* had a great mind to go into it. The decayed nobility, the military men, and the Ministers, were violently set on it. They saw what good quarters they had in the north of *England*. And they hoped the umpirage of the war would fall into their hands. The division appearing so near an equality in *England*, they reckoned they would

Their great severity.

Conditions
offered to
the Scots.

would turn the scales, and so be courted of both sides: And they did not doubt to draw great advantages from it, both for the Nation in general, and themselves in particular. Duke *Hamilton* was trusted by the King with the management of his affairs in that Kingdom, and had powers to offer, but so secretly that if discovered it could not be proved, for fear of disgusting the *English*, that if they would engage in the King's side he would consent to the uniting *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmerland*, to *Scotland*; and that *Newcastle* should be the seat of the Government; that the Prince of *Wales* should hold his Court always among them; that every third year the King should go among them; and every office in the King's household should in the third turn be given to a *Scotchman*. This I found not among Duke *Hamilton's* papers: But the Earl of *Lauderdale* assured me of it, and that at the Isle of *Wight* they had all the engagements from the King that he could give. Duke *Hamilton* quickly saw, it was a vain imagination to hope that Kingdom could be brought to espouse the King's quarrel. The inclination ran strong the other way: All he hoped to succeed in was to keep them neuter for some time: And this he saw could not hold long: So after he had kept off their engaging with *England* all the year 1643, he and his friends saw it was in vain to struggle any longer. The course they all resolved on was, that the nobility should fall in heartily with the inclinations of the Nation to join with *England*, that so they might procure to themselves and their friends the chief commands in the army: And then, when they were in *England*, and that their army was as a distinct body separated from the rest of the Kingdom, it might be much easier to gain them to the King's service than it was at that time to work on the whole Nation.

Montrose's
undertakings.

This was not a very sincere way of proceeding: But it was intended for the King's service, and would probably have had the effect designed by it, if some accidents had not happened that changed the face of affairs, which are not rightly understood: And therefore I will open them clearly. The Earl of *Montrose* and a party of high Royalists were for entering into an open breach with the country in the beginning of the year 1643, but offered no probable methods of maintaining it; nor could they reckon themselves assured of any considerable party. They were full of undertakings: But when they were pressed to shew what concurrence might be depended on, nothing was offered but from the *Highlanders*: And on this wise men could not rely: So Duke *Hamilton* would not expose the King's affairs by such a desperate way of proceeding. Upon this they went to
Oxford,

Oxford, and filled all people there with complaints of the treachery of the *Hamiltons*; and they pretended they could have secured *Scotland*, if their propositions had been entertained. This was but too suitable to the King's own inclinations, and to the humour that was then prevailing at *Oxford*. So when the two *Hamiltons* came up, they were not admitted to speak to the King: And it was believed, if the younger brother had not made his escape, that both would have suffered; for when the Queen heard of his escape, she with great commotion said, *Abercorn* has missed a Dukedom; for that Earl was a Papist, and next to the two brothers. They could have demonstrated, if heard, that they were sure of above two parts in three of the officers of the army; and did not doubt to have engaged the army in the King's cause. But the failing in this was not all. The Earl then made Marquis of *Montrose* had powers given him such as he desired and was sent down with them: But he could do nothing till the end of the year. A great body of the *Macdonalds* commanded by one Col. *Killoch* came over from *Ireland* to recover *Kentire*, the best country of all the *Highlands*, out of which they had been driven by the *Argile* family, who had possessed their country about fifty years. The head of these was the Earl of *Antrim*, who had married the Duke of *Buckingham's* widow: And being a Papist, and having a great command in *Ulster*, was much relied on by the Queen. He was the main person in the first rebellion, and was the most engaged in blood-shed of any in the north: Yet he continued to correspond with the Queen to the great prejudice of the King's affairs. When the Marquis of *Montrose* heard they were in *Argileshire*, he went to them, and told them, if they would let him lead them he would carry them into the heart of the Kingdom, and procure them better quarters and good pay: So he led them into *Perthshire*. The *Scots* had at that time an army in *England*, and another in *Ireland*: Yet they did not think it necessary to call home any part of either, but despising the *Irish*, and the *Highlanders*, they raised a tumultuary army, and put it under the command of some Lords noted for want of courage, and of others who wished well to the other side. The Marquis of *Montrose's* men were desperate, and met with little resistance: So that small body of the Covenanters army was routed. And here the Marquis of *Montrose* got horses and ammunition, having but three horses before, and powder only for one charge. Then he became considerable: And he marched through the northern parts by *Aberdeen*. The Marquis of *Huntly* was in the King's interests; but would not join with him, tho' his sons did. Astro-

The characters of the chief of the covenanters.

faculty he consented: So a cane was hollowed, and this was put within it; and one *Frost*, afterwards secretary to the Committee of both Kingdoms, was sent down with it as a poor traveller. It was to be communicated only to three persons, the Earls of *Rothes* and *Argile*, and to *Waristoun*, the three chief confidants of the covenanters. The Earl of *Rothes* was a man of pleasure, but of a most obliging temper: His affairs were low: *Spotswood* had once made the bargain between the King and him before the troubles, but the Earl of *Traquair* broke it, seeing he was to be raised above himself. The Earl of *Rothes* had all the arts of making himself popular; only there was too much levity in his temper, and too much liberty in his course of life. The Earl of *Argile* was a more solemn sort of a man, grave and sober, free of all scandalous vices, of an invincible calmness of temper, and a pretender to high degrees of piety: He was much set on raising his own family to be a sort of King in the Highlands.

Waristoun was my own uncle: He was a man of great application, could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty four: He had studied the law carefully, and had a great quickness of thought with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthen'd devotions, in which he continued many hours a day: He would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during those effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the Covenant as the setting Christ on his throne, and so was out of measure zealous in it. He had no regard to the raising himself or his family, tho' he had thirteen children: But Presbytery was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking that made him very considerable in publick assemblies: And he had a fruitful invention; so that he was at all times furnished with expedients. To these three only this paper was to be shewed upon an oath of secrecy: And it was to be deposited in *Waristoun's* hands. They were only allowed to publish to the Nation, that they were sure of a very great and unexpected assistance, which tho' it was to be kept secret would appear in due time. This they published: And it was looked on as an artifice to draw in the Nation: But it was afterwards found to be a cheat indeed, but a cheat of Lord *Saville's* who had forged all these subscriptions.

The Scots came into England.

The Scots marched with a very sorry equipage: Every soldier carried a week's provision of oatmeal; and they had a drove of cattel with them for their food. They had also an inven-

invention of guns of white iron tinned and done about with leather, and chorded so that they could serve for two or three discharges. These were light, and were carried on horses: And when they came to *Newburn*, the *English* army that defended the *Ford* was surprized with a discharge of artillery: Some thought it magick; and all were put in such disorder that the whole army did run with so great precipitation, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had a command in it, did not stick to own that till he pass'd the *Tees* his legs trembled under him. This struck many of the enthusiasts of the King's side, as much as it exalted the *Scots*; who were next day possessed of *Newcastle*, and so were masters not only of *Northumberland* and the Bishoprick of *Durresme*, but of the coalries; by which, if they had not been in a good understanding with the City of *London*, they could have distressed them extremely: But all the use the City made of this was, to raise a great outcry, and to complain of the war, since it was now in the power of the *Scots* to starve them. Upon that petitions were sent from the City and from some Counties to the King, praying a treaty with the *Scots*. The Lord *Wharton* and the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick* undertook to deliver some of these; which they did, and were clapt up upon it. A council of war was held; and it was resolved on, as the Lord *Wharton* told me, to shoot them at the head of the army, as movers of sedition. This was chiefly press'd by the Earl of *Strafford*. Duke *Hamilton* spoke nothing till the Council rose; and then he asked *Strafford*, if he was sure of the army, who seemed surprized at the question: But he upon enquiry understood that very probably a general mutiny, if not a total revolt, would have followed, if any such execution had been attempted. This success of the *Scots* ruined the King's affairs. And by it the necessity of the union of the two Kingdoms may appear very evident: For nothing but a superiour army able to beat the *Scots* can hinder their doing this at any time: And the seising the coalries must immediately bring the City of *London* into great distress. Two armies were now in the north as a load on the King, besides all the other grievances. The Lord *Saville's* forgery came to be discovered. The King knew it; and yet he was brought afterwards to trust him, and to advance him to be Earl of *Suffex*. The King pressed my uncle to deliver him the letter, who excused himself upon his oath; and not knowing what use might be made of it, he cut out every subscription, and sent it to the person for whom it was forged. The imitation was so exact, that every man, as soon as he saw his hand simply by itself, acknowledged that he could not have denied it.

Great discontent in England.

logy ruined him: He believed the stars, and they deceived him: He said often, that neither the King, nor the *Hamiltons*, nor *Montrose* would prosper: He believed he should outlive them all, and escape at last; as it happened in conclusion, as to outliving the others. He was naturally a gallant man: But the stars had so subdued him, that he made a poor figure during the whole course of the wars.

Good ad-
vices given
to the King.

The Marquis of *Montrose's* success was very mischievous, and proved the ruin of the King's affairs: On which I should not have depended entirely, if I had had this only from the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who was indeed my first author: But it was fully confirmed to me by the Lord *Hollis*, who had gone in with great heat into the beginnings of the war: But he soon saw the ill consequences it already had, and the worse that were like to grow with the progress of it: He had in the beginning of the year forty three, when he was sent to *Oxford* with the propositions, taken great pains on all about the King to convince them of the necessity of their yielding in time; since the longer they stood out the conditions would be harder: And when he was sent by the Parliament in the end of the year forty four, with other propositions, he and *Whitlock* entered into secret conferences with the King, of which some account is given by *Whitlock* in his memoirs. They with other commissioners that were sent to *Oxford* possessed the King, and all that were in great credit with him, with this, that it was absolutely necessary the King should put an end to the war by a treaty: A new party of hot men was springing up, that were plainly for changing the Government: They were growing much in the army, but were yet far from carrying any thing in the house: They had gained much strength this summer: And they might make a great progress by the accidents that another year might produce: They confessed there were many things hard to be digested, that must be done in order to a peace: They asked things that were unreasonable: But they were forced to consent to those demands: Otherwise they would have lost their credit with the City and the people, who could not be satisfied without a very entire security, and a full satisfaction: But the extremity to which matters might be carried otherwise made it necessary to come to a peace on any terms whatsoever; since no terms could be so bad as the continuance of the war: The King must trust them, tho' they were not at that time disposed to trust him so much as it were to be wished: They said farther, that if a peace should follow, it would be a much easier thing to get any hard laws now moved for to be repealed, than

than it was now to hinder their being insisted on. With these things *Hollis* told me that the King and many of his counsellours, who saw how his affairs declined, and with what difficulty they could hope to continue the war another year, were satisfied. The King more particularly began to feel the influence of the military men, and of those who were daily reproaching him with their services; so that they were become as uneasy to him as those of *Westminster* had been formerly. But some came in the interval from Lord *Montrose* with such an account of what he had done, of the strength he had, and of his hopes next summer, that the King was by that prevailed on to believe his affairs would mend, and that he might afterwards treat on better terms. This unhappily wrought so far, that the limitations he put on those he sent to treat at *Uxbridge* made the whole design miscarry. That raised the spirits of those that were already but too much exasperated. The Marquis of *Montrose* made a great progress the next year: But he laid no lasting foundation, for he did not make himself master of the strong places or passes of the Kingdom. After his last and greatest victory at *Kilsyth* he was lifted up out of measure. The *Macdonalds* were every where fierce masters, and ravenous plunderers: And the other *Highlanders*, who did not such military executions, yet were good at robbing: And when they had got as much as they could carry home on their backs, they deserted. The *Macdonalds* also left him to go and execute their revenge on the *Argile's* country. The Marquis of *Montrose* thought he was now master, but had no scheme how to fix his conquests: He wasted the estates of his enemies, chiefly the *Hamiltons*; and went towards the borders of *England*, tho' he had but a small force left about him: But he thought his name carried terrour with it. So he writ to the King that he had gone over the land from *Dan* to *Beersheba*: He prayed the King to come down in these words, *come thou, and take the City, lest I take it, and it be called by my name.* This letter was writ, but never sent; for he was routed, and his papers taken, before he had dispatched the courier. When his papers were taken, many letters of the King, and of others at *Oxford*, were found, as the Earl of *Crawford*, one appointed to read them, told me; which increased the dis gusts: But these were not published. Upon this occasion many prisoners that had quarters given them were murdered in cold blood: And as they sent them to some towns that had been ill used by Lord *Montrose's* army, the people in revenge fell on them and knock'd them on the head. Several persons of quality were condemned for being with them: And they were proceeded

proceeded against both with severity and with indignities. The preachers thundred in their pulpits against all that did the work of the Lord deceitfully; and cried out against all that were for moderate proceedings, as guilty of the blood that had been shed. *Thine eye shall not pity, and thou shalt not spare*, were often inculcated after every execution: They triumphed with so little decency, that it gave all people very ill impressions of them. But this was not the worst effect of Lord *Montrose's* expedition. It lost the opportunity at *Uxbridge*: It alienated the *Scots* much from the King: It exalted all that were enemies to peace. Now they seemed to have some colour for all those aspersions they had cast on the King, as if he had been in a correspondence with the *Irish* rebels, when the worst tribe of them had been thus employed by him. His affairs declined totally in *England* that summer: And Lord *Hollis* said to me, all was owing to Lord *Montrose's* unhappy successes.

Antrim's
correspon-
dence with
the King and
Queen.

Upon this occasion I will relate somewhat concerning the Earl of *Antrim*. I had in my hand several of his letters to the King in the year 1646, writ in a very confident style. One was somewhat particular: He in a postscript desired the King to send the inclosed to the good woman, without making any excuse for the presumption; by which, as follows in the postscript, he meant his wife, the Duchess of *Buckingham*. This made me more easy to believe a story that the Earl of *Essex* told me he had from the Earl of *Northumberland*: Upon the Restoration, in the year 1660, Lord *Antrim* was thought guilty of so much bloodshed, that it was taken for granted he could not be included in the indemnity that was to pass in *Ireland*: Upon this he (Lord *Antrim*) seeing the Duke of *Ormond* set against him, came over to *London*, and was lodged at *Somerset-House*: And it was believed, that having no children he settled his estate on *Jermyn* then Earl of *St. Albans*: But before he came away, he had made a prior settlement in favour of his brother. He petitioned the King to order a Committee of Council to examine the warrants that he had acted upon. The Earl of *Clarendon* was for rejecting the petition, as containing a high indignity to the memory of King *Charles* the first: And said plainly at Council table, that if any person had pretended to affirm such a thing while they were at *Oxford*, he would either have been severely punished for it, or the King would soon have had a very thin Court. But it seemed just to see what he had to say for himself: So a committee was named, of which the Earl of *Northumberland* was the chief. He produced to them some of the King's letters: But they did not come up to a full proof. In one of them the
King

King wrote, that he had not then leisure, but referred himself to the Queen's letter; and said, that was all one as if he writ himself. Upon this foundation he produced a series of letters writ by himself to the Queen, in which he gave her an account of every one of these particulars that were laid to his charge, and shewed the grounds he went on, and desired her directions to every one of these: He had answers ordering him to do as he did. This the Queen-mother espoused with great zeal; and said, she was bound in honour to save him. I saw a great deal of that management, for I was then at Court. But it was generally believed, that this train of letters was made up at that time in a collusion between the Queen and him: So a report was prepared to be signed by the Committee, setting forth that he had so fully justified himself in every thing that had been objected to him, that he ought not to be excepted out of the indemnity. This was brought first to the Earl of *Northumberland* to be signed by him: But he refused it; and said, he was sorry he had produced such warrants, but he did not think they could serve his turn; for he did not believe any warrant from the King or Queen could justify so much bloodshed, in so many black instances as were laid against him. Upon his refusal the rest of the Committee did not think fit to sign the report: So it was let fall: And the King was prevailed on to write to the Duke of *Ormond*, telling him that he had so vindicated himself, that he must endeavour to get him to be included in the indemnity. That was done; and was no small reproach to the King, that did thus sacrifice his father's honour to his mother's importunity. Upon this the Earl of *Effex* told me, that he had taken all the pains he could to enquire into the original of the *Irish* massacre, but could never see any reason to believe the King had any accession to it. He did indeed believe that the Queen hearkened to the propositions made by the *Irish*, who undertook to take the Government of *Ireland* into their hands, which they thought they could easily perform: And then, they said, they, would assist the King to subdue the hot spirits at *Westminster*. With this the plot of the insurrection began: And all the *Irish* believed the Queen encouraged it. But in the first design there was no thought of a massacre: That came in head as they were laying the methods of executing it: So, as those were managed by the Priests, they were the chief men that set on the *Irish* to all the blood and cruelty that followed.

The original of the *Irish* massacre.

I know nothing in particular of the sequel of the war, nor of all the confusions that happened till the murder of King *Charles* the first: Only one passage I had from Lieutenant General *Drum-*

M

mond,

Cromwell argues with the Scots concerning the King's death.

mond, afterwards Lord *Strathallan*. He served on the King's side: But he had many friends among those who were for the Covenant: So the King's affairs being now ruined, he was recommended to *Cromwell* being then in a treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassadour, who was negotiating for some regiments to be levied and sent over from *Scotland* to *Flanders*: He happened to be with *Cromwell* when the commissioners sent from *Scotland* to protest against the putting the King to death came to argue the matter with him. *Cromwell* bade *Drumond* stay and hear their conference, which he did. They began in a heavy languid style to lay indeed great load on the King: But they still insisted on that clause in the Covenant, by which they swore they would be faithful in the preservation of his Majesty's person: With this they shewed upon what terms *Scotland*, as well as the two Houses, had engaged in the war; and what solemn declarations of their zeal and duty to the King they all along published; which would now appear, to the scandal and reproach of the christian name, to have been false pretences, if when the King was in their power they should proceed to extremities. Upon this *Cromwell* entered into a long discourse of the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of *Mariana* and *Buchanan*: He thought a breach of trust in a King ought to be punished more than any other crime whatsoever: He said as to their Covenant, they swore to the preservation of the King's person in defence of the true religion: If then it appeared that the settlement of the true religion was obstructed by the King, so that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preserving him any longer. He said also, their Covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause, to condign punishment: And was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom publick justice had been done, especially those who suffered for joining with *Montrose*, but small offenders acting by commission from the King, who was therefore the principal, and so the most guilty? *Drumond* said, *Cromwell* had plainly the better of them at their own weapon, and upon their own principles. At this time presbytery was in its height at *Scotland*.

The opposition of the General Assembly to the Parliament.

In summer 1648, when the Parliament declared they would engage to rescue the King from his imprisonment, and the Parliament of *England* from the force it was put under by the army, the Nobility went into the design, all except six or eight. The King had signed an engagement to make good his offers to the Nation of the northern counties, with the other conditions

tions formerly mentioned: And particular favours were promised to every one that concurred in it. The Marquis of *Argile* gave it out that the *Hamiltons*, let them pretend what they would, had no sincere intentions to their cause, but had engaged to serve the King on his own terms: He filled the preachers with such jealousies of this, that tho' all the demands that they made for the security of their cause, and in declaring the grounds of the war, were complied with, yet they could not be satisfied, but still said the *Hamiltons* were in a confederacy with the malignants in *England*, and did not intend to stand to what they promised. The General Assembly declared against it, as an unlawful confederacy with the enemies of God; and called it the Unlawful Engagement, which came to be the name commonly given to it in all their pulpits. They every where preached against it, and opposed the levies all they could by solemn denunciations of the wrath and curse of God on all concerned in them. This was a strange piece of opposition to the state, little inferiour to what was pretended to, and put in practice by the Church of *Rome*.

The south-west counties of *Scotland* have seldom corn enough to serve them round the year: And the northern parts producing more than they need, those in the west come in the summer to buy at *Lieth* the stores that come from the north: And from a word *Whiggam*, used in driving their horses all that drove were called the *Whiggamors*, and shorter the *Whiggs*. Now in that year, after the news came down of Duke *Hamilton's* defeat, the Ministers animated their people to rise, and march to *Edenburgh*: And they came up marching on the head of their parishes, with an unheard-of fury, praying and preaching all the way as they came. The Marquis of *Argile* and his party came and headed them, they being about 6000. This was called the *Whiggamor's* inroad: And ever after that all that opposed the Court came in contempt to be called *Whiggs*: And from *Scotland* the word was brought into *England*, where it is now one of our unhappy terms of distinction.

The Ministers made an insurrection.

The Committee of their estates, with the force they had in their hands, could easily have dissipated this undisciplin'd herd. But they knowing their own weakness sent to *Cromwell* desiring his assistance. Upon that the Committee saw they could not stand before him: So they came to a treaty, and delivered up the Government to this new body. Upon their assuming it, they declared all who had served or assisted in the engagement incapable of any employment, till they had first satisfied the Kirk of the truth of their repentance, and made publick professions of it.

it. All Churches were upon that full of mock penitents, some making their acknowledgments all in tears to gain more credit with the new party. The Earl of *Lowdun*, that was Chancellor, had entred into solemn promises both to the King and the *Hamiltons*: But when he came to *Scotland*, his wife, a high covenant, and an heiress by whom he had both honour and estate, threatned him, if he went on that way, with a process of adultery, in which she could have had very copious proofs: He durst not stand this, and so compounded the matter by the deserting his friends, and turning over to the other side: Of which he made publick profession in the Church of *Edenburgh* with many tears, confessing his weakness in yielding to the temptation of what had a shew of honour and loyalty, for which he expressed a hearty sorrow. Those that came in early with great shews of compunction got easier off: But those who stood out long found it a harder matter to make their peace. *Cromwell* came down to *Scotland*, and saw the new model fully settled.

The treaty
in the Isle of
Wight.

During his absence from the scene, the treaty of the isle of *Wight* was set on foot by the Parliament, who seeing the army at such a distance took this occasion of treating with the King. Sir *Henry Vane*, and others who were for a change of Government, had no mind to treat any more. But both city and country were so desirous of a personal treaty, that it could not be resisted. *Vane*, *Pierpoint*, and some others went to the treaty on purpose to delay matters till the army could be brought up to *London*. All that wish'd well to the treaty prayed the King at their first coming to dispatch the business with all possible haste, and to grant the first day all that he could bring himself to grant on the last. *Hollis* and *Grimstone* told me, they had both on their knees begged this of the King. They said, they knew *Vane* would study to draw out the treaty to a great length: And he, who declared for an unbounded liberty of conscience, would try to gain on the King's party by the offer of a toleration for the common prayer and the episcopal clergy. His design in that was to gain time, till *Cromwell* should settle *Scotland* and the north. But they said, if the King would frankly come in without the formality of papers backward and forward, and send them back next day with the concessions that were absolutely necessary, they did not doubt but he should in a very few days be brought up with honour freedom and safety to the Parliament, and that matters should be brought to a present settlement. *Titus*, who was then much trusted by the King, and employed in a negotiation with the presbyterian party, told me he had

spoke

spoke often and earnestly to him in the same strain: But the King could not come to a resolution: And he still fancied, that in the struggle between the House of Commons and the Army both saw they needed him so much to give them the superiour strength, that he imagined by balancing them he would bring both sides into a greater dependence on himself, and force them to better terms. In this *Vane* flattered the episcopal party, to the King's ruin as well as their own. But they still hated the Presbyterians as the first authors of the war; and seemed unwilling to think well of them, or to be beholding to them. Thus the treaty went on with a fatal slowness: And by the time it was come to some maturity, *Cromwell* came up with his army and overturned all.

Upon this I will set down what Sir *Harbottle Grimston* told me a few weeks before his death: Whether it was done at this time or the year before I cannot tell: I rather believe the latter. When the House of Commons and the Army were quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. *Cromwell* upon that said, he was sure of the Army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the Army only could do that. Two officers that were present brought an account of this to *Grimston*, who carried them with him to the Lobby of the House of Commons, they being resolved to justify it to the House. There was another debate then on foot: But *Grimston* diverted it, and said, he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before them: It was about the being and freedom of the House. So he charged *Cromwell* with the design of putting a force on the House: He had his witnesses at the door, and desired they might be examined: They were brought to the barr, and justified all that they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had pass'd at their meetings. When they withdrew, *Cromwell* fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the service of the house: He submitted himself to the providence of God, who it seems thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander, but he committed his cause to him: This he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this strange and bold preamble he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to *Egypt*, that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that had it been moved *Grimston* thought that both he and

Cromwell's
diffimula-
tion.

they would have been sent to the *Tower*. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: And there was no strength in the other side to carry it farther. To compleat the scene, as soon as ever *Cromwell* got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the House.

I had much discourse on this head with one who knew *Cromwell* well and all that set of men; and asked him how they could excuse all the prevarications, and other ill things of which they were visibly guilty in the conduct of their affairs. He told me, they believed there were great occasions in which some men were called to great services, in the doing of which they were excused from the common rules of morality: Such were the practices of *Ehud* and *Jael*, *Samson* and *David*: And by this they fancied they had a privilege from observing the standing rules. It is very obvious how far this principle may be carried, and how all justice and mercy may be laid aside on this pretence by every bold enthusiast. *Ludlow* in his memoirs justifies this force put on the Parliament, as much as he condemns the force that *Cromwell* and the Army afterwards put on the House: And he seems to lay this down for a maxim, that the military power ought always to be subject to the civil: And yet, without any sort of resentment for what he had done, he owns the share he had in the force put on the Parliament at this time. The plain reconciling of this is, that he thought when the Army judged the Parliament was in the wrong they might use violence, but not otherwise: Which gives the Army a superiour authority, and an inspection into the proceedings of the Parliament. This shews how impossible it is to set up a Commonwealth in *England*: For that cannot be brought about but by a military force: And they will ever keep the Parliament in subjection to them, and so keep up their own authority.

The men chiefly engaged in the taking the King's life.

I will leave all that relates to the King's trial and death to common historians, knowing nothing that is particular of that great transaction, which was certainly one of the most amazing scenes in history. *Ireton* was the person that drove it on: For *Cromwell* was all the while in some suspense about it. *Ireton* had the principles and the temper of a *Cassius* in him: He stuck at nothing that might have turned *England* to a Commonwealth: And he found out *Cook* and *Bradshaw*, two bold lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it. *Fairfax* was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes often every day. The Presbyterians

terians and the body of the City were much against it, and were every where fasting and praying for the King's preservation. There was not above 8000 of the Army about the town: But these were selected out of the whole Army, as the most engaged in enthusiasm: And they were kept at prayer in their way almost day and night, except when they were upon duty: So that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury, that struck a terrour into all people. On the other hand the King's party was without spirit: And, as many of themselves have said to me, they could never believe his death was really intended till it was too late. They thought all was a pageantry to strike a terrour, and to force the King to such concessions as they had a mind to extort from him.

The King himself shewed a calm and a composed firmness, which amazed all people; and that so much the more, because it was not natural to him. It was imputed to a very extraordinary measure of supernatural assistance. Bishop *Juxon* did the duty of his function honestly, but with a dry coldness that could not raise the King's thoughts: So that it was owing wholly to somewhat within himself that he went thro' so many indignities with so much true greatness, without disorder or any sort of affectation. Thus he died greater than he had lived; and shewed, that which has been often observed of the whole race of the *Stewards*, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity. His reign both in peace and war was a continual series of errors: So that it does not appear that he had a true judgment of things. He was out of measure set on following his humour, but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the Queen. He had too high a notion of the regal power, and thought that every opposition to it was rebellion. He minded little things too much, and was more concerned in the drawing of a paper than in fighting a battel. He had a firm aversion to Popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between Protestants and Papists, by which he lost the one without gaining the other. His engaging the Duke of *Rohan* in the war of *Rochelle*, and then assisting him so poorly, and forsaking him at last, gave an ill character of him to all the Protestants abroad. The Earl of *Lauderdale* told me, the Duke of *Rohan* was at *Geneva*, where he himself was, when he received a very long letter or rather a little book from my father, which gave him a copious account of the beginning of the troubles in *Scotland*: He translated it to the Duke of *Rohan*, who expressed a vehement indignation at the Court of *England* for their usage of him: Of which this was the account he then gave.

The King's
behaviour.

The

The affair
of Rochelle.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had a secret conversation with the Queen of *France*, of which the Queen-mother was very jealous, and possessed the King with such a sense of it, that he was ordered immediately to leave the Court. Upon his return to *England* under this affront he possessed the King with such a hatred of that Court, that the Queen was ill used on her coming over, and all her servants were sent back. He told him also that the Protestants were so ill used, and so strong, that if he would protect them they would involve that Kingdom in new wars; which he represented as so glorious a beginning of his reign, that the King without weighing the consequence of it sent one to treat with the Duke of *Roban* about it. Great assistance was promised by sea: So a war was resolved on, in which the share that our Court had is well enough known. But the infamous part was, that *Richlieu* got the King of *France* to make his Queen write an obliging letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, assuring him that, if he would let *Rochelle* fall without assisting it, he should have leave to come over, and should settle the whole matter of the religion according to their edicts. This was a strange proceeding: But *Cardinal Richlieu* could turn that weak King as he pleased. Upon this the Duke made that shameful campaign of the isle of *Rhe*. But finding next winter that he was not to be suffered to go over into *France*, and that he was abused into a false hope, he resolved to have followed that matter with more vigour, when he was stabbed by *Felton*.

A design of
making the
Spanish Ne-
therlands a
Common-
wealth.

There is another story told of the King's conduct during the peaceable part of his reign, which I had from *Halewyn* of *Dort*, who was one of the judges in the Court of *Holland*, and was the wisest and greatest man I knew among them. He told me, he had it from his father, who being then the chief man of *Dort* was of the States, and had the secret communicated to him. When *Isabella Clara Eugenia* grew old, and began to decline, a great many of her council, apprehending what miseries they would fall under when they should be again in the hands of the *Spaniards*, formed a design of making themselves a free Commonwealth, that, in imitation of the union among the Cantons of *Switzerland* that were of both religions, there should be a perpetual confederacy between them and the States of the seven provinces. This they communicated to *Henry Frederick* Prince of *Orange*, and to some of the States, who approved of it, but thought it necessary to engage the King of *England* in it. The Prince of *Orange* told the *English* Embassadour, that there was a matter of great consequence that was fit to be laid before the King; but it was of such a nature, and such persons were concerned

concerned in it, that it could not be communicated unless the King would be pleased to promise absolute secrecy for the present. This the King did: And then the Prince of *Orange* sent him the whole scheme. The secret was ill kept: Either the King trusted it to some who discovered it, or the paper was stolen from him; for it was sent over to the Court of *Bruxells*: One of the Ministry lost his head for it: And some took the alarm so quickly that they got to *Holland* out of danger. After this the Prince of *Orange* had no commerce with our Court, and often lamented that so great a design was so unhappily lost. He had as ill an opinion of the King's conduct of the war; for when the Queen came over, and brought some of the generals with her, the Prince said, after he had talked with them, (as the late King told me,) he did not wonder to see the affairs of *England* decline as they did, since he had talked with the King's generals.

I will not enter farther into the military part: For I remember an advice of Marshall *Scomberg's*, never to meddle in the relation of military matters. He said, some affected to relate those affairs in all the terms of war, in which they committed great errors that exposed them to the scorn of all commanders, who must despise relations that pretend to an exactness when there were blunders in every part of them.

In the King's death the ill effect of extreme violent counsels discovered itself. *Ireton* hoped that by this all men concerned in it would become irreconcilable to monarchy, and would act as desperate men, and destroy all that might revenge that blood. But this had a very different effect. Something of the same nature had happened in lower instances before: But they were not the wiser for it. The Earl of *Strafford's* death made all his former errors be forgot: It raised his character, and cast a lasting odium on that way of proceeding; whereas he had sunk in his credit by any censure lower than death, and had been little pitied, if not thought justly punished. The like effect followed upon Archbishop *Laud's* death. He was a learned, a sincere and zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in his private deportment; but was a hot, indiscreet man, eagerly pursuing some matters that were either very inconsiderable or mischievous, such as setting the communion table by the east walls of churches, bowing to it, and calling it the Altar, the suppressing the *Walloons* privileges, the breaking of lectures, the encouraging of sports on the Lord's day, with some other things that were of no value: And yet all the zeal and heat of that time was laid out on these. His severity in the Star-chamber and

The ill effects of violent counsels.

in the High-Commission-Court, but above all his violent and indeed inexcusable injustice in the prosecution of Bishop *Williams*, were such visible blemishes, that nothing but the putting him to death in so unjust a manner could have raised his character; which indeed it did to a degree of setting him up as a pattern, and the establishing all his notions as standards, by which judgments are to be made of men whether they are true to the church or not. His diary, tho' it was a base thing to publish it, represents him as an abject fawner on the Duke of *Buckingham*, and as a superstitious regarder of dreams: His defence of himself, writ with so much care when he was in the *Tower*, is a very mean performance. He intended in that to make an appeal to the world. In most particulars he excuses himself by this, that he was but one of many, who either in Council, Star-chamber, or High-Commission voted illegal things. Now tho' this was true, yet a chief Minister, and one in high favour, determines the rest so much, that they are generally little better than machines acted by him. On other occasions he says, the thing was proved but by one witness. Now, how strong soever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for if a thing is true, it is no matter how full or how defective the proof is. The thing that gave me the strongest prejudice against him in that book is, that after he had seen the ill effects of his violent counsels, and had been so long shut up, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had pass'd in the hurry of passion in the exaltation of his prosperity, he does not in any one part of that great work acknowledge his own errors, nor mix in it any wise or pious reflections on the ill usage he met with or the unhappy steps he had made: So that while his enemies did really magnify him by their inhuman prosecution, his friends *Heylin* and *Wharton* have as much lessened him, the one by writing his life, and the other by publishing his vindication of himself.

The account
of *Εἰκὼν Βα-
σιλική*.

But the recoiling of cruel counsels on the authors of them never appeared more eminently than in the death of King *Charles* the first, whose serious and christian deportment in it made all his former errors be entirely forgot, and raised a compassionate regard to him, that drew a lasting hatred on the actors, and was the true occasion of the great turn of the nation in the year 1660. This was much heightened by the publishing of his book called *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, which was universally believed to be his own: And that coming out soon after his death had the greatest run in many impressions that any book has had in our age. There was in it a nobleness and justness of thought with a great-

ness

ness of style, that made it to be look'd on as the best writ book in the *English* language: And the piety of the prayers made all people cry out against the murder of a Prince, who thought so seriously of all his affairs in his secret meditations before God. I was bred up with a high veneration of this book: And I remember that, when I heard how some denied it to be his, I asked the Earl of *Lothian* about it, who both knew the King very well and loved him little: He seemed confident it was his own work; for he said, he had heard him say a great many of those very periods that he found in that book. Being thus confirmed in that persuasion, I was not a little surpris'd, when in the year 1673, in which I had a great share of favour and free conversation with the then Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James* the second, as he suffered me to talk very freely to him about matters of religion, and as I was urging him with somewhat out of his father's book, he told me that book was not of his father's writing, and that the letter to the Prince of *Wales* was never brought to him. He said, Dr. *Gawden* writ it: After the restoration he brought the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Southampton* both to the King and to himself, who affirmed that they knew it was his writing; and that it was carried down by the Earl of *Southampton*, and shewed the King during the treaty of *Newport*, who read it, and approved of it as containing his sense of things. Upon this he told me, that tho' *Sheldon* and the other Bishops oppos'd *Gawden's* promotion because he had taken the Covenant, yet the merits of that service carried it for him notwithstanding the opposition made to it. There has been a great deal of disputing about this book: Some are so zealous for maintaining it to be the King's, that they think a man false to the Church that doubts it to be his: Yet the evidence since that time brought to the contrary has been so strong, that I must leave that under the same uncertainty under which I found it: Only this is certain, that *Gawden* never writ any thing with that force, his other writings being such, that no man from a likeness of style would think him capable of writing so extraordinary a book as that is.

Upon the King's death the *Scots* proclaimed his son King, and sent over Sir *George Wincom*, that married my great aunt, to treat with him while he was in the isle of *Jersey*. The King entred into a negotiation with them, and sent him back with general assurances of consenting to every reasonable proposition that they should send him. He named the *Hague* for the place of treaty, he being to go thither in a few days. So the *Scots* sent over commissioners, the chief of whom were the Earls of *Cassiles*

The *Scots*
treat with
King *Charles*
the second.

Cassiles and *Lothian*, the former of these was my first wife's father, a man of great vertue and of a considerable degree of good understanding: He was so sincere, that he would suffer no man to take his words in any other sense than as he meant them: He adhered firmly to his instructions, but with so much candour, that King *Charles* retained very kind impressions of it to his life's end. The man then in the greatest favour with the King was the Duke of *Buckingham*: He was wholly turned to mirth and pleasure: He had the art of turning persons or things into ridicule beyond any man of the age: He possessed the young King with very ill principles both as to religion and morality, and with a very mean opinion of his father, whose stiffness was with him a frequent subject of raillery. He prevailed with the King to enter into a treaty with the *Scots*, tho' that was vehemently opposed by almost all the rest that were about him, who pressed him to adhere steddily to his father's maxims and example.

Montrose's
offers.

When the King came to the *Hague*, *William* Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who had left *Scotland*, entred into a great measure of favour and confidence with him. The Marquis of *Montrose* came likewise to him, and undertook if he would follow his counsels to restore him to his Kingdoms by main force: But when the King desired the Prince of *Orange* to examine the methods which he proposed, he entertained him with a recital of his own performances and of the credit he was in among the people; and said, the whole nation would rise if he went over, tho' accompanied only with a page. He desired of the King nothing but power to act in his name, with a supply in money, and a letter recommending him to the King of *Denmark* for a ship to carry him over, and for such arms as he could spare. With that the King gave him the Garter. He got first to *Orkney*, and from thence into the Highlands of *Scotland*; but could perform nothing of what he had undertaken. At last he was betrayed by one of those to whom he trusted himself, *Mackland* of *Affin*, and was brought over a prisoner to *Edenburgh*. He was carried thro' the streets with all the infamy that brutal men could contrive: And in a few days he was hanged on a very high gibbet: And his head and quarters were set up in divers places of the Kingdom. His behaviour under all that barbarous usage was as great and firm to the last, looking on all that was done to him with a noble scorn, as the fury of his enemies was black and universally detested. This cruelty raised a horroir in all sober people against those who could insult over such a man in misfortunes. The triumphs that the
preachers

preachers made on this occasion rendered them odious, and made Lord *Montrose* to be both more pitied and lamented, than otherwise he could have been. This happened while the *Scots* commissioners were treating with the King at the *Hague*. The violent party in *Scotland* were for breaking off the treaty upon it, tho' by the date of Lord *Montrose's* commission it appeared to have been granted before the treaty was begun: But it was carried not to recall their commissioners: Nor could the King on the other hand be prevailed on by his own Court to send them away upon this cruelty to a man who had acted by his commission, and yet was so used. The treaty was quickly concluded: The King was in no condition to struggle with them, but yielded to all their demands, of taking the Covenant, and suffering none to be about him but such as took it. He sailed home to *Scotland* in some *Dutch* men of war with which the Prince of *Orange* furnished him, with all the stock of money and arms that his credit could raise. That indeed would not have been very great, if the Prince of *Orange* had not joined his own to it. The Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale* were suffered to go home with him: But soon after his landing an order came to put them from him. The King complained of this: But Duke *Hamilton* at parting told him, he must prepare for things of a harder digestion: He said, at present he could do him no service: The Marquis of *Argile* was then in absolute credit: Therefore he desired that he would study to gain him, and give him no cause of jealousy on his account. This King *Charles* told me himself, as a part of Duke *Hamilton's* character. The Duke of *Buckingham* took all the ways possible to gain Lord *Argile* and the Ministers: Only his dissolute course of life was excessive scandalous; which to their great reproach they connived at, because he advised the King to put himself wholly into their hands. The King wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could: He heard many prayers and sermons, some of a great length. I remember in one fast day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there my self, and not a little weary of so tedious a service. The King was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on sundays: And if at any time there had been any gaiety at Court, such as dancing or playing at cards, he was severely reprov'd for it. This was managed with so much rigour, and so little discretion, that it contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all sort of strictness in religion. All that had acted on his father's side were ordered to keep at a great distance from him: And because the common people shewed some affection to the King, the

crouds that press'd to see him were also kept off from coming about him. *Cromwell* was not idle: But seeing the *Scots* were calling home their King, and knowing that from thence he might expect an invasion into *England*, he resolved to prevent them, and so marched into *Scotland* with his army. The *Scots* brought together a very good army: The King was suffered to come once to see it, but not to stay in it; for they were afraid he might gain too much upon the souldiers: So he was sent away.

The defeat
at *Dunbar*.

The army was indeed one of the best that ever *Scotland* had brought together: But it was ill commanded: For all that had made defection from their cause, or that were thought indifferent as to either side, which they called detestable neutrality, were put out of commission. The preachers thought it an army of saints, and seemed well assured of success. They drew near *Cromwell*, who being pressed by them retired towards *Dunbar*, where his ships and provisions lay. The *Scots* followed him, and were posted on a hill about a mile from thence, where there was no attacking them. *Cromwell* was then in great distress, and looked on himself as undone. There was no marching towards *Berwick*, the ground was too narrow: Nor could he come back into the country without being separated from his ships, and starving his army. The least evil seemed to be to kill his horses, and put his army on board, and sail back to *Newcastle*; which, in the disposition that *England* was in at that time, would have been all their destruction, for it would have occasioned an universal insurrection for the King. They had not above three days forage for their horses. So *Cromwell* called his officers to a day of seeking the Lord, in their style. He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards: He said, he felt such an enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After prayer they walked in the Earl of *Roxburgh's* gardens that lay under the hill: And by prospective glasses they discerned a great motion in the *Scottish* Camp: Upon which *Cromwell* said, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us. *Lesley* was in the chief command: But he had a committee of the States to give him his orders, among whom *Waristoun* was one. These were weary of lying in the fields, and thought that *Lesley* made not haste enough to destroy those Sectaries; for so they came to call them. He told them, by lying there all was sure; but that by engaging in action with gallant and desperate men all might be lost: Yet they still called on him to fall on. Many have thought that all this was treachery done on design to deliver up our army to

Cromwell.

Cromwell; some laying it upon *Lesley*, and others upon my uncle. I am persuaded there was no treachery in it: Only *Waristoun* was too hot, and *Lesley* was too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he ought not to have done. They were all the night employed in coming down the hill: And in the morning, before they were put in order, *Cromwell* fell upon them. Two regiments stood their ground, and were almost all killed in their ranks: The rest did run in a most shameful manner: So that both their artillery and baggage were lost, and with these a great many prisoners were taken, some thousands in all. *Cromwell* upon this advanced to *Edenburgh*, where he was received without any opposition: And the castle that might have made a long resistance did capitulate. So all the southern part of *Scotland* came under contribution to *Cromwell*. *Sterlin* was the advanced garrison on the King's side. He himself retired to *St. Johnston*. A Parliament was called that sat for some time at *Sterlin*, and for some time at *St. Johnston*, in which a full indemnity was pass'd, not in the language of a pardon but of an act of approbation: Only all that joined with *Cromwell* were declared traitors. But now the way of raising a new army was to be thought on.

A question had been proposed both to the committee of States and to the commissioners of the Kirk, whether in this extremity those who had made defection, or had been hitherto too backward in the work, might not upon the profession of their repentance be received into publick trust, and admitted to serve in the defence of their country. To this answers were distinctly given by two resolutions: The one was, that they ought to be admitted to make profession of their repentance: And the other was, that after such professions made they might be received to defend and serve their country.

Disputes about the admitting of all persons to serve their country.

Upon this a great division followed in the Kirk: Those who adhered to these resolutions were called the Publick Resolutioners: But against these some of those bodies protested, and they, together with those who adhered to them, were called the Protestors. On the one hand it was said, that every government might call out all that were under its protection to its defence: This seemed founded on the law of nature and of nations: And, if men had been misled, it was a strange cruelty to deny room for repentance: This was contrary to the nature of God and to the Gospel, and was a likely mean to drive them to despair: Therefore after two years time it seemed reasonable to allow them to serve according to their birthright in Parliament, or in other hereditary offices, or in the army; from all which they had been

been excluded by an act made in the year 1649, which ranged them in different classes, and was from thence called the act of classes. But the Protestors objected against all this, that to take in men of known enmity to the cause was a sort of betraying it, because it was the putting it in their power to betray it; that to admit them into a profession of repentance was a profanation, and a mocking of God: It was visible, they were willing to comply with these terms, tho' against their conscience, only to get into the army: Nor could they expect a blessing from God on an army so constituted. And as to this particular they had great advantage; for this mock penitence was indeed a matter of great scandal. When these resolutions were pass'd with this protestation, a great many of the five western counties, *Cliddisdale*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Galloway* and *Nithisdale*, met, and formed an association apart, both against the army of Sectaries, and against this new defection in the Kirk party. They drew a remonstrance against all the proceedings in the treaty with the King, when, as they said, it was visible by the commission he granted to *Montrose* that his heart was not sincere: And they were also against the tendring him the Covenant, when they had reason to believe he took it not with a resolution to maintain it, since his whole deportment and private conversation shewed a secret enmity to the work of God: And, after an inviduous enumeration of many particulars, they imputed the shameful defeat at *Dunbar* to their prevaricating in these things; and concluded with a desire, that the King might be excluded from any share in the administration of the Government, and that his cause might be put out of the state of the quarrel with the army of the Sectaries. This was brought to the committee of the States at *St. Johnstoun*, and was severely inveighed against by *Sir Thomas Nicholson*, the King's advocate or attorney general there, who had been till then a zealous man of their party: But he had lately married my sister, and my father had great influence on him. He prevailed so, that the remonstrance was condemned as divisive, factious, and scandalous: But that the people might not be too much moved with these things, a declaration was prepared to be set out by the King for the satisfying of them. In it there were many hard things. The King owned the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family: He acknowledged the bloodshed in the late wars lay at his father's door: He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and the prejudices he had drunk in against the cause of God, of which he was now very sensible: He confessed all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the work of God:

Great hardships put on the King.

God: He repented of his commission to *Montrose*, and of every thing he had done that gave offence: And with solemn protestations he affirmed, that he was now sincere in his declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his life in *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*.

The King was very uneasy when this was brought to him. He said, he could never look his mother in the face if he pass'd it. But when he was told it was necessary for his affairs, he resolved to swallow the pill without farther chewing it. So it was published, but had no good effect; for neither side believed him sincere in it. It was thought a strange imposition, to make him load his father's memory in such a manner. But, while the King was thus beset with the high and more moderate Kirk parties, the old Cavaliers sent to him, offering that if he would cast himself into their hands they would meet him near *Dundee* with a great body. Upon this the King, growing weary of the sad life he led, made his escape in the night, and came to the place appointed: But it was a vain undertaking; for he was met by a very inconsiderable body at *Clowa*, the place of rendezvous. Those at *St. Johnstown* being troubled at this sent Col. *Montgomery* after him, who came up and press'd him to return very rudely: So the King came back. But this had a very good effect. The government saw now the danger of using him ill, which might provoke him to desperate courses: After that, he was used as well as that Kingdom in so ill a state was capable of. He saw the necessity of courting the Marquis of *Argile*, and therefore made him great offers: At last he talked of marrying his daughter. Lord *Argile* was cold and backward: He saw the King's heart lay not to him: So he looked on all offers, but as so many snares. His son, the Lord *Lorn*, was captain of the guards: And he made his court more dextrously; for he brought all persons that the King had a mind to speak with at all hours to him, and was in all respects not only faithful but zealous. Yet this was suspected as a collusion between the father and the son. The King was crowned on the first of *January*: And there he again renewed the Covenant: And now all people were admitted to come to him, and to serve in the army. The two armies lay peaceably in their winter quarters. But when the summer came on, a body of the *English* pass'd the *Frith*, and landed in *Fife*. So the King, having got up all the forces he had expected, resolved on a march into *England*. *Scotland* could not maintain another year's war. This was a desperate resolution: But there was nothing else to be done.

Scotland was
subdued by
Monk.

I will not pursue the relation of the march to *Worcester*, nor the total defeat given the King's army on the third of *September*, the same day in which *Dunbar* fight had been fought the year before. These things are so well known, as is also the King's escape, that I can add nothing to the common relations that have been over and over made of them. At the same time that *Cromwell* followed the King into *England*, he left *Monk* in *Scotland* with an army sufficient to reduce the rest of the Kingdom. The town of *Dundee* made a rash and ill considered resistance: It was after a few days siege taken by storm: Much blood was shed, and the town was severely plundered: No other place made any resistance. I remember well of three regiments coming to *Aberdeen*. There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists: They were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved. But they never disturbed the publick assemblies in the churches but once. They came and reproached the preachers for laying things to their charge that were false. I was then present: The debate grew very fierce: At last they drew their swords: But there was no hurt done: Yet *Cromwell* displaced the governour for not punishing this.

A body stood
out in the
Highlands.

When the low-countries in *Scotland* were thus reduced, some of the more zealous of the nobility went to the Highlands in the year 1653. The Earl of *Glencairn*, a grave and sober man, got the tribe of the *Macdonalds* to declare for the King. To these the Lord *Lorn* came with about a thousand men: But the jealousy of the father made the son be suspected. The Marquis of *Argile* had retired into his country when the King marched into *England*; and did not submit to *Monk* till the year 52. Then he received a garrison: But Lord *Lorn* surprised a ship that was sent about with provisions to it, which helped to support their little ill-formed army. Many gentlemen came to them: And almost all the good horses of the Kingdom were stolen, and carried up to them. They made a body of about 3000: Of these they had about 500 horse. They endured great hardships; for those parts were not fit to entertain men that had been accustomed to live softly. The Earl of *Glencairn* had almost spoiled all: For he took much upon him: And upon some suspicion he ordered Lord *Lorn* to be clapt up, who had notice of it, and prevented it by an escape: Otherwise they had fallen to cut one another's throats, instead of marching to the enemy. The Earl of *Belcarras*, a vertuous and knowing man but somewhat morose in his humour, went also among them. They differed

ferred in their counsels: Lord *Glencairn* was for falling into the low-countries: And he began to fancy he should be another *Montrose*. *Belcarras* on the other hand was for keeping in their fastnesses: They made a shew of a body for the King, which they were to keep up in some reputation as long as they could, till they could see what assistance the King might be able to procure them from beyond sea of men money and arms; whereas if they went out of those fast grounds, they could not hope to stand before such a veteran and well disciplined army as *Monk* had; and if they met with the least check, their tumultuary body would soon melt away.

Among others one Sir *Robert Murray*, that had married Lord *Belcarras*'s sister, came among them: He had served in *France*, where he had got into such a degree of favour with *Cardinal Richlieu*, that few strangers were ever so much considered by him as he was. He was raised to be a Collonel there, and came over for recruits when the King was with the *Scotch* army at *Newcastle*. There he grew into high favour with the King; and laid a design for his escape, of which I have given an account in *Duke Hamilton's* memoirs: He was the most universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts, of any man I have ever known in my whole Life. He was a pious man, and in the midst of armies and courts he spent many hours a day in devotion. He had gone thro' the easy parts of mathematics, and knew the history of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like *Peiriski*, as he is described by *Gassendi*. He was afterwards the first former of the Royal society, and its first president; and while he lived he was the life and soul of that body. He had an equality of temper in him that nothing could alter; and was in practice the only Stoick I ever knew. He had a great tincture of one of their principles; for he was much for absolute decrees. He had a most diffused love to all mankind, and he delighted in every occasion of doing good, which he managed with great discretion and zeal. He had a superiority of genius and comprehension to most men: And had the plainest, but with all the softest, way of reproving, chiefly young people, for their faults that I ever met with. Sir *Robert Murray* was in such credit in that little army, that Lord *Glencairn* took a strange course to break it, and to ruin him. A letter was pretended to be found at *Antwerp*, as writ by him to *William Murray* of the bed-chamber, that had been whipping boy to King *Charles* the first, and upon that had grown up to a degree of favour and confidence that was very particular: He had a leud creature there, whom he turned off: And

Sir Robert
Murray's
character.

And she to be revenged on him framed this plot against him. This ill forged letter gave an account of a bargain Sir *Robert* had made with *Monk* for killing the King, which was to be executed by Mr. *Murray*: So he prayed him in his letter to make haste and dispatch it. This was brought to the Earl of *Glencairn*: So Sir *Robert* was severely questioned upon it, and put in arrest: And it was spread about thro' a rude army that he intended to kill the King, hoping it seems that some of these wild people believing it would have fallen upon him without using any forms. Upon this occasion Sir *Robert* practised in a very eminent manner his true christian philosophy, without shewing so much as a cloud in his whole behaviour.

The Earl of *Belcarras* left the Highlands, and went to the King; and shewed him the necessity of sending a military man to command that body, to whom they would submit more willingly than to any of the Nobility. *Midletoun* was sent over, who was a gallant man and a good officer: He had first served on the Parliament's side: But he turned over to the King, and was taken at *Worcester* fight, but made his escape out of the Tower. He upon his coming over did for some time lay the heats that were among the Highlanders; and made as much of that face of an army for another year as was possible.

Messages
sent to the
King.

Drumond was sent by him to *Paris* with an invitation to the King to come among them; for they had assurances sent them, that the whole Nation was in a disposition to rise with them: And *England* was beginning to grow weary of their new government, the Army and the Parliament being on ill terms. The *English* were also engaged in a war with the States: And the *Dutch* upon that account might be inclined to assist the King to give a diversion to their enemies forces. *Drumond* told me, that upon his coming to *Paris* he was called to the little Council that was then about the King: And when he had delivered his message, Chancellour *Hide* asked him, how the King would be accommodated if he came among them: He answered, not so well as was fitting, but they would all take care of him to furnish him with every thing that was necessary. He wondered that the King did not check the Chancellour in his demand; for he said, it looked strange to him, that when they were hazarding their lives to help him to a crown, he should be concerned for accommodation. He was sent back with good words and a few kind letters. In the end of the year 1654 *Morgan* marched into the Highlands, and had a small engagement with *Midletoun*, which broke that whole matter, of which all people were grown weary; for they had no prospect of success,
and

and the low countries were so over-run with robberies on the pretence of going to assist the Highlanders, that there was an universal joy at the dispersing of that little unruly army.

After this the country was kept in great order: Some castles in the Highlands had garrisons put in them, that were so careful in their discipline, and so exact to their rules, that in no time the Highlands were kept in better order than during the usurpation. There was a considerable force of about 7 or 8000 men kept in *Scotland*: These were paid exactly, and strictly disciplined. The pay of the army brought so much money into the Kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flourishing state. *Cromwell* built three citadels, at *Leith*, *Air*, and *Inverness*, besides many little forts. There was good justice done, and vice was suppress'd and punished; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity. There was also a sort of union of the three Kingdoms in one Parliament, where *Scotland* had its representative. The Marquis of *Argile* went up one of our commissioners.

The state of
Scotland during the
usurpation.

The next scene I must open relates to the church, and the heats raised in it by the publick resolutions, and the protestation made against them. New occasions of dispute arose. A General Assembly was in course to meet; and sate at *St. Andrews*: So the commission of the Kirk wrote a circular letter to all the Presbyteries, setting forth all the grounds of their resolutions, and complaining of those who had protested against them; upon which they desired that they would chuse none of those who adhered to the protestation to represent them in the next assembly. This was only an advice, and had been frequently practised in the former years: But now it was highly complained of, as a limitation on the freedom of elections, which inferred a nullity on all their proceedings: So the Protestors renewed their protestation against the meeting upon a higher point, disowning that authority which hitherto they had magnified as the highest tribunal in the church, in which they thought Christ was in his throne. Upon this a great debate followed, and many books were written in a course of several years. The Publick men said, this was the destroying of Presbytery, if the lesser number did not submit to the greater: It was a sort of Prelacy, if it was pretended that votes ought rather to be weighed than counted: Parity was the essence of their constitution: And in this all people saw they had clearly the better of the argument. The Protestors urged for themselves, that, since all Protestants rejected the pretence of infallibility, the major part of the church might fall into errors, in which case the lesser number

Disputes among the
Covenanters.

ber could not be bound to submit to them: They complained of the many corrupt Clergy-men who were yet among them, who were leavened with the old leaven, and did on all occasions shew what was still at heart notwithstanding all their outward compliance: (For the episcopal Clergy, that had gone into the Covenant and Presbytery to hold their livings, struck in with great heat to inflame the controversy: And it appeared very visibly that Presbytery, if not held in order by the civil power, could not be long kept in quiet:.) If in the supream Court of judicature the majority did not conclude the matter, it was not possible to keep up their beloved parity: It was confessed that in doctrinal points the lesser number was not bound to submit to the greater: But in the matters of mere government it was impossible to maintain the Presbyterian form on any other bottom.

As this debate grew hot, and they were ready to break out into censures on both sides, some were sent down from the Commonwealth of *England* to settle *Scotland*: Of these Sir *Henry Vane* was one. The Resolutioners were known to have been more in the King's interest: So they were not so kindly looked on as the Protestors. Some of the *English* juncto moved, that pains should be taken to unite the two parties. But *Vane* opposed this with much zeal: He said, would they heal the wound that they had given themselves, which weakened them so much? The setting them at quiet could have no other effect, but to heal and unite them in their opposition to their authority: He therefore moved, that they might be left at liberty to fight out their own quarrels, and be kept in a greater dependence on the temporal authority, when both sides were forced to make their appeal to it: So it was resolved to suffer them to meet still in their Presbyteries and Synods, but not in General Assemblies, which had a greater face of union and authority.

This advice was followed: So the division went on. Both sides studied when any church became vacant to get a man of their own party to be chosen to succeed in the election: And upon these occasions many tumults happened: In some of them stones were thrown, and many were wounded, to the great scandal of religion. In all these disputes the Protestors were the fiercer side: For being less in number they studied to make that up with their fury. In one point they had the other at a great advantage, with relation to their new masters who required them to give over praying for the King. The Protestors were weary of doing it, and submitted very readily: But the others stood out longer; and said, it was a duty lying on them by the

Covenant,
6

Covenant, so they could not let it fall. Upon that the *English* Council set out an order, that such as should continue to pray for the King should be denied the help of law to recover their tithes, or as they called them their stipends. This touched them in a sensible point: But, that they might not seem to act upon the civil authority, they did enact it in their Presbyteries, that since all duties did not oblige at all times, therefore considering the present juncture, in which the King could not protect them, they resolved to discontinue that piece of duty. This exposed them to much censure, since such a carnal consideration as the force of law for their benefices, (which all regard but too much tho' few will own it,) seemed to be that which determined them.

This great breach among them being rather encouraged than suppressed by those who were in power, all the methods imaginable were used by the Protestors to raise their credit among the people. They preached often, and very long; and seemed to carry their devotions to a greater sublimity than others did. Their constant topick was, the sad defection and corruption of the judicatories of the church, and they often proposed several expedients for purging it. The truth was they were more active, and their performances were livelier, than the Publick men. They were in nothing more singular than in their communions. In many places the sacrament was discontinued for several years; where they thought the magistracy, or the more eminent of the parish, were engaged in what they called the defection, which was much more looked at than scandal given by bad lives. But where the greatest part was more sound, they gave the sacrament with a new and unusual solemnity. On the *Wednesday* before they held a fast day with prayers and sermons for about eight or ten hours together: On the *Saturday* they had two or three preparation sermons: And on the Lord's day they had so very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in some places: And all ended with three or four sermons on *Monday* for thanksgiving. A great many Ministers were brought together from several parts: And high pretenders would have gone 40 or 50 miles to a noted communion. The crouds were far beyond the capacity of their churches, or the reach of their voices: So at the same time they had sermons in two or three different places: And all was performed with great shew of zeal. They had stories of many sequal conversions that were wrought on these occasions.

It is scarce credible what an effect this had among the people, to how great a measure of knowledge they were brought,
and

Methods taken on both sides.

and how readily they could pray *extempore*, and talk of divine matters. All this tended to raise the credit of the Protestors. The Resolutioners tried to imitate them in these practices: But they were not thought so spiritual, nor so ready at them: So the others had the chief following. Where the judicatories of the church were near an equality of the men of both sides, there were perpetual janglings among them: At last they proceeded to deprive men of both sides, as they were the majority in the judicatories: But because the possession of the church, and the benefice, was to depend on the orders of the temporal Courts, both sides made their application to the privy Council that *Cromwell* had set up in *Scotland*: And they were by them referred to *Cromwell* himself. So they sent deputies up to *London*. The Protestors went in great numbers: They came nearer both to the principles, and to the temper that prevailed in the Army: So they were looked on as the better men, on whom, by reason of the first rise of the difference, the government might more certainly depend: Whereas the others were considered as more in the King's interests.

The Resolutioners sent up one *Sharp*, who had been long in *England*, and was an active and eager man: He had a very small proportion of learning, and was but an indifferent preacher: But having some acquaintance with the Presbyterian Ministers at *London*, whom *Cromwell* was then courting much by reason of their credit in the City, he was by an error that proved fatal to the whole party sent up in their name to *London*; where he continued for some years soliciting their concerns, and making himself known to all sorts of people. He seemed more than ordinary zealous for Presbytery. And, as *Cromwell* was then designing to make himself King, Dr. *Wilkins* told me he often said to him, no temporal government could have a sure support without a national church that adhered to it, and he thought *England* was capable of no constitution but episcopacy, to which, he told me, he did not doubt but *Cromwell* would have turned, as soon as the design of his Kingship was settled. Upon this *Wilkins* spoke to *Sharp*, that it was plain by their breach that Presbytery could not be managed so as to maintain order among them, and that an episcopacy must be brought in to settle them: But *Sharp* could not bear the discourse, and rejected it with horror. I have dwelt longer on this matter, and opened it more fully than was necessary, if I had not thought that this may have a good effect on the reader, and shew him how impossible it is in a parity to maintain peace and order, if the magistrate does

does not interpose: And if he does that will be cried out upon by the zealots of both sides, as abominable Eraſtianism.

From these matters I go next to set down some particulars that I knew concerning *Cromwell*, that I have not yet seen in books. Some of these I had from the Earls of *Carlisle* and *Orre-ry*: The one had been the captain of his guards: And the other had been the president of his council in *Scotland*. But he from whom I learned the most was *Stouppe*, a *Grison* by birth, then Minister of the *French* Church in the *Savoy*, and afterwards a brigadeer general in the *French* armies: A man of intrigue, but of no vertue: He adhered to the Protestant religion as to outward appearance: He was much trusted by *Cromwell* in foreign affairs; in which *Cromwell* was oft at a loss, and having no foreign language, but the little latin that stuck to him from his education, which he spoke very vitiously and scantily, had not the necessary means of informing himself. Some of Cromwell's maxims.

When *Cromwell* first assumed the government, he had three great parties of the Nation all against him, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Republican party. The last was the most set on his ruin, looking on him as the person that had perfidiously broke the House of Commons, and was setting up for himself. He had none to rely on but the Army: Yet that enthusiastick temper, that he had taken so much pains to raise among them, made them very intractable: Many of the chief officers were broken, and imprisoned by him: And he flattered the rest the best he could. He went on in his old way of long and dark discourses, sermons, and prayers. As to the Cavalier party, he was affraid both of assassination and other plottings from them. As to the former of these he took a method that proved very effectual: He said often and openly, that in a war it was necessary to return upon any side all the violent things that any of the one side did to the other: This was done for preventing greater mischief, and for bringing men to fair war: Therefore, he said, assassinations were such detestable things that he would never begin them: But if any of the King's party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and destroy the whole family: And he pretended he had instruments to execute it, whensoever he should give order for it. The terrour of this was a better security to him than his guards.

The other as to their plottings was the more dangerous. But he understood that one Sir *Richard Willis* was Chancellour *Hide's* chief confident, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party submitted, looking on him as an able and wise man in

whom they confided absolutely. So he found a way to talk with him: He said, he did not intend to hurt any of the party: His design was rather to save them from ruin: They were apt after their cups to run into foolish and ill concerted plots, which signified nothing but to ruin those who engaged in them: He knew they consulted him in every thing: All he desired of him was to know all their plots, that he might so disconcert them that none might ever suffer for them: If he clapt any of them up in prison, it should only be for a little time: And they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business they had been engaged in. He offered *Willis* whatever he would accept of, and to give it when or as he pleased. He durst not ask or take above 200 pound a year. None was trusted with this but his secretary *Thurlo*, who was a very dexterous man at getting intelligence.

Thus *Cromwell* had all the King's party in a net. He let them dance in it at pleasure: And upon occasions clapt them up for a short while: But nothing was ever discovered that hurt any of them. In conclusion, after *Cromwell's* death, *Willis* continued to give notice of every thing to *Thurlo*. At last, when the plot was laid among the Cavaliers for a general insurrection, the King was desired to come over to that which was to be raised in *Sussex*: He was to have landed near *Chichester*, all by *Willis's* management: And a snare was laid for him, in which he would probably have been caught, if *Morland*, *Thurlo's* under secretary, who was a prying man, had not discovered the correspondence between his Master and *Willis*, and warned the King of his danger. Yet it was not easy to persuade those who had trusted *Willis* so much, and who thought him faithful in all respects, to believe that he could be guilty of so black a treachery: So *Morland's* advertisement was look'd on as an artifice to create jealousy. But he to give a full conviction observed where the secretary laid some letters of advice, on which he saw he relied most, and getting the key of that cabinet in his hand to seal a letter with a seal that hung to it, he took the impression of it in wax, and got a key to be made from it, by which he opened the cabinet, and sent over some of the most important of those letters. The hand was known, and this artful but black treachery was discovered: So the design of the rising was laid aside. Sir *George Booth* having engaged at the same time to raise a body in *Cheshire*, two several messengers were sent to him to let him know the design could not be executed at the time appointed: But both these persons were suspected by some garrisons thro' which they must pass, as giving no good account of themselves

themselves in a time of jealousy, and were so long stopt, that they could not give him notice in time: So he very gallantly performed his part: But not being seconded he was soon crushed by *Lambert*. Thus *Willis* lost the merit of great and long services. This was one of *Cromwell's* master pieces.

As for the Presbyterians, they were so apprehensive of the fury of the Commonwealth party, that they thought it a deliverance to be rescued out of their hands: Many of the Republicans began to profess Deism: And almost all of them were for destroying all Clergy-men, and for breaking every thing that looked like the union of a national church. They were for pulling down the churches, for discharging the tithes, and for leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or restraint. *Cromwell* assured the Presbyterians, he would maintain a publick ministry with all due encouragement; and he joined them in a commission with some Independents, to be the triers of all those who were to be admitted to benefices. These disposed also of all the churches that were in the gift of the Crown, of the Bishops, and of the Cathedral Churches: So this softened them.

He studied to divide the Commonwealth party among themselves, and to set the Fifth-monarchy men and the Enthusiasts against those who pretended to little or no religion, and acted only upon the principles of civil liberty; such as *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Nevill*, *Martin*, *Wildman*, and *Harrington*. The Fifth-monarchy men seemed to be really on expectation every day when *Christ* should appear: *John Goodwin* headed these, who first brought in *Arminianism* among the sectaries, for he was for liberty of all sorts. *Cromwell* hated that doctrine: For his beloved notion was, that once a child of God was always a child of God: Now he had led a very strict life for above eight years together before the war: So he comforted himself much with his reflections on that time, and on the certainty of perseverance. But none of the preachers were so thorough paced for him as to temporal matters, as *Goodwin* was; for he not only justified the putting the King to death, but magnified it as the gloriousst action men were capable of. He filled all people with such expectation of a glorious thousand years speedily to begin, that it looked like a madness possessing them.

It was no easy thing for *Cromwell* to satisfy those, when he took the power into his own hands; since that looked like a step to Kingship, which *Goodwin* had long represented as the great Antichrist, that hindered *Christ's* being set on his throne. To these he said, and as some have told me, with many tears, that he

His design
for the
Kingship.

he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the Protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than a shew of greatness: But he saw it was necessary at that time to keep the Nation from falling into extream disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy: And therefore he only stept in between the living and the dead, as he phrased it, in that interval, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle: And he assured them, that then he would surrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under that shew of dignity. To men of this stamp he would enter into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door, and making them sit down covered by him, to let them see how little he valued those distances that for form's sake he was bound to keep up with others. These discourses commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus with much ado he managed the republican enthusiasts. The other Republicans he called the Heathens, and professed he could not so easily work upon them. He had some chaplains of all sorts: And he begun in his latter years to be gentler towards those of the church of *England*. They had their meetings in several places about *London* without any disturbance from him. In conclusion, even the Papists courted him: And he with great dissimulation carried things with all sorts of people farther than was thought possible, considering the difficulties he met with in all his Parliaments: But it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhausted at once, and that if he had lived much longer he could not have held things together.

The debates came on very high for setting up a King. All the lawyers, chiefly *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, and *St. Johns*, were vehemently for this. They said, no new government could be settled legally but by a King, who should pass bills for such a form as should be agreed on. Till then all they did was like building upon sand: Still men were in danger of a revolution: And in that case all that had been done would be void of itself, as contrary to a law yet in being and not repealed. Till that was done, every man that had been concerned in the war, and in the blood that was shed, chiefly the King's, was still obnoxious: And no warrants could be pleaded, but what were founded on or approved of by a law pass'd by King, Lords, and Commons. They might agree to trust this King as much as they pleased, and to make his power determine as soon as they pleased, so that he should be a *Felo de se*, and consent to an act, if need were, of extinguishing both name and thing for ever. And as no man's person was safe till that was done, so they said all the

the grants and sales that had been made were null and void: All men that had gathered or disposed of the publick money were for ever accountable. In short, this point was made out beyond the possibility of answering it, except upon enthusiastick principles. But by that sort of men all this was called a mistrusting of God, and a trusting to the arm of flesh: They had gone out, as they said, in the simplicity of their hearts to fight the Lord's battels, to whom they had made the appeal: He had heard them, and appeared for them, and now they could trust him no longer: They had pulled down monarchy with the monarch, and would they now build that up which they had destroyed: They had solemnly vowed to God to be true to the Commonwealth, without a King or Kingship: And under that vow, as under a banner, they had fought and prevailed: But now they must be secure, and in order to that go back to *Egypt*: They thought, it was rather a happiness that they were still under a legal danger: This might be a mean to make them more cautious and diligent: If Kings were invaders of God's right, and usurpers upon mens liberties, why must they have recourse to such a wicked engine? Upon these grounds they stood out: And they looked on all that was offered about the limiting this King in his power, as the gilding the pill: The assertors of those laws that made it necessary to have a King would no sooner have one, than they would bring forth out of the same store-house all that related to the power and prerogative of this King: Therefore they would not hearken to any thing that was offered on that head, but rejected it with scorn. Many of them began openly to say, if we must have a King in consequence of so much law as was alledged, why should we not rather have that King to whom the law certainly pointed than any other? The Earl of *Orrery* told me, that, coming one day to *Cromwell* during those heats, and telling him he had been in the City all that day, *Cromwell* asked him what news he had heard there: The other answered, that he was told he was in treaty with the King, who was to be restored and to marry his daughter. *Cromwell* expressing no indignation at this, Lord *Orrery* said, in the state to which things were brought, he saw not a better expedient: They might bring him in on what terms they pleased: And *Cromwell* might retain the same authority he then had with less trouble. *Cromwell* answered, the King can never forgive his father's blood. *Orrery* said, he was one of many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of restoring him. *Cromwell* replied, he is so damnably debauched he would undo us all; and so turned to another discourse without any

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emotion

emotion, which made *Orrery* conclude he had often thought of that expedient.

Before the day in which he refused the offer of the Kingship that was made to him by the Parliament, he had kept himself on such a reserve that no man knew what answer he would give. It was thought more likely he would accept of it: But that which determined him to the contrary was, that, when he went down in the morning to walk in *St. James's park*, *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* were waiting for him: The one had married his daughter, and the other his sister. With these he entered into much discourse on the subject, and argued for it: He said, it was a tempting of God to expose so many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to secure them. The others insisted still on the oaths they had taken. He said, these oaths were against the power and tyranny of Kings, but not against the four letters that made the word King. In conclusion, they, believing from his discourse that he intended to accept of it, told him, they saw great confusions would follow on it: And as they could not serve him to set up the idol they had put down, and had sworn to keep down, so they would not engage in any thing against him, but would retire and look on. So they offered him their commissions, since they were resolved not to serve a King: He desired they would stay till they heard his answer. It was believed, that he, seeing two persons so near him ready to abandon him, concluded that many others would follow their example; and therefore thought it was too bold a venture. So he refused it, but accepted of the continuance of his Protectorship. Yet, if he had lived out the next winter, as the debates were to have been brought on again, so it was generally thought he would have accepted of the offer. And it is yet a question what the effect of that would have been. Some have thought it would have brought on a general settlement, since the law and the ancient government were again to take place: Others have fancied just the contrary, that it would have engaged the Army, so that they would either have deserted the service, or have revolted from him, and perhaps have killed him in the first fray of the tumult. I will not determine which of these would have most probably happened. In these debates some of the Cavalier party, or rather their children, came to bear some share. They were then all zealous Commonwealths-men, according to the directions sent them from those about the King. Their business was to oppose *Cromwell* on all his demands, and so to weaken him at home and expose him abroad. When some of the other party took notice of this great change, from being
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the abettors of prerogative to become the patrons of liberty, they pretended their education in the Court and their obligation to it had engaged them that way; but now since that was out of doors, they had the common principles of human nature and the love of liberty in them. By this mean as the old republicans assisted and protected them, so at the same time they strengthened the faction against *Cromwell*. But these very men at the Restoration shook off this disguise, and reverted to their old principles for a high prerogative and absolute power. They said they were for liberty, when it was a mean to distress one who they thought had no right to govern; but when the government returned to its old channel, they were still as firm to all prerogative notions, and as great enemies to liberty as ever.

I go next to give an account of *Cromwell's* transactions with relation to foreign affairs. He laid it down for a maxim to spare no cost or charge in order to procure him intelligence. When he understood what dealers the *Jews* were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low interests in proportion to the risque they run or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and selling of the actions of money so advanced, he, more upon that account than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over to *England*, and gave them leave to build a Synagogue. All the while that he was negotiating this, they were sure and good spies for him, especially with relation to *Spain* and *Portugal*. The Earl of *Orrery* told me, he was once walking with him in one of the galleries of *Whitehall*, and a man almost in rags came in view: He presently dismissed Lord *Orrery*, and carried that man into his closet; who brought him an account of a great sum of money that the *Spaniards* were sending over to pay their army in *Flanders*, but in a *Dutch* man of war: And he told him the places of the ship in which the money was lodged. *Cromwell* sent an express immediately to *Smith*, afterwards Sir *Jeremy Smith*, who lay in the *Downs*, telling him that within a day or two such a *Dutch* ship would pass the channel, whom he must visit for the *Spanish* money, which was conterband goods, we being then in war with *Spain*. So when the ship pass'd by *Dover*, *Smith* sent and demanded leave to search him. The *Dutch* captain answered, none but his masters might search him. *Smith* sent him word, he had set up an hour glass, and if before that was run out he did not submit to the search, he would force it. The Captain saw it was in vain to struggle, and so all the money was found. Next time that *Cromwell* saw *Orrery* he told him, he had his intel-

Cromwell's
engagement
with *France*.

intelligence from that contemptible man he saw him go to some days before. He had on all occasions very good intelligence: He knew every thing that pass'd in the King's little Court: And yet none of his spies were discovered, but one only.

The greatest difficulty on him in his foreign affairs was, what side to chuse, *France* or *Spain*. The Prince of *Conde* was then in the *Netherlands* with a great many Protestants about him. He set the *Spaniards* on making great steps towards the gaining *Cromwell* into their interests. *Spain* ordered their Ambassador to compliment him: He was esteemed one of their ablest men: His name was *Don Alonso de Cardenas*: He offered that if *Cromwell* would join with them, they would engage themselves to make no peace till he should recover *Calais* again to *England*. This was very agreeable to *Cromwell*, who thought it would recommend him much to the Nation, if he could restore that town again to the *English* Empire, after it had been a hundred years in the hands of the *French*. *Mazarin* hearing of this sent one over to negotiate with him, but at first without a character: And, to outbid the *Spaniard*, he offered to assist *Cromwell* to take *Dunkirk*, which was a place of much more importance. The Prince of *Conde* sent over likewise to offer *Cromwell* to turn Protestant; and, if he would give him a fleet with good troops, he would make a descent in *Guienne*, where he did not doubt but that he should be assisted by the Protestants; and that he should so distress *France*, as to obtain such conditions for them, and for *England*, as *Cromwell* himself should dictate. Upon this offer *Cromwell* sent *Stoupe* round all *France*, to talk with their most eminent men, to see into their strength, into their present disposition, the oppressions they lay under, and their inclinations to trust the Prince of *Conde*. He went from *Paris* down the *Loire*, then to *Bordeaux*, from thence to *Montauban*, and cross the south of *France* to *Lions*: He was instructed to talk to them only as a traveller, and to assure them of *Cromwell's* zeal and care for them, which he magnified every where. The Protestants were then very much at their ease: For *Mazarin*, who thought of nothing but to enrich his family, took care to maintain the edicts better than they had been in any time formerly. So *Stoupe* returned, and gave *Cromwell* an account of the ease they were then in, and of their resolution to be quiet. They had a very bad opinion of the Prince of *Conde*, as a man who sought nothing but his own greatness, to which they believed that he was ready to sacrifice all his friends, and every cause that he espoused. This settled *Cromwell* as to that particular. He also found that the Cardinal had such spies on that Prince, that

he knew every message that had passed between them: Therefore he would have no farther correspondence with him: He said upon that to *Stoupe*, *Stultus est, & garrulus, & venditur à suis Cardinali*. That which determined him afterwards in the choice was this: He found the parties grew so strong against him at home, that he saw if the King or his brother were assisted by *France* with an army of *Huguenots* to make a descent in *England*, which was threatned if he should join with *Spain*, this might prove very dangerous to him, who had so many enemies at home and so few friends. This particular consideration with relation to himself made great impression on him; for he knew the *Spaniards* could give those Princes no strength, nor had they any Protestant subjects to assist them in any such design. Upon this occasion King *James* told me, that among other prejudices he had at the Protestant religion this was one, that both his brother and himself, being in many companies in *Paris incognito*, where they met many Protestants, he found they were all alienated from them, and were great admirers of *Cromwell*: So he believed they were all rebels in their heart. I answered, that foreigners were no other way concerned in the quarrels of their neighbours, than to see who could or would assist them: The coldness they had seen formerly in the Court of *England* with relation to them, and the zeal which was then expressed, must naturally make them depend on one that seemed resolved to protect them. As the negotiation went on between *France* and *England*, *Cromwell* would have the King and his brother dismissed the Kingdom. *Mazarin* consented to this; for he thought it more honourable, that the *French* King should send them away of his own accord, than that it should be done pursuant to an article with *Cromwell*. Great excuses were made for doing it: They had some money given them, and were sent away loaded with promises of constant supplies that were never meant to be performed: And they retired to *Colen*; for the *Spaniards* were not yet out of hope of gaining *Cromwell*. But when that vanished, they invited them to *Bruxells*, and they settled great appointments on them; in their way, which was always to promise much, how little soever they could perform. They also settled a pay for such of the subjects of the three Kingdoms as would come and serve under our Princes: But few came, except from *Ireland*: Of these some regiments were formed. But tho' this gave them a great and lasting interest in our Court, especially in King *James's*, yet they did not much to deserve it.

Before King *Charles* left *Paris* he changed his religion, but by whose persuasion is not yet known: Only Cardinal *de Retz* ^{The King turned Papist.} was

was on the secret, and Lord *Aubigny* had a great hand in it. It was kept a great secret. Chancellour *Hide* had some suspicion of it, but would never suffer himself to believe it quite. Soon after the Restoration that Cardinal came over in disguise, and had an audience of the King: What pass'd is not known. The first ground I had to believe it was this: The Marquis *de Roucy*, who was the man of the greatest family in *France* that continued Protestant to the last, was much pressed by that Cardinal to change his religion: He was his Kinsman and his particular friend. Among other reasons one that he urged was, that the Protestant religion must certainly be ruined, and that they could expect no protection from *England*, for to his certain knowledge both the Princes were already changed. *Roucy* told this in great confidence to his Minister, who after his death sent an advertisement of it to my self. Sir *Allen Broderick*, a great confident of the Chancellour's, who from being very atheistical became in the last years of his life an eminent penitent, as he was a man of great parts, with whom I had lived long in great confidence, on his death-bed sent me likewise an account of this matter, which he believed was done in *Fontainebleau*, before King *Charles* was sent to *Colen*. As for King *James*, it seems he was not reconciled at that time: For he told me, that being in a Monastery in *Flanders*, a Nun desired him to pray every day, that if he was not in the right way God would bring him into it: And he said, the impression these words made on him never left him till he changed.

Cromwell's
design on
the *West-Indies*.

To return to *Cromwell*: While he was balancing in his mind what was fit for him to do, *Gage*, who had been a Priest, came over from the *West-Indies*, and gave him such an account of the feebleness as well as of the wealth of the *Spaniards* in those parts, as made him conclude that it would be both a great and an easy conquest to seize on their dominions. By this he reckoned he would be supplied with such a treasure, that his government would be established before he should need to have any recourse to a Parliament for money. *Spain* would never admit of a peace with *England* between the tropicks: So he was in a state of war with them as to those parts, even before he declared war in *Europe*. He upon that equipped a fleet with a force sufficient, as he hoped, to have seized *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*. And *Gage* had assured him, that success in that expedition would make all the rest fall into his hands. *Stoupe*, being on another occasion called to his closet, saw him one day very intent in looking on a Map, and in measuring distances. *Stoupe* saw it was a Map of the Bay of *Mexico*, and observed who printed it. So, there being

being no discourse upon that subject, *Stoupe* went next day to the Printer to buy the Map. The Printer denied he had printed it. *Stoupe* affirmed he had seen it. Then, he said, it must be only in *Cromwell's* hand; for he only had some of the Prints, and had given him a strict charge to sell none till he had leave given him. So *Stoupe* perceived there was a design that way. And when the time of setting out the fleet came on, all were in a gaze whither it was to go: Some fancied it was to rob the Church of *Loretto*, which did occasion a fortification to be drawn round it: Others talked of *Rome* itself; for *Cromwell's* preachers had this often in their mouths, that if it were not for the divisions at home he would go and sack *Babylon*: Others talked of *Cadiz*, tho' he had not yet broke with the *Spaniards*. The *French* could not penetrate into the secret. *Cromwell* had not finished his alliance with them: So he was not bound to give them an account of the expedition. All he said upon it was, that he sent out the fleet to guard the seas, and to restore *England* to its dominion on that element. *Stoupe* happened to say in a company, he believed the design was on the *West-Indies*. The *Spanish* Ambassadour, hearing that, sent for him very privately, to ask him upon what ground he said it: And he offered to lay down 10000 *l.* if he could make any discovery of that. *Stoupe* owned to me he had a great mind to the money; and fancied he betrayed nothing if he did discover the grounds of these conjectures, since nothing had been trusted to him: But he expected greater matters from *Cromwell*, and so kept the secret; and said only, that in a diversity of conjectures that seemed to him more probable than any others. But the Ambassadour made no account of that; nor did he think it worth the writing to *Don John*, then at *Bruxells*, about it.

Stoupe writ it over as his conjecture to one about the Prince of *Conde*, who at first hearing it was persuaded that must be the design, and went next day to suggest it to *Don John*: But *Don John* relied so much on the Ambassadour, that this made no impression. And indeed all the Ministers whom he employed knew that they were not to disturb him with troublesome news: Of which King *Charles* told a pleasant story. One whom *Don John* was sending to some Court in *Germany* coming to the King to ask his commands, he desired him only to write him news: The *Spaniard* asked him, whether he would have true or false news: And, when the King seemed amazed at the question, he added, if he writ him true news the King must be secret, for he knew he must write news to *Don John* that would be acceptable, true or false: When the Ministers of that Court shewed that they would

would be served in such a manner, it is no wonder to see how their affairs have declined. This matter of the fleet continued a great secret. And some months after that *Stoupe* being accidentally with *Cromwell*, one came from the fleet thro' *Ireland* with a letter. The bearer looked like one that brought no welcome news. And as soon as *Cromwell* had read the letter, he dismissed *Stoupe*, who went immediately to the Earl of *Leicester*, then Lord *Lisle*, and told him what he had seen. He being of *Cromwell's* Council went to *Whitehall*, and came back, and told *Stoupe* of the descent made on *Hispaniola*, and of the misfortune that had happened. It was then late, and was the post-night for *Flanders*. So *Stoupe* writ it as news to his correspondent, some days before the *Spanish* Ambassadour knew any thing of it. *Don John* was amazed at the news, and had never any regard for the Ambassadour after that; but had a great opinion of *Stoupe*, and ordered the Ambassadour to make him theirs at any rate. The Ambassadour sent for him, and asked him, now that it appeared he had guessed right, what were his grounds: And when he told what they were, the Ambassadour owned he had reason to conclude as he did upon what he saw. And upon that he made great use of *Stoupe*: But he himself was never esteemed after that so much as he had been. This deserved to be set down so particularly, since by it it appears that the greatest design may be discovered by an undue carelessness. The Court of *France* was amazed at the undertaking, and was glad that it had miscarried; for the Cardinal said, if he had suspected it, he would have made peace with *Spain* on any terms, rather than to have given way to that which would have been such an addition to *England*, as must have brought all the wealth of the world into their hands. The fleet took *Jamaica*: But that was a small gain, tho' much magnified to cover the failing of the main design. The war after that broke out, in which *Dunkirk* was indeed taken, and put in *Cromwell's* hand: But the trade of *England* suffered more in that, than in any former war: So he lost the heart of the city of *London* by that means.

His zeal for
the Protestant
religion.

Cromwell had two signal occasions given him to shew his zeal in protecting the Protestants abroad. The Duke of *Savoy* raised a new persecution of the *Vaudois*: So *Cromwell* sent to *Mazarin*, desiring him to put a stop to that; adding, that he knew well they had that Duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased: And if they did not he must presently break with them. *Mazarin* objected to this as unreasonable: He promised to do good offices: But he could not be obliged to answer for the effects they might have. This did not satisfy *Cromwell*:

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So they obliged the Duke of *Savoy* to put a stop to that unjust fury: And *Cromwell* raised a great sum for the *Vaudois*, and sent over *Morland* to settle all their concerns, and to supply all their losses. There was also a tumult in *Nismes*, in which some disorder had been committed by the *Huguenots*: And they, apprehending severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great expedition to *Cromwell*, who sent him back to *Paris* in an hour's time with a very effectual letter to his Ambassadour, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be pass'd over, or to come away immediately. *Mazarin* complained of this way of proceeding, as too imperious: But the necessity of their affairs made him yield. These things raised *Cromwell's* character abroad, and made him be much depended on.

His Ambassadour in *France* at this time was *Lockhart*, a *Scotchman*, who had married his niece, and was in high favour with him, as he well deserved to be. He was both a wise and a gallant man, calm and vertuous, and one that carried the generosities of friendship very far. He was made governour of *Dunkirk*, and Ambassadour at the same time. But he told me, that when he was sent afterwards Ambassadour by King *Charles*, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in *Cromwell's* time.

Stoupe told me of a great design *Cromwell* had intended to begin his Kingship with, if he had assumed it: He resolved to set up a Council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation *de Propaganda fide* at *Rome*. He intended it should consist of seven counsellours, and four secretaries for different provinces. These were the first, *France*, *Switzerland*, and the *Valleys*: The *Palatinate* and the other Calvinists were the second: *Germany*, the *North*, and *Turkey* were the third: And the *East* and *West-Indies* were the fourth. The secretaries were to have 500 *l.* salary apiece, and to keep a correspondence every where, to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. *Stoupe* was to have the first Province. They were to have a fund of 10000 *l.* a year at their disposal for ordinary emergencies, but to be farther supplied as occasions should require it. *Chelsea* college was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college for writers of controversy. I thought it was not fit to let such a project as this be quite lost: It was certainly a noble one: But how far he would have pursued it must be left to conjecture.

A great design for the interest of the Protestant religion.

Stoupe told me a remarkable passage in his employment under *Cromwell*. *Stoupe* had desired all that were under the Prince

Some passages in *Cromwell's* life.

of *Conde* to let him know some news, in return of that he writ to them. So he had a letter from one of them, giving an account of an *Irishman* newly gone over, who had said he would kill *Cromwell*, and that he was to lodge in *King-street Westminster*. With this *Stoupe* went to *Whitehall*. *Cromwell* being then at Council, he sent him a note, letting him know that he had a business of great consequence to lay before him. *Cromwell* was then upon a matter that did so entirely possess him, that he, fancying it was only some piece of foreign intelligence, sent *Thurlo* to know what it might be. *Stoupe* was troubled at this, but could not refuse to shew him his letter. *Thurlo* made no great matter of it: He said, they had many such advertisements sent them, which signified nothing but to make the world think the Protector was in danger of his life: And the looking too much after these things had an appearance of fear, which did ill become so great a man. *Stoupe* told him, *King-street* might be soon searched. *Thurlo* answered, if we find no such person, how shall we be laught at? Yet he ordered him to write again to *Bruxells*, and promise any reward if a more particular discovery could be made. *Stoupe* was much cast down, when he saw that a piece of intelligence which he hoped might have made his fortune was so little considered. He wrote to *Bruxells*: But he had no more from thence, but a confirmation of what had been writ formerly to him. And *Thurlo* did not think fit to make any search, or any farther inquiry into it: Nor did he so much as acquaint *Cromwell* with it. *Stoupe*, being uneasy at this, told Lord *Lisle* of it: And it happened that, a few weeks after, *Syndercomb's* design of assassinating *Cromwell* near *Brentford*, as he was going to *Hampton-court*, was discovered. When he was examined, it appeared that he was the person set out in the letters from *Bruxells*. So *Lisle* said to *Cromwell*, this is the very man of whom *Stoupe* had the notice given him. *Cromwell* seemed amazed at this; and sent for *Stoupe*, and in great wrath reproached him for his ingratitude in concealing a matter of such consequence to him. *Stoupe* upon this shewed him the letters he had received; and put him in mind of the note he had sent in to him, which was immediately after he had the first letter, and that he had sent out *Thurlo* to him. At that *Cromwell* seemed yet more amazed; and sent for *Thurlo*, to whose face *Stoupe* affirmed the matter: Nor did he deny any part of it; but only said, that he had many such advertisements sent him, in which till this time he had never found any truth. *Cromwell* replied sternly, that he ought to have acquainted him with it, and left him to judge of the importance of it. *Thurlo* desired to

to speak in private with *Cromwell*. So *Stoupe* was dismiss'd, and went away not doubting but *Thurlo* would be disgraced. But, as he understood from *Lisle* afterward, *Thurlo* shewed *Cromwell* such instances of his care and fidelity on all such occasions, and humbly acknowledged his error in this matter, but imputed it wholly to his care both for his honour and quiet, that he pacified him entirely: And indeed he was so much in all *Cromwell's* secrets, that it was not safe to disgrace him without destroying him; and that it seems *Cromwell* could not resolve on. *Thurlo* having mastered this point, that he might farther justify his not being so attentive as he ought to have been, did so much search into *Stoupe's* whole deportment, that he possessed *Cromwell* with such an ill opinion of him, that after that he never treated him with any confidence. So he found how dangerous it was even to preserve a Prince, (so he called him) when a Minister was wounded in the doing of it; and that the Minister would be too hard for the Prince, even tho' his own safety was concerned in it.

These are all the memorable things that I have learnt concerning *Cromwell*; of whom so few have spoken with any temper, some commending, and others condemning him, and both out of measure, that I thought a just account of him, which I had from sure hands, might be no unacceptable thing. He never could shake off the roughness of his education and temper: He spoke always long and very ungracefully. The enthusiast and the dissembler mixed so equally in a great part of his deportment, that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing character. He was indeed both, as I understood from *Wilkins* and *Tillotson*, the one having married his sister, and the other his niece. He was a true enthusiast, but with the principle formerly mentioned, from which he might be easily led into all the practices both of falsehood and cruelty: Which was, that he thought moral laws were only binding on ordinary occasions, but that upon extraordinary ones these might be superseded. When his own designs did not lead him out of the way, he was a lover of justice and virtue, and even of learning, tho' much decried at that time.

He studied to seek out able and honest men, and to employ them: And so having heard that my father had a very great reputation in *Scotland* for piety and integrity, tho' he knew him to be a royalist, he sent to him, desiring him to accept of a judge's place, and to do justice in his own country, hoping only that he would not act against his government; but he would not press him to subscribe or swear to it. My father refused it in

His moderation in government.

a pleasant way. When he who brought the message was running out into *Cromwell's* commendation, my father told a story of a Pilgrim in Popery, who came to a church where one Saint *Kilmaclotius* was in great reverence: So the Pilgrim was bid pray to him: But he answered, he knew nothing of him, for he was not in his breviary: But when he was told how great a Saint he was, he prayed this collect; *O sancte Kilmacloti, tu nobis hactenus es incognitus, hoc solum à te rogo, ut si bona tua nobis non prosint, saltem mala ne noceant.* My father replied, that he desired no other favour of him but leave to live privately, without the impositions of oaths and subscriptions: And ever after he lived in great quiet. And this was an instance of it: *Overton* one of *Cromwell's* major generals, who was a high Republican, being for some time at *Aberdeen*, where we then lived, my father and he were often together: In particular they were shut up alone for about two hours the night after the order came from *Cromwell* to take away *Overton's* commissions, and to put him in arrest. Upon that *Howard*, afterward Earl of *Carlisle*, being sent down to enquire into all the plots that those men had been in, heard of this long privacy: But, when with that he heard what my father's character was, he made no farther enquiry into it; but said, *Cromwell* was very uneasy when any good man was questioned for any thing.

His publick
spirit.

This gentleness had in a great measure quieted people's minds with relation to him. And his maintaining the honour of the Nation in all foreign countries gratified the vanity which is very natural to *Englishmen*; of which he was so careful, that tho' he was not a crowned head, yet his Ambassadors had all the respects paid them which our King's Ambassadors ever had: He said, the dignity of the Crown was upon the account of the Nation, of which the King was only the representative head; so the Nation being still the same, he would have the same regards paid to his Ministers.

Another instance of this pleased him much. *Blake* with the fleet happened to be at *Malaga* before he made war upon *Spain*: And some of his seamen went ashore, and met the Hostie carried about; and not only paid no respect to it, but laughed at those who did: So one of the Priests put the people on resenting this indignity; and they fell upon them, and beat them severely. When they returned to their ship they complained of this usage: And upon that *Blake* sent a trumpet to the Viceroy, to demand the Priest who was the chief instrument in that ill usage. The Viceroy answered, he had no authority over the Priests, and so could not dispose of him. *Blake* upon that sent him

him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to send the Priest to him, but if he were not sent within three hours he would burn their town: And they, being in no condition to resist him, sent the Priest to him, who justified himself upon the petulant behaviour of the seamen. *Blake* answered, that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punished them severely, since he would not suffer his men to affront the established religion of any place at which he touched: But he took it ill, that he set on the *Spaniards* to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an *Englishman* was only to be punished by an *Englishman*: And so he treated the Priest civilly, and sent him back, being satisfied that he had him at his mercy.

Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great satisfaction; and said, he hoped he should make the name of an *Englishman* as great as ever that of a *Roman* had been. The States of *Holland* were in such dread of him, that they took care to give him no sort of umbrage: And when at any time the King or his brothers came to see their sister, the Princess royal, within a day or two after they used to send a deputation to let them know that *Cromwell* had required of the States that they should give them no harbour. King *Charles*, when he was seeking for colours for the war with the *Dutch* in the year 1672, urged it for one, that they suffered some of his rebels to live in their Provinces. *Borel*, then their Ambassadour, answered, that it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to enquire upon what account strangers came to live in their country, but to receive them all, unless they had been concerned in conspiracies against the persons of Princes. The King told him upon that, how they had used both himself and his brother. *Borel*, in great simplicity, answered: *Ha! sire, c'estoit une autre chose: Cromwell estoit un grand homme, & il se faisoit craindre & par terre & par mer.* This was very rough. The King's answer was: *Je me feray craindre aussy à mon tour:* But he was scarce as good as his word.

Cromwell's favourite alliance was with *Sweden*. *Carolus Gustavus* and he lived in great conjunction of counsels. Even *Algernoon Sydney*, who was not inclined to think or speak well of Kings, commended him to me; and said, he had just notions of publick liberty; and added, that Queen *Christina* seemed to have them likewise. But she was much changed from that, when I waited on her at *Rome*; for she complained of us as a factious Nation, that did not readily comply with the commands of our Princes. All *Italy* trembled at the name of *Cromwell*, and seem-

ed under a panick fear as long as he lived. His fleet scoured the *Mediterranean*: And the *Turks* durst not offend him; but deliver'd up *Hide*, who kept up the character of an Ambassadour from the King there, and was brought over and executed for it. The putting the brother of the King of *Portugal's* Ambassadour to death for murder, was the carrying justice very far; since, tho' in the strictness of the law of nations it is only the Ambassadour's own person that is exempted from any authority but his master's that sends him, yet the practice had gone in favour of all that the Ambassadour owned to belong to him. *Cromwell* shewed his good understanding in nothing more, than in seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but most particularly for the Courts of law, which gave a general satisfaction.

The ruin
of his fami-
ly.

Thus he lived, and at last died, on his auspicious third of *September*, of so slight a sickness, that his death was not looked for. He had two sons, and four daughters. His sons were weak, but honest men. *Richard*, the eldest, tho' declared Protector in pursuance of a nomination pretended to be made by *Cromwell*, the truth of which was much questioned, was not at all bred for business, nor indeed capable of it. He was innocent of all the ill his father had done: So there was no prejudice lay against him: And both the Royalists and the Presbyterians fancied he favoured them, tho' he pretended to be an Independent. But all the Commonwealth party cried out upon his assuming the Protectorship, as a high usurpation; since whatever his father had from his Parliaments was only personal, and so fell with him: Yet in opposition to this, the City of *London*, and all the Counties and Cities almost in *England*, sent him addresses congratulatory, as well as condoling. So little do these pompous appearances of respect signify. *Tillotson* told me, that a week after *Cromwell's* death he being by accident at *Whitehall*, and hearing there was to be a fast that day in the household, he out of curiosity went into the presence chamber where it was held. On the one side of a table *Richard* with the rest of *Cromwell's* family were placed, and six of the preachers were on the other side: *Thomas Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Carril* and *Sterry* were of the number. There he heard a great deal of strange stuff, enough to disgust a man for ever of that enthusiastick boldness. God was as it were reproached with *Cromwell's* services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. *Goodwin*, who had pretended to assure them in a prayer that he was not to die, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence to say to God, *thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived.*

Sterry

Sterry, praying for *Richard*, used those indecent words, next to blasphemy, *make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person.* *Richard* was put on giving his father a pompous funeral, by which his debts encreased so upon him, that he was soon run out of all credit. When the Parliament met, his party tried to get a recognition of his Protectorship: But it soon appeared, they had no strength to carry it. *Fleetwood*, who married *Ireton's* Widow, set up a Council of officers: And these resolved to lay aside *Richard*, who had neither genius nor friends, neither treasure nor army to support him. He desired only security for the debts he had contracted; which was promised, but not performed. And so without any struggle he withdrew, and became a private man. And as he had done hurt to no body, so no body did ever study to hurt him, by a rare instance of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence. His brother had been made by the father Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and had the most spirit of the two; but he could not stand his ground, when his brother quitted his. One of *Cromwell's* daughters was married to *Claypole*, and died a little before himself: Another was married to the Earl of *Falconbridge*, a wise and worthy woman, more likely to have maintained the post than either of her brothers; according to a saying that went of her, that those who wore breeches deserved petticoats better, but if those in petticoats had been in breeches they would have held faster. The other daughter was married, first to the Earl of *Warwick's* heir, and afterwards to one *Russel*. They were both very worthy persons.

Upon *Richard's* leaving the stage, the Commonwealth was again set up: And the Parliament which *Cromwell* had broke was brought together: But the Army and they fell into new disputes: So they were again broke by the army: And upon that the Nation was like to fall into great convulsions. The enthusiasts became very fierce, and talked of nothing but the destroying all the records and the law, which they said had been all made by a succession of Tyrants and Papists: So they resolved to model all anew by a levelling and a spiritual government of the Saints. There was so little sense in this, that *Nevil* and *Harington* with some others set up in *Westminster* a meeting to consider of a form of government that should secure liberty, and yet preserve the Nation. They ran chiefly on having a Parliament elected by ballot, in which the Nation should be represented according to the proportion of what was paid in taxes towards the publick expence: And by this Parliament a Council of twenty four was to be chosen by ballot: And every year eight of these were to be

Great disorders followed.

be changed, and might not again be brought into it, but after an interval of three years: By these the Nation was to be governed: And they were to give an account of the administration to the Parliament every year. This meeting was a matter of diversion and scorn, to see a few persons take upon them to form a scheme of government: And it made many conclude, it was necessary to call home the King, that so matters might again fall into their old channel. *Lambert* became the man on whom the Army depended most. Upon his forcing the Parliament, great applications were made to *Monk* to declare for the Parliament: But under this the declaring for the King was generally understood. Yet he kept himself under such a reserve, that he declared all the while in the most solemn manner for a Commonwealth, and against a single person, in particular against the King: So that none had any ground from him to believe he had any design that way. Some have thought that he intended to try, if it was possible, to set up for himself: Others rather believed, that he had no settled design any way, and resolved to do as occasion should be offered to him. The *Scottish* Nation did certainly hope he would bring home the King. He drew the greatest part of the Army towards the borders, where *Lambert* advanced towards him with 7000 horse. *Monk* was stronger in foot: But being apprehensive of engaging on disadvantage, he sent *Clarges* to the Lord *Fairfax* for his advice and assistance, who returned answer by Dr. *Fairfax*, afterwards secretary to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and assured him he would raise *Yorkshire* on the first of *January*. And he desired him to press upon *Lambert*, in case that he should send a detachment into *Yorkshire*. On the first of *January*, *Fairfax* appeared with about 100 gentlemen and their servants. But so much did he still maintain his great credit with the Army, that the night after the *Irish* Brigade, that consisted of 1200 horse and was the rear of *Lambert's* army, came over to him. Upon that *Lambert* retreated, finding his army was so little sure to him, and resolved to march back to *London*. He was followed by *Monk*, who when he came to *Yorkshire* met with *Fairfax*, and offered to resign the chief command to him. The Lord *Fairfax* refused it, but press'd *Monk* to declare for a free Parliament: Yet in that he was so reserved to him, that *Fairfax* knew not how to depend on him. But as *Lambert* was making haste up, his army mouldered away, and he himself was brought up a prisoner, and was put in the Tower of *London*. Yet not long after he made his escape, and gathered a few troops about him in *Northamptonshire*. But these were soon scattered: For *Ingoldsby*,
tho'

tho' one of the King's judges, raised *Buckinghamshire* against him. And so little force seemed now in that party, that with very little opposition *Ingoldsby* took him prisoner, and brought him into *Northampton*: Where *Lambert*, as *Ingoldsby* told me, entertained him with a pleasant reflection for all his misfortunes. The people were in great crouds applauding and rejoycing for the success. So *Lambert* put *Ingoldsby* in mind of what *Cromwell* had said to them both, near that very place, in the year 1650, when they with a body of the officers were going down after their army that was marching to *Scotland*, the people all the while shouting and wishing them success: *Lambert* upon that said to *Cromwell*, he was glad to see they had the Nation on their side: *Cromwell* answered, do not trust to that; for these very persons would shout as much if you and I were going to be hanged. *Lambert* said, he looked on himself as in a fair way to that, and began to think *Cromwell* prophesied.

Upon the dispersing *Lambert's* army, *Monk* marched southward, and was now the object of all men's hope. At *London* all sorts of people began to cabal together, Royalists, Presbyterians, and Republicans. *Hollis* told me, the Presbyterians pressed the Royalists to be quiet, and to leave the game in their hands; for their appearing would give jealousy, and hurt that which they meant to promote. He and *Ashly Cooper*, *Grimstone* and *Annesly*, met often with *Manchester*, *Roberts*, and the rest of the Presbyterian party: And the Ministers of *London* were very active in the City: So that when *Monk* came up, he was pressed to declare himself. At first he would only declare for the Parliament that *Lambert* had forced. But there was then a great fermentation all over the Nation. *Monk* and the Parliament grew jealous of one another, even while they tried who could give the best words, and express their confidence in the highest terms of one another. I will pursue the relation of this transaction no farther: For this matter is well known.

The King had gone in Autumn 1659 to the meeting at the *Pyrenees*, where Cardinal *Mazarin* and *Don Lewis de Haro* were negotiating a peace. He applied himself to both sides, to try what assistance he might expect upon their concluding the peace. It was then known, that he went to *Mas* sometimes, that so he might recommend himself the more effectually to both Courts: Yet this was carried secretly, and was confidently denied. *Mazarin* still talked to *Lockhart* upon the foot of the old confidence: For he went thither to watch over the treaty; tho' *England* was now in such convulsions, that no Minister from thence could be much considered, unless it was upon his own account.

All turn
to the King's
side.

But matters were ripening so fast towards a revolution in *England*, that the King came back to *Flanders* in all haste, and went from thence to *Breda*. *Lockhart* had it in his power to have made a great fortune, if he had begun first, and had brought the King to *Dunkirk*. As soon as the peace of the *Pyrenees* was made, he came over and found *Monk* at *London*, and took all the pains he could to penetrate into his designs. But *Monk* continued still to protest to him in the solemnest manner possible, that he would be true to the Commonwealth, and against the Royal family. *Lockhart* went away, persuaded that matters would continue still in the same state: So that when his old friend *Middleton* writ to him to make his own terms, if he would invite the King to *Dunkirk*, he said, he was trusted by the Commonwealth, and could not betray it.

The House of Commons put *Monk* on breaking the gates of the City of *London*, not doubting but that would render him so odious to them, that it would force him to depend wholly on themselves. He did it: And soon after he saw how odious he was become by it. So conceiving a high indignation at those who had put him on such an ungracious piece of service, he sent about all that night to the Ministers and other active citizens, assuring them that he would quickly repair that error, if they would forgive it. So the turn was sudden: For the City sent and invited him to dine the next day at *Guildhall*: And there he declared for the members whom the Army had forced away in the year 47 and 48, who were known by the name of *secluded members*. And some happening to call the body that then sat at *Westminster* the Rump of a Parliament, a sudden humour run like a madness through the whole City, of roasting the Rumps of all sorts of animals. And thus the City expressed themselves sufficiently. Those at *Westminster* had no support: So they fell unpitied, and unregarded. The secluded members came, and sat down among them. But all they could do was to give orders for the summoning a new Parliament to meet the first of *May*: And so they declared themselves dissolved.

Care taken
to manage
the Army.

There was still a murmuring in the Army. So great care was taken to scatter them in wide quarters, and not to suffer too many of those who were still for the old cause to lie near one another. The well and the ill affected were so mixed, that in case of any insurrection some might be ready at hand to assist them. They changed the officers that were ill affected, who were not thought fit to be trusted with the commanding those of their own stamp; and so created a mistrust between the officers and the soldiers. And above all they took care to have no more troops
than

than was necessary about the City: And these were the best affected. This was managed with great diligence and skill: And by this conduct it was, that the great turn was brought about without the least tumult or bloodshed, which was beyond what any person could have imagined. Of all this *Monk* had both the praise and the reward; tho' I have been told a very small share of it belonged to him. Admiral *Montague* was then in chief command at sea, newly returned from the *Sound*, where he and *de Ruyter*, upon the orders they received from their Masters, had brought the two northern Kings to a peace, the King of *Sweden* dying as it was a making up. He was soon gained to be for the King; and dealt so effectually with the whole Fleet, that the turn there was as silently brought about, without any revolt or opposition, as it had been in the Army. The Republicans went about like madmen, to rouse up their party. But their time was past. All were either as men amazed or asleep. They had neither the skill, nor the courage to make any opposition. The elections of Parliament men run all the other way. So they saw their business was quite lost, and they felt themselves struck as with a spirit of giddiness. And then every man thought only how to save or secure himself. And now they saw how deceitful the argument from success was, which they had used so oft, and triumphed so much upon. For whereas success in the field, which was the foundation of their argument, depended much upon the conduct and courage of armies, in which the will of man had a large share, here was a thing of another nature: A Nation, that had run on long in such a fierce opposition to the Royal family, was now turned as one man to call home the King.

The Nation had one great happiness during the long course of the civil war, that no foreigners had got footing among them. *Spain* was sinking to nothing: *France* was under a base spirited Minister: And both were in war all the while. Now a peace was made between them. And very probably, according to what is in *Mazarin's* letters, they would have joined forces to have restored the King. The Nation was by this means entirely in its own hands: And now returning to its wits was in a condition to put every thing in joint again; Whereas, if foreigners had been possessed of any important place, they might have had a large share of the management, and would have been sure of taking care of themselves. Enthusiasm was now languid: For that owing its mechanical force to the liveliness of the blood and spirits, men in disorder and depressed could not raise in themselves those heats, with which they were formerly wont

wont to transport both themselves and others. Chancellour *Hide* was all this while very busy: He sent over Dr. *Morley*, who talked much with the Presbyterians of moderation in general, but would enter into no particulars: Only he took care to let them know he was a *Calvinist*: And they had the best opinion of such of the Church of *England* as were of that persuasion. *Hide* wrote in the King's name to all the leading men, and got the King to write a great many letters in a very obliging manner. Some that had been faulty sent over considerable presents, with assurances that they would redcem all that was past with their zeal for the future. These were all accepted of. Their money was also very welcome; for the King needed money when his matters were on that crisis and he had so many tools at work. The management of all this was so entirely the Chancellour's single performance, that there was scarce any other that had so much as a share in it with him. He kept a register of all the King's promises, and of his own; and did all that lay in his power afterwards to get them all to be performed. He was also all that while giving the King many wise and good advices. But he did it too much with the air of a governour, or of a lawyer. Yet then the King was wholly in his hands.

A new Parliament.

I need not open the scene of the new Parliament, (or Convention, as it came afterwards to be called, because it was not summoned by the King's writ:) Such unanimity appeared in their proceedings, that there was not the least dispute among them, but upon one single point: Yet that was a very important one. *Hale*, afterwards the famous Chief Justice, moved that a Committee might be appointed to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered by the late King during the war, particularly at the treaty of *Newport*, that from thence they might digest such propositions as they should think fit to be sent over to the King. This was seconded, but I do not remember by whom. It was foreseen, that such a motion might be set on foot: So *Monk* was instructed how to answer it, whensoever it should be proposed. He told the House, that there was yet, beyond all mens hope, an universal quiet all over the Nation; but there were many incendiaries still on the watch, trying where they could first raise the flame. He said, he had such copious informations sent him of these things, that it was not fit they should be generally known: He could not answer for the peace, either of the Nation or of the Army, if any delay was put to the sending for the King: What need was there of sending propositions to him? Might they not as well prepare them, and offer them to him, when he should come over?

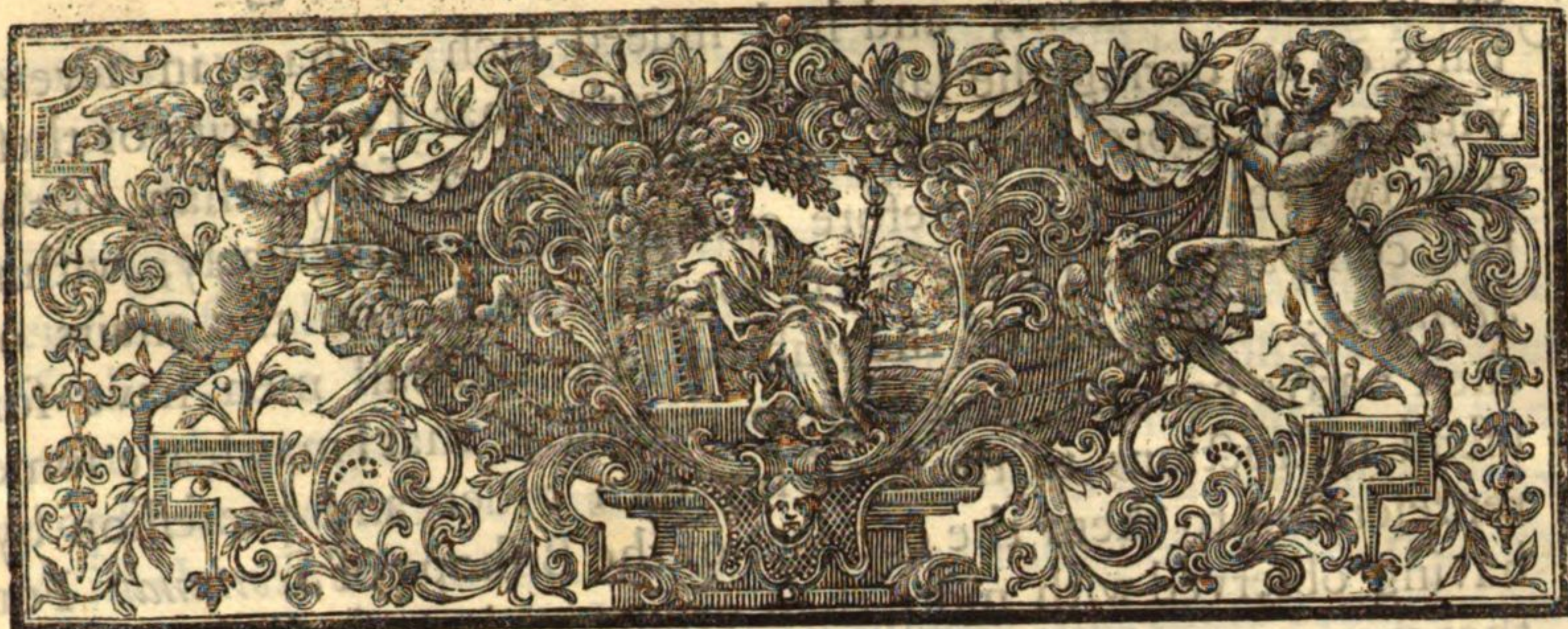
over? He was to bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright them or to corrupt them. So he moved, that they would immediately send commissioners to bring over the King: And said, that he must lay the blame of all the blood or mischief that might follow on the heads of those, who should still insist on any motion that might delay the present settlement of the Nation. This was echo'd with such a shout over the House, that the motion was no more insisted on.

This was indeed the great service that *Monk* did. It was chiefly owing to the post he was in, and to the credit he had gained: For as to the Restoration itself, the tide run so strong, that he only went into it dexterously enough, to get much fame, and great rewards, for that which will have still a great appearance in history. If he had died soon after, he might have been more justly admired, because less known, and seen only in one advantageous light: But he lived long enough to make it known, how false a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance. To the King's coming in without conditions may be well imputed all the errors of his reign. And when the Earl of *Southampton* came to see what he was like to prove, he said once in great wrath to Chancellour *Hide*, it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of the King, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himself or them any mischief, which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely. *Hide* answered, that he thought the King had so true a judgment, and so much good nature, that when the age of pleasure should be over, and the idleness of his exile, which made him seek new diversions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have shaken off those entanglements. I must put my reader in mind, that I leave all common transactions to ordinary books. If at any time I say things that occur in any books, it is partly to keep the thread of the narration in an unintangled method, and partly, because I neither have heard nor read those things in books; or at least, I do not remember to have read them so clearly and so particularly as I have related them. I now leave a mad and confused scene, to open a more august and splendid one.

They called
home the
King with-
out a treaty!

over: He was to bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fight them or to corrupt them. So he moved, that they would immediately send commissioners to bring over the King: And said, that he must lay the blame of all the blood and mischief that might follow on the heads of those, who should still insist on any motion that might delay the present settlement of the Nation. This was echoed with such a shout over the House, that the motion was no more insisted on.

This was indeed the great service that Mordaunt did. It was chiefly owing to the post he was in, and to the credit he had gained: For as to the Restoration itself, the tide ran so strong, that he only went into it dexterously enough, to get much fame and great rewards, for that which will have still a great appearance in history. If he had died soon after, he might have been more justly admired, because less known, and seen only in one advantageous light: But he lived long enough to make it known, how false a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance. To the King's coming in without condition, was may be well imputed all the errors of his reign. And when the Earl of Devonshire came to see what he was like to prove, he said once in great wrath to Chancellor Hyde, it was too true, they owed all they either felt or feared, for if he had not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of the King, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himself or them any mischief, which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so easily. Hyde answered, that he thought the King had to true a judgment, and so much good nature, that when the age of pleasure should be over, and the interests of his exile, which made him seek new diversions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have shaken off those cramp-like manners. I must put my reader in mind, that I leave all common transactions to ordinary books. If at any time I say things that occur in any book, it is partly to keep the thread of the narration in an unmingled method, and partly, because I neither have heard nor read those things in books; or at least, I do not remember to have read them so clearly and so particularly as I have related them. I now leave a mad and confused scene to open a more agreeable and splendid one.



THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.



BOOK II.

*Of the first twelve years of the reign of
King Charles II. from the year 1660
to the year 1673.*



DIVIDE King Charles's reign into two books, not so much because, consisting of twenty four years, it fell, if divided at all, naturally to put twelve years in a book: But I have a much better reason for it, since as to the first twelve years, tho' I knew the affairs of *Scotland* very authentically, yet I had only such a general knowledge of the affairs of *England* as I could pick up at a distance: Whereas I lived

1660.

1660. ed so near the scene, and had indeed such a share in several parts of it, during the last twelve years, that I can write of these with much more certainty, as well as more fully, than of the first twelve. I will therefore enlarge more particularly, within the compass that I have fixed for this book, on the affairs of *Scotland*; both out of the inbred love that all men have for their native country, and more particularly, that I may leave some useful instructions to those of my own order and profession by representing to them the conduct of the Bishops of *Scotland*: For having observed with more than ordinary niceness all the errors that were committed, both at the first setting up of Episcopacy, and in the whole progress of its continuance in *Scotland* till it was again overturned there, I am enabled to set all that matter in a full view and in a clear light.

Many went
over to the
Hague.

As soon as it was fixed that the King was to be restored, a great many went over to make their court: Among these *Sharp*, who was employed by the resolutioners of *Scotland*, was one. He carried with him a letter from the Earl of *Glencairn* to *Hide*, made soon after Earl of *Clarendon*, recommending him as the only person capable to manage the design of setting up Episcopacy in *Scotland*: Upon which he was received into great confidence. Yet, as he had observed very carefully the success of *Monk's* solemn protestations against the King and for a Commonwealth, it seems he was so pleased with the original that he resolved to copy after it, without letting himself be diverted from it by scruples: For he stuck neither at solemn protestations, both by word of mouth and by letters, (of which I have seen many proofs,) nor at appeals to God of his sincerity in acting for the Presbytery both in prayers and on other occasions, joining with these many dreadful imprecations on himself if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the Presbyterians as their agent, and continued to give them a constant account of the progress of his negotiation in their service, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of craft was so visible, he having repeated his protestations to as many persons as then grew jealous of him, that when he threw off the mask, about a year after this, it laid a foundation of such a character of him, that nothing could ever bring people to any tolerable thoughts of a man, whose dissimulation and treachery was so well known, and of which so many proofs were to be seen under his own hand.

The Nation
was over-
run with
vice and
drunken-
ness.

With the Restoration of the King a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: All ended in entertainments

1660.
 entertainments and drunkenness, which over-run the three Kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the King's health, there were great disorders and much riot every where: And the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter, to the prophane mockers of true piety. Those who had been concerned in the former transactions thought, they could not redeem themselves from the censures and jealousies that those brought on them by any method that was more sure and more easy, than by going into the stream, and laughing at all religion, telling or making stories to expose both themselves and their party as impious and ridiculous.

The King was then thirty years of age, and, as might have been supposed, past the levities of youth and the extravagance of pleasure. He had a very good understanding. He knew well the state of affairs both at home and abroad. He had a softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises; in which he was liberal to excess, because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of importunities, and to silence all farther pressing upon him. He seemed to have no sense of religion: Both at prayers and sacrament he, as it were, took care to satisfy people, that he was in no sort concerned in that about which he was employed. So that he was very far from being an hypocrite, unless his assisting at those performances was a sort of hypocrisy, (as no doubt it was:) But he was sure not to encrease that by any the least appearance of religion. He said once to my self, he was no atheist, but he could not think God would make a man miserable only for taking a little pleasure out of the way. He disguised his Popery to the last. But when he talked freely, he could not help letting himself out against the liberty that under the Reformation all men took of enquiring into matters of religion: For from their enquiring into matters of religion they carried the humour farther, to enquire into matters of state. He said often, he thought government was a much safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicate: About which I had once much discourse with him. He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long was, the being easy, and the making every thing easy to him. He had made such observations on the *French* government,

The King's
 character.

1660.

ment, that he thought a King who might be checkt, or have his Ministers called to an account by a Parliament, was but a King in name. He had a great compass of knowledge, tho' he was never capable of much application or study. He understood the Mechanicks and Physick; and was a good Chymist, and much set on several preparations of Mercury, chiefly the fixing it. He understood navigation well: But above all he knew the architecture of ships so perfectly, that in that respect he was exact rather more than became a Prince. His apprehension was quick, and his memory good. He was an everlasting talker. He told his stories with a good grace: But they came in his way too often. He had a very ill opinion both of men and women; and did not think that there was either sincerity or chastity in the world out of principle, but that some had either the one or the other out of humour or vanity. He thought that nobody did serve him out of love: And so he was quits with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him. He hated business, and could not be easily brought to mind any: But when it was necessary, and he was set to it, he would stay as long as his Ministers had work for him. The ruine of his reign, and of all his affairs, was occasioned chiefly by his delivering himself up at his first coming over to a mad range of pleasure. One of the race of the *Villers*, then married to *Palmer*, a Papist, soon after made Earl of *Castlemain*, who afterwards being separated from him was advanced to be Duchess of *Cleveland*, was his first and longest mistress, by whom he had five children. She was a woman of great beauty, but most enormously vicious and ravenous; foolish but imperious, very uneasy to the King, and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet she pretended she was jealous of him. His passion for her and her strange behaviour towards him, did so disorder him, that often he was not master of himself, nor capable of minding business, which in so critical a time required great application: But he did then so entirely trust the Earl of *Clarendon*, that he left all to his care, and submitted to his advices as to so many oracles.

Clarendon's
character.

The Earl of *Clarendon* was bred to the Law, and was like to grow eminent in his profession when the wars began. He distinguished himself so in the House of Commons, that he became considerable, and was much trusted all the while the King was at *Oxford*. He stayed beyond sea following the King's fortune till the Restoration; and was now an absolute favourite, and the chief or the only Minister, but with too magisterial a way. He was always pressing the King to mind his affairs, but in vain.

He

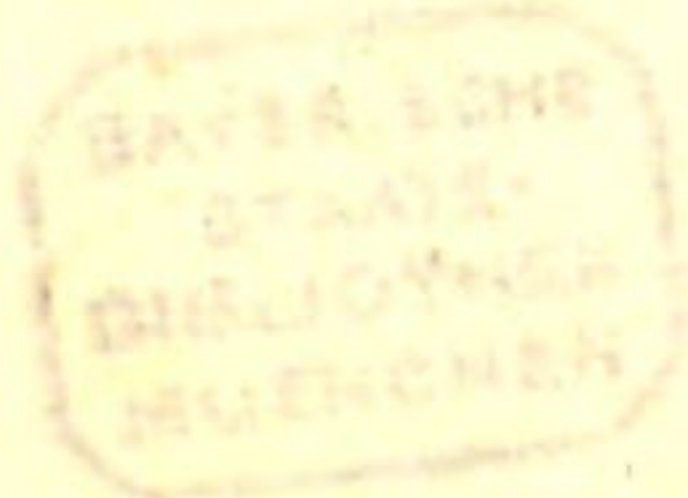
He was a good Chancellour, only a little too rough, but very impartial in the administration of justice. He never seemed to understand foreign affairs well: And yet he meddled too much in them. He had too much levity in his wit, and did not always observe the decorum of his post. He was high, and was apt to reject those who addressed themselves to him with too much contempt. He had such a regard to the King, that when places were disposed of, even otherwise than as he advised, yet he would justify what the King did, and disparage the pretensions of others, not without much scorn; which created him many enemies. He was indefatigable in business, tho' the gout did often disable him from waiting on the King: Yet, during his credit, the King came constantly to him when he was laid up by it.

The next man in favour with the King was the Duke of *Ormond*: A man every way fitted for a Court: Of a graceful appearance, a lively wit, and a cheerful temper: A man of great expence, decent even in his vices, for he always kept up the form of religion. He had gone through many transactions in *Ireland* with more fidelity than success. He had made a treaty with the *Irish*, which was broken by the great body of them, tho' some few of them adhered still to him. But the whole *Irish* Nation did still pretend that, tho' they had broke the agreement first, yet he, or rather the King in whose name he had treated with them, was bound to perform all the articles of the treaty. He had miscarried so in the siege of *Dublin*, that it very much lessened the opinion of his military conduct. Yet his constant attendance on his master, his easiness to him, and his great sufferings for him, raised him to be Lord Steward of the Household, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. He was firm to the Protestant religion, and so far firm to the laws, that he always gave good advices: But when bad ones were followed, he was not for complaining too much of them.

The Earl of *Southampton* was next to these. He was a man of great virtue, and of very good parts. He had a lively apprehension, and a good judgment. He had merited much by his constant adhering to the King's interest during the war, and by the large supplies he had sent him every year during his exile; for he had a great estate, and only three daughters to inherit it. He was Lord Treasurer: But he grew soon weary of business; for as he was subject to the stone, which returned often and violently upon him, so he retained the principles of liberty, and did not go into the violent measures of the Court. When he saw the King's temper, and his way of managing, or rather of spoiling

Ormond's
character.

Southamp-
ton's charac-
ter.



1660. ing business, he grew very uneasy, and kept himself more out of the way than was consistent with that high post. The King stood in some awe of him; and saw how popular he would grow, if put out of his service: And therefore he chose rather to bear with his ill humour and contradiction, than to dismiss him. He left the business of the treasury wholly in the hands of his secretary, Sir *Philip Warwick*, who was an honest, but a weak man; understood the common road of the treasury, he was an incorrupt man, and during seven years management of the treasury made but an ordinary fortune out of it. Before the Restoration the Lord Treasurer had but a small salary, with an allowance for a table; but he gave, or rather sold, all the subaltern places, and made great profits out of the estate of the Crown: But now, that estate being gone, and the Earl of *Southampton* disdaining to sell places, the matter was settled so, that the Lord Treasurer was to have 8000 *l.* a year, and the King was to name all the subaltern officers. It continued to be so all his time: But since that time the Lord Treasurer has both the 8000 *l.* and a main hand in the disposing of those places.

Shaftsbury's
character.

The man that was in the greatest credit with the Earl of *Southampton* was Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, who had married his niece, and became afterwards so considerable that he was raised to be Earl of *Shaftsbury*. And since he came to have so great a name, and that I knew him for many years in a very particular manner, I will dwell a little longer on his character; for it was of a very extraordinary composition. He began to make a considerable figure very early. Before he was twenty he came into the House of Commons, and was on the King's side; and undertook to get *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire* to declare for him: But he was not able to effect it. Yet Prince *Maurice* breaking articles to a town, that he had got to receive him, furnished him with an excuse to forsake that side, and to turn to the Parliament. He had a wonderful faculty in speaking to a popular assembly, and could mix both the facetious and the serious way of arguing very agreeably. He had a particular talent to make others trust to his judgment, and depend on it: And he brought over so many to a submission to his opinion, that I never knew any man equal to him in the art of governing parties, and of making himself the head of them. He was as to religion a Deist at best: He had the dotage of Astrology in him to a high degree: He told me, that a *Dutch* doctor had from the stars foretold him the whole series of his life. But that which was before him, when he told me this, proved false, if he told me true: For he said, he was yet to be a greater man than he had been. He fancied, that after death our souls

souls lived in stars. He had a general knowledge of the slighter parts of learning, but understood little to the bottom: So he triumphed in a rambling way of talking, but argued slightly when he was held close to any point. He had a wonderful faculty at opposing, and running things down; but had not the like force in building up. He had such an extravagant vanity in setting himself out, that it was very disagreeable. He pretended that *Cromwell* offered to make him King. He was indeed of great use to him in withstanding the enthusiasts of that time. He was one of those who press'd him most to accept of the Kingship, because, as he said afterwards, he was sure it would ruin him. His strength lay in the knowledge of *England*, and of all the considerable men in it. He understood well the size of their understandings, and their tempers: And he knew how to apply himself to them so dextrously, that, tho' by his changing sides so often it was very visible how little he was to be depended on, yet he was to the last much trusted by all the discontented party. He was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made: And he valued himself on the doing it at the properest season, and in the best manner. This he did with so much vanity, and so little discretion, that he lost many by it. And his reputation was at last run so low, that he could not have held much longer, had he not died in good time, either for his family or for his party: The former would have been ruined, if he had not saved it by betraying the latter.

Another man, very near of the same sort, who passed thro' many great employments, was *Annesly*, advanced to be Earl of *Anglesey*; who had much more knowledge, and was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the faculty of speaking indefatigably upon every subject: But he spoke ungracefully; and did not know that he was not good at raillery, for he was always attempting it. He understood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our constitution. He was capable of great application: And was a man of a grave deportment; but stuck at nothing, and was ashamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor trusted by any man or any side: And he seemed to have no regard to common decencies: But sold every thing that was in his power: And sold himself so often, that at last the price fell so low, that he grew useless.

Hollis was a man of great courage, and of as great pride: He was counted for many years the head of the Presbyterian party. He was faithful and firm to his side, and never changed thro' the whole course of his life. He engaged in a particular opposition to *Cromwell* in the time of the war. They hated one another

C c



1660. ther equally. *Hollis* seemed to carry this too far: For he would not allow *Cromwell* to have been either wise or brave; but often applied *Solomon's* observation to him, *that the battel was not to the strong, nor favour to the man of understanding, but that time and chance happened to all men.* He was well versed in the records of Parliament: And argued well, but too vehemently; for he could not bear contradiction. He had the soul of an old stubborn *Roman* in him. He was a faithful but a rough friend, and a severe but fair enemy. He had a true sense of religion: And was a man of an unblamable course of life, and of a sound judgment when it was not biaſſed by passion. He was made a Lord for his merits in bringing about the Restoration.

Manchester's
character.

Roberts's
character.

The Earl of *Manchester* was made Lord Chamberlain: A man of a soft and obliging temper, of no great depth, but universally beloved, being both a virtuous and a generous man. The Lord *Roberts* was made Lord Privy Seal, afterwards Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and at last Lord President of the Council. He was a man of a more morose and cynical temper, just in his administration, but vicious under the appearances of virtue: Learned beyond any man of his quality, but intractable, stiff and obstinate, proud and jealous.

These five, whom I have named last, had the chief hand in engaging the Nation in the design of the Restoration. They had great credit, chiefly with the Presbyterian party, and were men of much dexterity. So the thanks of that great turn was owing to them: And they were put in great posts by the Earl of *Clarendon's* means. By which he lost most of the Cavaliers, who could not bear the seeing such men so highly advanced, and so much trusted.

At the King's first coming over, *Monk* and *Mountague* were the most considered. They both had the Garter. The one was made Duke of *Albemarle*, and the other Earl of *Sandwich*, and had noble estates given them. *Monk* was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature. They both asked, and sold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied them for some time; till he became so useless, that little personal regard could be paid him. But the King maintained still the appearances of it: For the appearance of the service he did him was such, that the King thought it fit to treat him with great distinction, even after he saw into him, and despised him. He took care to raise his kinsman *Greenwill*, who was made Earl of *Bath* and Groom of the Stole, a man who thought of nothing but of getting and spending money. The Duke of *Albemarle* raised two other persons. One was *Clarges*, his wife's brother, who

Clarges's
character.

who was an honest but haughty man. He became afterwards a very considerable Parliament man, and valued himself on his opposing the Court, and on his frugality in managing the publick money; for he had *Cromwell's* œconomy ever in his mouth, and was always for reducing the expence of war to the modesty and parsimony of those times. Many thought he carried this too far: But it made him very popular. After he was become very rich himself by the publick money, he seemed to take care that no body else should grow as rich as he was in that way. Another man raised by the Duke of *Albemarle* was *Morrice*, who was the person that had prevailed with *Monk* to declare for the King. Upon that he was made Secretary of State. He was very learned, but full of pedantry and affectation. He had no true judgment about foreign affairs. And the Duke of *Albemarle's* judgment of them may be measured by what he said, when he found the King grew weary of *Morrice*, but that in regard to him had no mind to turn him out; He did not know what was necessary for a good Secretary of State in which he was defective, for he could speak *French* and write short hand.

Morrice's
character.

Nicolas was the other Secretary, who had been employed by King *Charles* the first during the war, and had served him faithfully, but had no understanding in foreign affairs. He was a man of vertue, but could not fall into the King's temper, or become acceptable to him. So not long after the Restoration, *Bennet*, advanced afterwards to be Earl of *Arlington*, was by the interest of the Popish party made Secretary of State; and was admitted into so particular a confidence, that he began to raise a party in opposition to the Earl of *Clarendon*. He was a proud man. His parts were solid, but not quick. He had the art of observing the King's temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that time. He was believed a Papist. He had once professed it: And when he died, he again reconciled himself to that Church. Yet in the whole course of his ministry, he seemed to have made it a maxim, that the King ought to shew no favour to Popery, but that all his affairs would be spoiled if ever he turned that way; which made the Papists become his mortal enemies, and accuse him as an apostate, and the betrayer of their interests. His chief friend was *Charles Berkely*, made Earl of *Falmouth*, who without any visible merit, unless it was the managing the King's amours, was the most absolute of all the King's favourites: And, which was peculiar to himself, he was as much in the Duke of *York's* favour as in the King's. *Berkley* was generous in his expence: And it was thought, if he had outlived the lewdness of that time, and come to a more sedate course of life,

Nicolas's
character.

Arlington's
character.

1660. life, he would have put the King on great and noble designs. This I should have thought more likely, if I had not had it from the Duke, who had so wrong a taste, that there was reason to suspect his judgment both of men and things. *Bennet* and *Berkeley* had the management of the mistresses. And all the Earl of *Clarendon*'s enemies came about them: The chief of whom were the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Bristol*.

Buckingham's character.

The first of these was a man of noble presence. He had a great liveliness of wit, and a peculiar faculty of turning all things into ridicule with bold figures and natural descriptions. He had no sort of literature: Only he was drawn into chymistry: And for some years he thought he was very near the finding the philosopher's stone; which had the effect that attends on all such men as he was, when they are drawn in, to lay out for it. He had no principles of religion, virtue, or friendship. Pleasure, frolick, or extravagant diversion was all that he laid to heart. He was true to nothing, for he was not true to himself. He had no steadiness nor conduct: He could keep no secret, nor execute any design without spoiling it. He could never fix his thoughts, nor govern his estate, tho' then the greatest in *England*. He was bred about the King: And for many years he had a great ascendent over him: But he spoke of him to all persons with that contempt, that at last he drew a lasting disgrace upon himself. And he at length ruined both body and mind, fortune and reputation equally. The madness of vice appeared in his person in very eminent instances; since at last he became contemptible and poor, sickly, and sunk in his parts, as well as in all other respects, so that his conversation was as much avoided as ever it had been courted. He found the King, when he came from his travels in the year 45, newly come to *Paris*, sent over by his father when his affairs declined: And finding the King enough inclined to receive ill impressions, he, who was then got into all the impieties and vices of the age, set himself to corrupt the King, in which he was too successful, being seconded in that wicked design by the Lord *Percy*. And to compleat the matter, *Hobbs* was brought to him, under the pretence of instructing him in mathematicks: And he laid before him his schemes, both with relation to religion and politicks, which made deep and lasting impressions on the King's mind. So that the main blame of the King's ill principles, and bad morals, was owing to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Bristol's character.

The Earl of *Bristol* was a man of courage and learning, of a bold temper and a lively wit, but of no judgment nor steadiness. He was in the Queen's interest during the war at *Oxford*. And he

1660.

he studied to drive things past the possibility of a treaty, or any reconciliation; fancying that nothing would make the military men so sure to the King, as his being sure to them, and giving them hopes of sharing the confiscated estates among them; whereas, he thought, all discourses of treaty made them feeble and fearful. When he went beyond sea he turned Papist. But it was after a way of his own: For he loved to magnify the difference between the Church and the Court of *Rome*. He was esteemed a very good speaker: But he was too copious, and too florid. He was set at the head of the popish party, and was a violent enemy of the Earl of *Clarendon*.

Lauderdale's
Character.

Having now said as much as seems necessary to describe the state of the Court and Ministry at the Restoration, I will next give an account of the chief of the *Scots*, and of the parties that were formed among them. The Earl of *Lauderdale*, afterwards made Duke, had been for many years a zealous Covenanter: But in the year forty seven he turned to the King's interests; and had continued a prisoner all the while after *Worcester* fight, where he was taken. He was kept for some years in the tower of *London*, in *Portland* castle, and in other prisons, till he was set at liberty by those who called home the King. So he went over to *Holland*. And since he continued so long, and contrary to all mens opinions in so high a degree of favour and confidence, it may be expected that I should be a little copious in setting out his character; for I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance: He was very big: His hair red, hanging oddly about him: His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to: And his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned, not only in *Latin*, in which he was a master, but in *Greek* and *Hebrew*. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians ancient and modern: So that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of *Buckingham* called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression, abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him: That would rather provoke him to swear, he would never be of another mind: He was to be let alone: And perhaps he would have forgot what he had said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend and the violentest enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to

1660. know it. He at first seemed to despise wealth: But he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality: And by that means he ran into a vast expence, and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind: But he wore these out so entirely, that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King, that no attempt against him nor complaint of him could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against Popery and arbitrary government: And yet by a fatal train of passions and interests he made way for the former, and had almost established the latter. And, whereas some by a smooth deportment made the first beginnings of tyranny less discernible and unacceptable, he by the fury of his behaviour heightened the severity of his ministry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquisition than the legality of justice. With all this he was a Presbyterian, and retained his aversion to King *Charles I.* and his party to his death.

Crawford's
character.

Rothes's cha-
racter.

Tweeddale's
character.

The Earl of *Crawford* had been his fellow prisoner for ten years. And that was a good title for maintaining him in the post he had before, of being Lord Treasurer. He was a sincere but weak man, passionate and indiscreet, and continued still a zealous Presbyterian. The Earl, afterwards Duke of *Rothes*, had married his Daughter, and had the merit of a long imprisonment likewise to recommend him: He had a ready dexterity in the management of affairs, with a soft and insinuating address: He had a quick apprehension with a clear judgment: He had no advantage of education, no sort of literature: Nor had he travelled abroad: All in him was mere nature.

The Earl of *Tweeddale* was another of Lord *Lauderdale's* friends. He was early engaged in business, and continued in it to a great age. He understood all the interests and concerns of *Scotland* well: He had a great stock of knowledge, with a mild and obliging temper. He was of a blameless, or rather an exemplary, life in all respects. He had loose thoughts both of civil and ecclesiastical government; and seemed to think, that what form soever was uppermost was to be complied with. He had been in *Cromwell's* Parliament, and had abjured the Royal family, which lay heavy on him. But the disputes about the guardianship of the Duchess of *Monmouth* and her elder sister, to which he pretended in the right of his wife who was their father's sister

sister against her mother who was Lord *Rothes's* sister, drew 1660. him into that compliance which brought a great cloud upon him: Tho' he was in all other respects the ablest and worthiest man of the nobility: Only he was too cautious and fearful.

A son of the Marquis of *Douglas*, made Earl of *Selkirk*, had married the heiress of the family of *Hamilton*, who by her father's patent was Duchess of *Hamilton*: And when the heiress of a title in *Scotland* marries one not equal to her in rank, it is ordinary at her desire to give her husband the title for life: So he was made Duke of *Hamilton*. He then pass'd for a soft man, who minded nothing but the recovery of that family from the great debts under which it was sinking, till it was raised up again by his great management. After he had compassed that, he became a more considerable man. He wanted all sort of polishing: He was rough and sullen, but candid and sincere. His temper was boisterous, neither fit to submit nor to govern: He was mutinous when out of power, and imperious in it. He wrote well, but spoke ill: For his judgment when calm, was better than his imagination. He made himself a great master in the knowledge of the laws, of the history, and of the families of *Scotland*; and seemed always to have a regard to justice, and the good of his country: But a narrow and selfish temper brought such an habitual meaness on him, that he was not capable of designing or undertaking great things.

Another man of that side, that made a good figure at that time, was *Bruce*, afterwards Earl of *Kincairdin*, who had married a daughter of Mr. *Somelsdyck* in *Holland*: And by that means he had got acquaintance with our Princes beyond sea, and had supplied them liberally in their necessities. He was both the wisest and the worthiest man that belonged to his countrey, and fit for governing any affairs but his own; which he by a wrong turn, and by his love for the publick, neglected to his ruin; for they consisting much in works, coals, salt, and mines, required much care; and he was very capable of it, having gone far in mathematicks, and being a great master of mechanicks. His thoughts went slow, and his words came much slower: But a deep judgment appeared in every thing he said or did. He had a noble zeal for justice, in which even friendship could never bias him. He had solid principles of religion and virtue, which shewed themselves with great lustre on all occasions. He was a faithful friend, and a merciful enemy. I may be perhaps inclined to carry his character too far; for he was the first man that entred into friendship with me. We continued for seventeen years in so entire a friendship, that there was never

1660. never either reserve or mistake between us all the while till his death. And it was from him that I understood the whole secret of affairs; for he was trusted with every thing. He had a wonderful love to the King; and would never believe me, when I warned him, what he might look for, if he did not go along with an abject compliance in every thing. He found it true in conclusion. And the love he bore the King made his disgrace sink deeper in him, than became such a philosopher, or so good a christian as he was.

The general character of the old Cavaliers.

Primeroſe's character.

Fletcher's character.

I now turn to another ſet of men, of whom the Earls of *Middletoun* and *Glencairn* were the chief. They were followed by the herd of the Cavalier party, who were now very fierce and full of courage over their cups, tho' they had been very diſcreet managers of it in the field, and in time of action. But now every one of them boasted that he had killed his thouſands. And all were full of merit, and as full of high pretenſions; far beyond what all the wealth and revenues of *Scotland* could answer. The ſubtleſt of all Lord *Middletoun's* friends was Sir *Archibald Primeroſe*: A man of long and great practice in affairs; for he and his father had ſerved the Crown ſucceſſively an hundred years all but one, when he was turned out of employment. He was a dextrous man in buſineſs: He had always expedients ready at every difficulty. He had an art of ſpeaking to all men according to their ſenſe of things: And ſo drew out their ſecrets while he concealed his own: For words went for nothing with him. He ſaid every thing that was neceſſary to perſuade thoſe he ſpoke to, that he was of their mind; and did it in ſo genuine a way that he ſeemed to ſpeak his heart. He was always for ſoft counſels, and ſlow methods: And thought that the chief thing that a great man ought to do was, to raiſe his family and his kindred, who naturally ſtick to him; for he had ſeen ſo much of the world, that he did not depend much on friends, and ſo took no care in making any. He always adviſed the Earl of *Middletoun* to go ſlowly in the King's buſineſs; but to do his own effectually, before the King ſhould ſee he had no farther occaſion for him. That Earl had another friend, who had more credit with him, tho' *Primeroſe* was more neceſſary for managing a Parliament: He was Sir *John Fletcher*, made the King's Advocate or Attorney General: For *Nicolſon* was dead. *Fletcher* was a man of a generous temper, who deſpiſed wealth, except as it was neceſſary to ſupport a vaſt expence. He was a bold and fierce man, who hated all mild proceedings, and could ſcarce ſpeak with decency or patience to thoſe of the other ſide. So that he was looked on by all that had been faulty in the late times, as an Inquiſitor

Inquisitor General. On the other hand *Primeroſe* took money 1660. liberally, and was the interceſſor for all who made ſuch effectual applications to him.

The firſt thing that was to be thought on, with relation to *Scottiſh* affairs, was the manner in which offenders in the late times were to be treated: For all were at mercy. In the letter the King writ from *Breda* to the Parliament of *England* he had promiſed a full indemnity for all that was paſt, excepting only thoſe who had been concerned in his father's death: To which the Earl of *Clarendon* perſuaded the King to adhere in a moſt ſacred manner; ſince the breaking of faith in ſuch a point was that which muſt for ever deſtroy confidence, and the obſerving all ſuch promiſes ſeemed to be a fundamental maxim in government, which was to be maintained in ſuch a manner, that not ſo much as a ſtretch was to be made in it. But there was no promiſe made for *Scotland*: So all the Cavaliers, as they were full of revenge, hoped to have the eſtates of thoſe who had been concerned in the late wars divided among them. The Earl of *Lauderdale* told the King, on the other hand, that the *Scottiſh* nation had turned eminently, tho' unfortunately, to ſerve his father in the year forty eight; that they had brought himſelf among them, and had loſt two armies in his ſervice, and had been under nine years oppreſſion on that account; that they had encouraged and aſſiſted *Monk* in all he did: They might be therefore highly diſgusted, if they ſhould not have the ſame meaſure of grace and pardon that he was to give *England*. Beſides, the King, while he was in *Scotland*, had in the Parliament of *Sterling* paſſ'd a very full act of indemnity, tho' in the terms and with the title of an act of approbation. It is true, the records of that Parliament were not exiſtant, but had been loſt in the confuſion that followed upon the reduction of that Kingdom: Yet the thing was ſo freſh in every man's memory, that it might have a very ill effect, if the King ſhould proceed without a regard to it. There was indeed another very ſevere act made in that Parliament againſt all that ſhould treat or ſubmit to *Cromwell*, or comply in any ſort with him: But, he ſaid, a difference ought to be made between thoſe who during the ſtruggle had deſerted the ſervice and gone over to the enemy, of which number it might be fit to make ſome examples, and the reſt of the kingdom, who upon the general reduction had been forced to capitulate: It would be hard to puniſh any for ſubmitting to a ſuperior force, when they were in no condition to reſiſt it. This ſeemed reaſonable: And the Earl of *Clarendon* acquieſced in it. But the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party complained of it, and deſired that

Advices offered in *Scottiſh* affairs.

For a general indemnity.

1660. the Marquis of *Argile*, whom they charged with an accession to the King's murder, and some few of those who had joined in the remonstrance while the King was in *Scotland*, might be proceeded against. The Marquis of *Argile*'s craft made them affraid of him: And his Estate made them desire to divide it among them. His son, the Lord *Lorn*, was come up to Court, and was well received by the King: For he had adhered so firmly to the King's interest, that he would never enter into any engagements with the Usurpers: And upon every new occasion of jealousy he had been clapt up. In one of his imprisonments he had a terrible accident from a cannon bullet, which the soldiers were throwing to exercise their strength, and by a recoil struck him in the head, and made such a fracture in his skull, that the operation of the trepan, and the cure, was counted one of the greatest performances of surgery at that time. The difference between his father and him went on to a total breach; so that his father was set upon the disinheriting him of all that was still left in his power. Upon the Restoration the Marquis of *Argile* went up to the Highlands for some time, till he advised with his friends what to do, who were divided in opinion. He writ by his son to the King, asking leave to come and wait on him. The King gave an answer that seemed to encourage it, but did not bind him to any thing. I have forgot the words: There was an equivocating in them that did not become a Prince: But his son told me, he wrote them very particularly to his father, without any advice of his own. Upon that the Marquis of *Argile* came up so secretly, that he was within *White-hall*, before his enemies knew any thing of his journey. He sent his son to the King to beg admittance. But instead of that he was sent to the Tower. And orders were sent down for clapping up three of the chief Remonstrators. Of these *Waristoun* was one: But he had notice sent him before the messenger came: So he made his escape, and went beyond sea, first to *Hamburg*. He had been long courted by *Cromwell*, and had stood at a distance from him for seven years: But in the last year of his government he had gone into his counsels, and was summoned as one of his Peers to the other House, as it was called. He was after that put into the Council of state after *Richard* was put out: And then he sat in another court put up by *Lambert* and the Army, called the Committee of safety. So there was a great deal against him. *Swin-ton*, one of *Cromwell*'s Lords, was also sent a prisoner to *Scotland*. And thus it was resolved to make a few examples in the Parliament that was to be called, as soon as the King could be got to prepare matters for it. It was resolved on, to restore the King's

autho-

Argile sent
to the Tow-
er.

authority to the same state it was in before the wars, and to 1660.
raise such a force as might be necessary to secure the quiet of that
kingdom for the future.

It was a harder point, what to do with the citadels that were
built by *Cromwell*, and with the *English* garrisons that were kept
in them. Many said, it was necessary to keep that kingdom in
that subdued state; at least till all things were settled, and that
there was no more danger from thence. The Earl of *Clarendon*
was of this mind. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* laid before
the King, that the conquest *Cromwell* had made of *Scotland* was
for their adhering to him: He might then judge what they
would think, who had suffered so much and so long on his ac-
count; if the same thralldome should be now kept up by his means:
It would create an universal disgust. He told the King, that the
time might come, in which he would wish rather to have *Scotch*
garrisons in *England*: It would become a national quarrel, and
loose the affections of the country to such a degree, that per-
haps they would join with the garrisons, if any disjointing hap-
pen'd in *England* against him: Whereas, without any such badge
of slavery, *Scotland* might be so managed, that they might be
made entirely his. The Earl of *Midletoun* and his party durst
not appear for so unpopular a thing. So it was agreed on, that
the citadels should be evacuated and flighted, as soon as the
money could be raised in *England* for paying and disbanding the
Army. Of all this the Earl of *Lauderdale* was believed the chief
adviser. So he became very popular in *Scotland*.

The citadels
in *Scotland*
demolish'd.

The next thing that fell under consideration was the Church, Disputes
and whether Bishops were to be restored, or not. The Earl of *Lauderdale* at his first coming to the King stuck firm to Presby-
tery. He told me, the King spoke to him to let that go, for
it was not a religion for gentlemen. He being really a Presby-
terian, but at the same time resolving to get into the King's
confidence, studied to convince the King by a very subtil me-
thod to keep up Presbytery still in *Scotland*. He told him, that
both King *James* and his father had ruined their affairs by en-
gaging in the design of setting up Episcopacy in that kingdom:
And by that means *Scotland* became discontented, and was of
no use to them: Whereas the King ought to govern them ac-
cording to the grain of their own inclinations, and to make them
sure to him: He ought, instead of endeavouring an uniformity
in both kingdoms, to keep up the opposition between them, and
rather to encrease than to allay that hatred that was between
them: And then the *Scots* would be ready, and might be easily
brought to serve him upon any occasion of dispute he might
afterwards

concerning
Episcopacy.

1660. afterwards have with the Parliament of *England*: All things were then smooth: But that was the honey moon, and it could not last long: Nothing would keep *England* more in awe, than if they saw *Scotland* firm in their duty and affection to him: Whereas nothing gave them so much heart, as when they knew *Scotland* was disjointed: It was a vain attempt to think of doing any thing in *England* by means of the *Irish*, who were a despicable people, and had a sea to pass: But *Scotland* could be brought to engage for the King in a more silent manner, and could serve him more effectually: He therefore laid it down for a maxim, from which the King ought never to depart, that *Scotland* was to be kept quiet and in good humour, that the opposition of the two kingdoms was to be kept up and heighten'd: And then the King might reckon on every man capable of bearing arms in *Scotland*, as a listed soldier, who would willingly change a bad country for a better. This was the plan he laid before the King. I cannot tell, whether this was to cover his zeal for Presbytery, or on design to encourage the King to set up arbitrary government in *England*.

To fortify these advises he wrote a long letter in white ink to a Daughter of the Earl of *Cassilis*, Lady *Margaret Kennedy*, who was in great credit with the party, and was looked on as a very wise and good woman, and was out of measure zealous for them. I married her afterwards, and after her death found this letter among her papers: In which he expressed great zeal for the cause: He saw the King was indifferent in the matter: But he was easy to those who pressed for a change: Which, he said, nothing could so effectually hinder, as the sending up many men of good sense, but without any noise, who might inform the King of the aversion the nation had to that government, and assure him that, if in that point he would be easy to them, he might depend upon them as to every thing else; and particularly, if he stood in need of their service in his other dominions: But he charged her to trust very few of the Ministers with this, and to take care that *Sharp* might know nothing of it: For he was then jealous of him. This had all the effect that the Earl of *Lauderdale* intended by it. The King was no more jealous of his favouring Presbytery; but looked on him as a fit instrument to manage *Scotland*, and to serve him in the most desperate designs: And on this all his credit with the King was founded. In the mean time *Sharp*, seeing the King cold in the matter of Episcopacy, thought it was necessary to lay the Presbyterians asleep, to make them apprehend no danger to their government, and to engage the Publick Resolutioners to proceed
against

against all the Protesters; that so those who were like to be the most inflexible in the point of Episcopacy might be censured by their own party, and by that means the others might become so odious to the more violent Presbyterians, that thereby they might be the more easily disposed to submit to Episcopacy, or at least might have less credit to act against it. So he, being press'd by those who employed him to procure somewhat from the King that might look like a confirmation of their government, and put to silence all discourses of an intended change, obtained by the Earl of *Lauderdale's* means, that a letter should be writ by the King to the Presbytery of *Edenburgh*, to be communicated by them to all the other Presbyteries in *Scotland*, in which he confirmed the General Assemblies that sate at *St. Andrews* and *Dundee* while he was in *Scotland*, and that had confirmed the publick resolutions; in which he ordered them to proceed to censure all those who had then protested against them, and would not now submit to them. The King did also confirm their Presbyterian government, as it was by law established. This was signed, and sent down without communicating it to the Earl of *Midletoun* or his party. But as soon as he heard of it, he thought *Sharp* had betrayed the design; and sent for him, and charged him with it. *Sharp* said, in his own excuse, that somewhat must be done for quieting the Presbyterians, who were beginning to take the allarm: That might have produced such applications, as would perhaps make some impression on the King: Whereas now all was secured, and yet the King was engaged to nothing; for his confirming their government, as it was established by law, could bind him no longer than while that legal establishment was in force: So the reversing of that would release the King. This allayed the Earl of *Midletoun's* displeasure a little. Yet *Primerose* told me, he spoke often of it with great indignation, since it seemed below the dignity of a King thus to equivocate with his people, and to deceive them. It seemed, that *Sharp* thought it not enough to cheat the party himself, but would have the King share with him in the fraud. This was no honourable step to be made by a King, and to be contrived by a Clergyman. The letter was received with transports of joy: The Presbyterians reckoned they were safe, and began to proceed severely against the Protesters; to which they were set on by some aspiring men, who hoped to merit by the heat expressed on this occasion. And if *Sharp's* impatience to get into the Archbishoprick of *St. Andrews* had not wrought too strong on him, it would have given a great advantage to the restitution of Episcopacy, if a General Assembly had been called, and

1660. the two parties had been let loose on one another: That would have shewn the impossibility of maintaining the government of the Church in a parity, and the necessity of setting a superiour order over them for keeping them in unity and peace.

A Ministry
settled in
Scotland.

The King settled the Ministry in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Midletoun* was declared the King's Commissioner for holding the Parliament, and General of the forces that were to be raised: The Earl of *Glencairn* was made Chancellour: The Earl of *Lauderdale* was Secretary of State: The Earl of *Rothes* President of the Council: The Earl of *Crawford* was continued in the Treasury: *Primerose* was Clark Register, which is very like the place of Master of the Rolls in *England*. The rest depended on these. But the Earls of *Midletoun* and *Lauderdale* were the two heads of the parties. The Earl of *Midletoun* had a private instruction, which, as *Lauderdale* told me, was not communicated to him, to try the inclinations of the Nation for Episcopacy, and to consider of the best method of setting it up. This was drawn from the King by the Earl of *Clarendon*: For he himself was observed to be very cold in it, while these things were doing. *Primerose* got an order from the King to put up all the publick registers of *Scotland*, which *Cromwell* had brought up, and lodged in the Tower of *London*, as a pawn upon that Kingdom, in imitation of what King *Edward* the first was said to have done when he subdued that Nation. They were now put up in fifty hogsheds: And a ship was ready to carry them down. But it was suggested to Lord *Clarendon*, that the original Covenant, signed by the King, and some other declarations under his hand, were among them. And he, apprehending that at some time or other an ill use might have been made of these, would not suffer them to be shipped till they were visited: Nor would he take *Primerose's* promise of searching for these carefully, and sending them up to him. So he ordered a search to be made. None of the papers he looked for were found. But so much time was lost, that the summer was spent: So they were sent down in winter: And by some easterly gusts the ship was cast away near *Berwick*. So we lost all our records. And we have nothing now but some fragments in private hands to rely on, having made at that time so great a shipwreck of all our authentick writings. This heightened the displeasure the Nation had at the designs then on foot.

A Council
proposed to
sit at Court
for *Scottish*
affairs.

The main thing, upon which all other matters depended, was the method in which the affairs of *Scotland* were to be conducted. The Earl of *Clarendon* moved, that there might be a Council settled to sit regularly at *Whitehall* on *Scottish* affairs,

to

to which every one of the *Scotch* Privy Council that happened ^{1660.} to be on the place should be admitted: But with this addition, that, as two *Scotch* Lords were called to the *English* Council, so six of the *English* were to be of the *Scotch* Council. The effect of this would have been, that whereas the *Scotch* Counsellours had no great force in *English* affairs, the *English*, as they were men of great credit with the King, and were always on the place, would have the government of the affairs of *Scotland* wholly in their hands. This probably would have saved that Nation from much injustice and violence, when there was a certain method of laying their grievances before the King: Complaints would have been heard, and matters well examined: *Englishmen* would not, and durst not, have given way to crying oppression, and illegal proceedings: For tho' these matters did not fall under the cognisance of an *English* Parliament, yet it would have very much blasted a man's credit who should have concurred in such methods of government as were put in practice afterwards in that Kingdom: Therefore all people quickly saw how wise a project this was, and how happy it would have proved, if affairs had still gone in that channel. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* opposed this with all his strength. He told the King, it would quite destroy the scheme he had laid before him, which must be managed secretly, and by men that were not in fear of the Parliament of *England*, nor obnoxious to it. He said to all *Scotch-men*, this would make *Scotland* a province to *England*, and subject it to *English* Counsellours, who knew neither the laws nor the interests of *Scotland*, and yet would determine every thing relating to it: And all the wealth of *Scotland* would be employed to bribe them, who, having no concern of their own in the affairs of that Kingdom, must be supposed capable of being turned by private considerations. To the Presbyterians he said, this would infallibly bring in, not only Episcopacy, but every thing else from the *English* pattern. Men who had neither kindred nor estates in *Scotland* would be biaased chiefly by that which was most in vogue in *England*, without any regard to the inclinations of the *Scots*. These things made great impressions on the *Scottish* Nation. The King himself did not much like it. But the Earl of *Clarendon* told him, *Scotland*, by a secret and ill management, had begun the embroilment in his father's affairs, which could never have happened, if the affairs of that Kingdom had been under a more equal inspection: If *Scotland* should again fall into new disorders, he must have the help of *England* to quiet them: And that could not be expected, if the *English* had no share in the

1660. the conduct of matters there. The King yielded to it: And this method was followed for two or three years; but was afterwards broke by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, when he got into the chief management. He began early to observe some uneasiness in the King at the Earl of *Clarendon's* positive way. He saw the mistress hated him: And he believed she would in time be too hard for him: Therefore he made great applications to her. But his conversation was too coarse: And he had not money enough to support himself by presents to her: So he could not be admitted into that cabal which was held in her lodgings. He saw, that in a Council, where men of weight, who had much at stake in *England*, bore the chief sway, he durst not have proposed those things, by which he intended to establish his own interest with the King, and to govern that Kingdom which way his pride or passion might guide him. Among others, he took great pains to persuade me of the great service he had done his country by breaking that method of governing it; tho' we had many occasions afterwards to see how fatal that proved, and how wicked his design in it was.

The Committee of Estates meet in Scotland.

I have thus opened with some copiousness the beginnings of this reign; since, as they are little known, and I had them from the chief of both sides, so they may guide the reader to observe the progress of things better in the sequel than he could otherwise do. In *August* the Earl of *Glencairn* was sent down to *Scotland*, and had orders to call together the Committee of Estates. This was a practice begun in the late times: When the Parliament made a recess, they appointed some of every State to sit, and to act as a Council of State in their name till the next session; for which they were to prepare matters, and to which they gave an account of their proceedings. When the Parliament of *Sterling* was adjourned, the King being present, a Committee had been named: So, such of these as were yet alive were summoned to meet, and to see to the quiet of the Nation, till the Parliament should be brought together; which did not meet before *January*. On the day in which the Committee met, ten or twelve of the *Protesting* Ministers met likewise at *Edinburgh*, and had before them a warm paper prepared by one *Guthery*, one of the violentest Ministers of the whole party. In it, after some cold compliment to the King upon his Restoration, they put him in mind of the Covenant which he had so solemnly sworn while among them: They lamented that, instead of pursuing the ends of it in *England*, as he had sworn to do, he had set up the Common Prayer in his Chappel, and the order of Bishops: Upon which they made terrible denunciations

of heavy judgments from God on him, if he did not stand to 1660. the Covenant, which they called the oath of God. The Earl of *Glencairn* had notice of this meeting: And he sent and seized on them together with this remonstrance. The paper was voted scandalous and seditious: And the Ministers were all clapt up in prison, and were threaten'd with great severities. *Guthery* was kept still in prison, who had brought the others together: But the rest after a while's imprisonment were let go. *Guthery*, being Minister of *Sterlin* while the King was there, had let fly at him in his Sermons in a most indecent manner; which at last became so intolerable, that he was cited to appear before the King to answer for some passages in his sermons: He would not appear, but declined the King and his Council, who, he said, were not proper judges of matters of doctrine, for which he was only accountable to the judicatories of the Kirk. He also protested for remedy of law against the King, for thus disturbing him in the exercise of his Ministry. This personal affront had irritated the King more against him, than against any other of the party. And it was resolved to strike a terroure into them all, by making an example of him. He was a man of courage, and went thro' all his trouble with great firmness. But this way of proceeding struck the whole party with such a consternation, that it had all the effect which was designed by it: For whereas the pulpits had, to the great scandal of religion, been places where the preachers had for many years vented their spleen and arraigned all proceedings, they became now more decent, and there was a general silence every where with relation to the affairs of state: Only they could not hold from many sly and secret insinuations, as if the Ark of God was shaking, and the Glory departing. A great many offenders were summoned, at the King's suit, before the Committee of Estates, and required to give bail, that they should appear at the opening of the Parliament, and answer to what should be then objected to them. Many saw, the design of this was to fright them into a composition, and also into a concurrence with the measures that were to be taken. For the greater part they complied, and redeemed themselves from farther vexation by such presents as they were able to make. And in these transactions *Primerose* and *Fletcher* were the great dealers.

In the end of the year the Earl of *Middleton* came down with great magnificence: His way of living was the most splendid the nation had ever seen: But it was likewise the most scandalous; for vices of all sorts were the open practices of those about him. Drinking was the most notorious of all, which was often

A Parliament in Scotland.

1660. continued thro' the whole night to the next morning: And many disorders happening after those irregular heats, the people, who had never before that time seen any thing like it, came to look with an ill eye on every thing that was done by such a set of lewd and vitious men. This laid in all men's minds a new prejudice against Episcopacy: For they, who could not examine into the nature of things, were apt to take an ill opinion of every change in religion that was brought about by such bad instruments. There had been a face of gravity and piety in the former administration, which made the libertinage of the present time more odious.

1661. The Earl of *Middletoun* opened the Parliament on the first of *January* with a speech setting forth the blessing of the Restoration: He magnified the King's person, and enlarged on the affection that he bore to that his ancient Kingdom: He hoped they would make suitable returns of zeal for the King's service, that they would condemn all the invasions that had been made on the Regal authority, and assert the just prerogative of the Crown, and give supplies for keeping up such a force as was necessary to secure the publick peace, and to preserve them from the return of such calamities as they had so long felt. The Parliament writ an answer to the King's letter full of duty and thanks. The first thing proposed was to name Lords of the Articles. In order to the apprehending the importance of this, I will give some account of the constitution of that Kingdom.

The Lords
of the Arti-
cles.

The Parliament was anciently the King's Court, where all who held land of him were bound to appear. All sat in one house, but were considered as three estates. The first was the Church, represented by the Bishops, and mitred Abbots, and Priors. The second was the Baronage, the Nobility and Gentry who held their Baronies of the King. And the third was the Burroughs, who held of the King by Barony, tho' in a community. So that the Parliament was truly the Baronage of the Kingdom. The lesser Barons grew weary of this attendance: So in King *James* the first time (during the reign of *Henry IV. of England*) they were excused from it, and were empowered to send proxies, to an indefinite number, to represent them in Parliament. Yet they neglected to do this. And it continued so till King *James* the sixth's time, in which the mitred Abbots being taken away, and few of the titular Bishops that were then continued appearing at them, the Church Lands being generally in Lay hands, the Nobility carried matters in Parliament as they pleased: And as they oppressed the Burroughs, so they had the King much under them. Upon this the lower Barons

got

got themselves to be restored to the right which they had neglected near two hundred years. They were allowed by act of Parliament to send two from a county: Only some smaller counties sent but one. This brought that constitution to a truer balance. The lower Barons have a right to choose at their county Courts after *Michaelmas* their Commissioners, to serve in any Parliament that may be called within that year. And they who choose them sign a commission to him who represents them. So the Sheriff has no share of the return. And in the case of controverted elections the Parliament examines the commissions, to see who has the greatest number, and judges whether every one that signs it had a right to do so. The Burroughs only choose their members when the summons goes out: And all are chosen by the men of the corporation, or, as they call them, the town council. All these Estates sit in one house, and vote together. Anciently the Parliament sate only two days, the first and the last. On the first they chose those who were to sit on the articles, eight for every state, to whom the King joined eight officers of state. These received all the heads of grievances or articles that were brought to them, and formed them into bills as they pleased: And on the last day of the Parliament, these were all read, and were approved or rejected by the whole body. So they were a committee that had a very extraordinary authority, since nothing could be brought before the Parliament but as they pleased. This was pretended to be done only for the shortening and dispatching of Sessions. The Crown was not contented with this limitation, but got it to be carried farther. The Nobility came to choose eight Bishops, and the Bishops to choose eight noble men: And these sixteen choose the eight Barons, (so the representative for the Shires are called,) and the eight Burgesses. By this means our Kings did upon the matter choose all the Lords of the articles. So entirely had they got the liberties of that Parliament into their hands.

During the late troubles they had still kept up a distinction of three estates, the lesser Barons making one: And then every Estate might meet apart, and name their own committee: But still all things were brought in, and debated in full Parliament. So now the first thing proposed was, the returning to the old custom of naming Lords of the articles. The Earl of *Tweeddale* opposed it, but was seconded only by one person. So it pass'd with that small opposition. Only, to make it go easier, it was promised, that there should be frequent sessions of Parliament, and that the acts should not be brought in in a hurry, and carried with the haste that had been practised in former times.

The

1661.

The Acts
pass'd in this
session.

The Parliament granted the King an additional revenue for life of 40000 *l.* a year, to be raised by an excise on beer and ale, for maintaining a small force: Upon which two troops and a regiment of foot guards were to be raised. They ordered the Marquiss of *Montrose's* quarters to be brought together: And they were buried with great state. They fell next upon the acts of the former times that had limited the Prerogative: They repealed them, and asserted it with a full extent in a most extraordinary manner. *Primerose* had the drawing of these acts. He often confessed to me, that he thought he was as one bewitched while he drew them: For, not considering the ill use might be made of them afterwards, he drew them with preambles full of extravagant rhetorick, reflecting severely on the proceedings of the late times, and swelled them up with the highest phrases and fullest clauses that he could invent. In the act which asserted the King's power of the militia, the power of arming and levying the subjects was carried so far, that it would have ruined the Kingdom, if *Gilmore*, (an eminent Lawyer, and a man of great integrity, who had now the more credit, for he had always favoured the King's side,) had not observed that, as the act was worded, the King might require all the subjects to serve at their own charge, and might oblige them, in order to the redeeming themselves from serving, to pay whatever might be set on them. So he made such an opposition to this, that it could not pass till a proviso was added to it, that the Kingdom should not be obliged to maintain any force levied by the King, otherwise than as it should be agreed to in Parliament, or in a Convention of Estates. This was the only thing that was then looked to: For all the other acts pass'd in the articles as *Primerose* had penn'd them. They were brought into Parliament: And upon one hasty reading them they were put to the vote, and were always carried.

One act troubled the Presbyterians extreamly. In the act asserting the King's power in treaties of peace and war, all leagues with any other Nation, not made by the King's authority, were declared treasonable: And in consequence of this the League and Covenant made with *England* in the year 1643 was condemned, and declared of no force for the future. This was the idol of all the Presbyterians: So they were much alarmed at it. But *Sharp* restrained all those with whom he had credit: He told them, the only way to preserve their government was, to let all that related to the King's authority be separated from it, and be condemned, that so they might be no more accused as enemies to monarchy, or as leavened with the principles of rebellion.

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He told them, they must be contented to let that pass, that the jealousy which the King had of them, as enemies to his prerogative, might be extinguished in the most effectual manner. This restrained many. But some hotter zealots could not be governed. One *Macquair*, a hot man and considerably learned, did in his church at *Glasgow* openly protest against this act, as contrary to the oath of God, and so void of itself. To protest against an act of Parliament was treason by their law. And *Midletoun* was resolved to make an example of him for the terrifying others. But *Macquair* was as stiff as he was severe, and would come to no submission. Yet he was only condemned to perpetual banishment. Upon which he, and some others who were afterwards banished, went and settled at *Rotterdam*, where they formed themselves into a Presbytery, and writ many seditious books, and kept a correspondence over all *Scotland*, that being the chief seat of the *Scottish* trade: And by that means they did much more mischief to the government, than they could have done had they continued still in *Scotland*. 1661.

The Lords of the articles grew weary of preparing so many acts as the practices of the former times gave occasion for; but did not know how to meddle with those acts that the late King had passed in the year 41, or the present King had passed while he was in *Scotland*. They saw, that, if they should proceed to repeal those by which Presbyterian government was ratified, that would raise much opposition, and bring petitions from all that were for that government over the whole Kingdom; which *Midletoun* and *Sharp* endeavoured to prevent, that the King might be confirmed in what they had affirmed, that the general bent of the Nation was now turned against Presbytery and for Bishops. So *Primerose* proposed, but half in jest as he assured me, that the better and shorter way would be to pass a general act rescissory, (as it was called,) annulling all the Parliaments that had been held since the year 1633, during the whole time of the war, as faulty and defective in their constitution. But it was not so easy to know upon what point that defect was to be fixed. The only colourable pretence in law was, that, since the ecclesiastical state was not represented in those Parliaments, they were not a full representative of the Kingdom, and so not true Parliaments. But this could not be alledged by this present Parliament, which had no Bishops in it: If that inferred a nullity, this was no Parliament. Therefore they could only fix the nullity upon the pretence of force and violence. Yet it was a great strain to insist on that, since it was visible that neither the late King nor the present were under any force when they

An act rescinding all Parliaments held since the year 1633.

1661. passed them: They came of their own accord, and pass'd those acts. If it was insisted on, that the ill state of their affairs was in the nature of a force, the ill consequences of this were visible; since no Prince by this means could be bound to any treaty, or be concluded by any law that limited his power, these being always drawn from them by the necessity of their affairs, which can never be called a force, as long as their persons are free. So, upon some debate about it on those grounds, at a private juncto the proposition, tho' well liked, was let fall, as not capable to have good colours put upon it: Nor had the Earl of *Middletoun* any instruction to warrant his passing any such act. Yet within a day or two, when they had drunk higher, they resolved to venture on it. *Primerose* was then ill. So one was sent to him to desire him to prepare a bill to that effect. He set about it: But perceived it was so ill grounded, and so wild in all the frame of it, that he thought, when it came to be better considered, it must certainly be laid aside. But it fell out otherwise: His draught was copied out next morning, without altering a word in it, and carried to the articles, and from thence to the Parliament, where it met indeed with great opposition. The Earl of *Crawford* and the Duke of *Hamilton* argued much against it. The Parliament in the year 41 was legally summoned: The late King came thither in person with his ordinary attendance, and without the appearance of any force: If any acts then pass'd needed to be reviewed, that might be well done: But to annul a Parliament was a terrible precedent, which destroyed the whole security of government: Another Parliament might annul the present Parliament, as well as that which was now proposed to be done: So no stop could be made, nor any security laid down for fixing things for the future: The Parliament in the year 48 proceeded upon instructions under the King's own hand, which was all that could be had considering his imprisonment: They had declared for the King, and raised an army for his preservation. To this the Earl of *Middletoun*, who contrary to custom managed the debate himself, answered, that tho' there was no visible force on the late King in the year 41, yet they all knew he was under a real force by reason of the rebellion that had been in this Kingdom, and the apparent danger of one ready to break out in *England*, which forced him to settle *Scotland* on such terms as he could bring them to: So that distress on his affairs was really equivalent to a force on his person: Yet he confessed, it was just, that such an appearance of a Parliament should be a full authority to all who acted under it: And care was taken to secure these by a proviso that was put in

in the act to indemnify them: He acknowledged the design ^{1661.} of the Parliament in the year 48 was good: Yet they declared for the King in such terms, and had acted so hypocritically in order to the gaining of the Kirk party, that it was just to condemn the proceedings, tho' the intentions of many were honourable and loyal: For we went into it, he said, as knaves, and therefore no wonder if we miscarried in it as fools. This was very ill taken by all who had been concerned in it. The bill was put to the vote, and carried by a great majority: And the Earl of *Midletoun* immediately pass'd it without staying for an instruction from the King. The excuse he made for it was, that, since the King had by his letter to the Presbyterians confirmed their government as it was established by law, there was no way left to get out of that, but the annulling all those laws.

This was a most extravagant act, and only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It shook all possible security for the future, and laid down a most pernicious precedent. The Earl of *Lauderdale* aggravated this heavily to the King. It shewed, that the Earl of *Midletoun* understood not the first principles of government, since he had, without any warrant for it, given the King's assent to a law that must for ever take away all the security that law can give: No government was so well established, as not to be liable to a revolution: This would cut off all hopes of peace and submission, if any disorder should happen at any time thereafter. And since the Earl of *Clarendon* had set it up for a maxim never to be violated, that acts of indemnity were sacred things, he studied to possess him against the Earl of *Midletoun*, who had now annulled the very Parliaments in which two King's had pass'd acts of indemnity. This raised a great clamour. And upon that the Earl of *Midletoun* complained in Parliament, that their best services were represented to the King as blemishes on his honour, and as a prejudice to his affairs: So he desired they would send up some of the most eminent of their body to give the King a true account of their proceedings. The Earls of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* were sent: For the Earl of *Rothes* gave secret engagements to both sides, resolving to strike into that to which he saw the King most inclined. The Earl of *Midletoun*'s design was to accuse the Earl of *Lauderdale* of misrepresenting the proceedings of Parliament, and of belying the King's good subjects, called in the *Scottish* law *Leasing making*, which either to the King or to the People or to the People of the King is capital.

Skarp went up with these Lords to press the speedy setting up of Episcopacy, now that the greatest enemies of that government ^{The Presbyterians in great disorder.} were

1661. were under a general consternation, and were upon other accounts so obnoxious that they durst not make any opposition to it, since no act of indemnity was yet pass'd. He had expressed a great concern to his old brethren, when the act rescissory pass'd, and acted that part very solemnly for some days: Yet he seemed to take heart again, and persuaded the ministers of that party, that it would be a service to them, since now the case of ratifying their government was separated from the rebellion of the late times: So that hereafter it was to subsist by a law pass'd in a Parliament that sat and acted in full freedom. So he undertook to go again to Court, and to move for an instruction to settle Presbytery on a new and undisputed bottom. The poor men were so struck with the ill state of their affairs, that they either trusted him, or at least seemed to do it; for indeed they had neither sense nor courage left them. During the session of Parliament the most aspiring men of the Clergy were pickt out to preach before the Parliament. They did not speak out: But they all insinuated the necessity of a greater authority than was then in the Church, for keeping them in order. One or two spoke plainer: Upon which the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* went to the Earl of *Midletoun*, and complained of that, as an affront to the law and to the King's letter. He dismissed them with good words, but took no notice of their complaint. The Synods in several places resolved to prepare addresses both to King and Parliament, for an act establishing their government. And *Sharp* dissembled so artificially, that he met with those who were preparing an address to be presented to the Synod of *Fife*, that was to sit within a week after: And heads were agreed on. *Honyman*, afterwards Bishop of *Orkney*, drew it up with so much vehemence, that *Wood*, their Divinity Professor, told me, he and some others sat up almost the whole night before the Synod met, to draw it over again in a smoother strain. But *Sharp* gave the Earl of *Midletoun* notice of this. So the Earl of *Roths* was sent over to see to their behaviour. As soon as the Ministers entred upon that subject, he in the King's name dissolved the Synod, and commanded the Ministers under pain of treason to retire to their several habitations. Such care was taken that no publick application should be made in favour of Presbytery. Any attempt that was made on the other hand met with great encouragement. The Synod of *Aberdeen* was the only body that made an address looking towards Episcopacy. In a long preamble they reflected on the confusions and violence of the late times, of which they enumerated many particulars: And they concluded with a prayer, that since the legal

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authority upon which their Courts proceeded was now annulled, ^{1661.} that therefore the King and Parliament would settle their government, conform to the Scriptures and the rules of the primitive Church. The Presbyterians saw what was driven at, and how their words would be understood: But I heard one of them say, (for I was present at that meeting,) that no man could decently oppose those words, since by that he would insinuate that he thought Presbytery was not conform to these.

In this session of Parliament another act pass'd, which was a new affliction to all the party: The twenty ninth of *May* was appointed to be kept as a holy day; since on that day an end had been put to three and twenty year's course of rebellion, of which the whole progress was reckoned up in the highest strain of *Primerose's* eloquence. The Ministers saw, that by observing this act pass'd with such a preamble, they condemned all their former proceedings, as rebellious and hypocritical. They saw, that by obeying it they would lose all their credit, and contradict all they had been building up in a course of so many years. Yet such was the heat of that time, that they durst not except to it on that account. So they laid hold on the subtilty of a holy day; and covered themselves under that controversy, denying it was in the power of any human authority to make a day holy. But withal they fell upon a poor shift: They enacted in their several Presbyteries that they should observe that day as a thanksgiving for the King's Restoration: So they took no notice of the act of Parliament, but observed it in obedience to their own act. But this, tho' it covered them from prosecution, since the law was obeyed, yet it laid them open to much contempt. When the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* came to Court, the King was soon satisfied with the account they gave of the proceedings of Parliament: And the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not own that he had ever misrepresented them. They were ordered to proceed in their charging of him, as the Earl of *Clarendon* should direct them. But he told them the assaulting of a Minister, as long as he had an interest in the King, was a practice that never could be approved: It was one of the uneasy things that a House of Commons of *England* sometimes ventured on, which was ungrateful to the Court: Such an attempt, instead of shaking the Earl of *Lauderdale*, would give him a faster root with the King. They must therefore content themselves with letting the King see how well his service went on in their hands, and how unjustly they had been misrepresented to him: And thus by degrees they would gain their point, and the Earl of *Lauderdale* would become useless to the King.

1661. So this design was let fall. But the Earl of *Rothes* assured *Lauderdale*, he had diverted the storm: Tho' *Primerose* told me, this was the true ground on which they proceeded. They became all friends, as to outward appearance.

Thus I have gone thro' the actings of the first session of this Parliament with relation to publick affairs. It was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance. And no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk. I shall in the next place give an account of the attainders pass'd in it.

*Argile's at-
tainer.*

The first and chief of these was of the Marquis of *Argile*. He was indicted at the King's suit for a great many facts, that were reduced to three heads. The first was of his publick actings during the wars, of which many instances were given; such as his being concerned in the delivering up of the King to the *English* at *Newcastle*, his opposing the engagement in the year 1648, and his heading the rising in the *West* in opposition to the Committee of Estates: In this, and many other steps made during the war, he was esteemed the principal actor, and so ought to be made the greatest example for terrifying others. The second head consisted of many murders, and other barbarities, committed by his officers, during the war, on many of the King's party; chiefly on those who had served under the Marquis of *Montrose*, many of them being murdered in cold blood. The third head consisted of some articles of his concurrence with *Cromwell* and the usurpers, in opposition to those who appeared for the King in the *Highlands*, his being one of his Parliament, and assisting in proclaiming him Protector, with a great many other particulars, into which his compliance was branched out. He had counsel assigned him, who performed their part very well.

The substance of his defence was, that during the late wars he was but one among a great many more: He had always acted by authority of Parliament, and according to the instructions that were given him, as oft as he was sent on any expedition or negotiation. As to all things done before the year 1641, the late King had buried them in an act of oblivion then passed, as the present King had also done in the year 1651: So he did not think he was bound to answer to any particular before that time. For the second head, he was at *London* when most of the barbarities set out in it were committed: Nor did it appear that he gave any orders about them. It was well known that great outrages had been committed by the *Macdonalds*: And he believed his people, when they had the better of them, had taken cruel revenges: This was to be imputed to the heat of the time, and

to

to the tempers of the people, who had been much provoked ^{1660.} by the burning of his whole countrey, and by much blood that was shed. And as to many stories laid to the charge of his men, he knew some of them were mere forgeries, and others were aggravated much beyond the truth: But, what truth soever might be in them, he could not be answerable but for what was done by himself, or by his orders. As to the third head, of his compliance with the usurpation, he had stood out till the nation was quite conquered: And in that case it was the received opinion both of divines and lawyers, that men might lawfully submit to an usurpation, when forced to it by an inevitable necessity. It was the epidemical sin of the nation. His circumstances were such, that more than a bare compliance was required of him. What he did that way was only to preserve himself and his family, and was not done on design to oppose the King's interest. Nor did his service suffer by any thing he did. This was the substance of his defence in a long speech, which he made with so good a grace and so skilfully, that his character was as much raised as his family suffered by the prosecution. In one speech, excusing his compliance with *Cromwell*, he said, what could he think of that matter, after a man so eminent in the law as his Majesty's Advocate had taken the engagement? This inflamed the other so much, that he called him an impudent villain, and was not so much as chid for that barbarous treatment. Lord *Argile* gravely said, he had learned in his affliction to bear reproaches; but if the Parliament saw no cause to condemn him, he was less concerned at the King's Advocate's railing. The King's Advocate put in an additional article, of charging him with accession to the King's death, for which all the proof he offered lay in a presumption: *Cromwell* had come down to *Scotland* with his army in *September* 1648, and at that time he had many and long conferences with *Argile*; and immediately upon his return to *London* the treaty with the King was broken off, and the King was brought to his trial: The advocate from thence inferred, that it was to be presumed that *Cromwell* and *Argile* had concerted that matter between them. While this process was carried on, which was the solemnest that ever was in *Scotland*, the Lord *Lorn* continued at Court soliciting for his father; and obtained a letter to be writ by the King to the Earl of *Midletoun*, requiring him to order his Advocate not to insist on any publick proceedings before the indemnity he himself had pass'd in the year 1651. He also required him, when the trial was ended, to send up the whole process, and lay it before the King, before the Parliament should give sentence. The Earl
of

1661. of *Midletoun* submitted to the first part of this: So all farther enquiry into those matters was superseded. But as to the second part of the letter, it looked so like a distrust of the justice of the Parliament, that he said, he durst not let it be known, till he had a second and more positive order, which he earnestly desired might not be sent; for it would very much discourage this loyal and affectionate Parliament: And he begged earnestly to have that order recalled; which was done. For some time there was a stop to the proceedings, in which Lord *Argile* was contriving an escape out of the Castle. He kept his bed for some days: And his Lady being of the same stature with himself, and coming to him in a chair, he had put on her cloaths, and was going into the chair: But he apprehended he should be discovered, and his execution hastened; and so his heart failed him. The Earl of *Midletoun* resolved, if possible, to have the King's death fastened on him. By this means, as he would die with the more infamy, so he reckoned this would put an end to the family, since no body durst move in favour of the son of one judged guilty of that crime. And he, as was believed, hoped to obtain a grant of his estate. Search was made into all the precedents of men who had been at any time condemned upon presumption. And the Earl of *Midletoun* resolved to argue the matter himself, hoping that the weight of his authority would bear down all opposition. He managed it indeed with more force than decency: He was too vehement, and maintained the argument with a strength that did more honour to his parts than to his justice or his character. But *Gilmore*, tho' newly made President of the Session, which is the supream Court of Justice in that Kingdom, abhorred the precedent of attainting a man upon so remote a presumption; and looked upon it as less justifiable than the much decried attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*. So he undertook the argument against *Midletoun*: They replied upon one another thirteen or fourteen times in a debate that lasted many hours. *Gilmore* had so clearly the better of the argument, that, tho' the Parliament was so set against *Argile* that every thing was like to pass that might blacken him, yet, when it was put to the vote, he was acquitted as to that by a great majority: At which he expressed so much joy, that he seemed little concerned at any thing that could happen to him after that. All that remained was to make his compliance with the usurpers appear to be treason. The debate was like to have lasted long. The Earl of *Lowdun*, who had been Lord Chancellour, and was counted the eloquentest man of that time, for he had a copiousness in speaking that was never exhausted, (he was
come

come of his family and was his particular friend,) had prepar- 1661.
ed a long and learned argument on that head. He had gathered the opinions both of divines and lawyers, and had laid together a great deal out of history, more particularly out of the *Scotish* history, to shew that it had never been censured as a crime: But that on the contrary in all their confusions the men, who had merited the most of the Crown in all its shakings, were persons who had got credit by compliance with the side that prevailed, and by that means had brought things about again. But, while it was very doubtful how it would have gone, *Monk* by an inexcusable baseness had searched among his letters, and found some that were writ by *Argile* to himself, that were hearty and zealous on their side. These he sent down to *Scotland*. And after they were read in Parliament, it could not be pretended that his compliance was feigned, or extorted from him. Every body blamed *Monk* for sending these down, since it was a betraying the confidence that they then lived in. They were sent by an express, and came to the Earl of *Midletoun* after the Parliament was engaged in the debate. So he ordered the letters to be read. This was much blamed, as contrary to the forms of justice, since probation was closed on both sides. But the reading of them silenced all farther debate. All his friends went out: And he was condemned as guilty of treason. The Marquis of *Montrose* only refused to vote. He owned, he had too much resentment to judge in that matter. It was designed he should be hanged, as the Marquis of *Montrose* had been: But it was carried that he should be beheaded, and that his head should be set up where Lord *Montrose's* had been set. He received his sentence decently, and composed himself to suffer.

The day before his death he wrote to the King, justifying his intentions in all he had acted in the matter of the Covenant: He protested his innocence, as to the death of the late King: He submitted patiently to his sentence, and wished the King a long and happy reign: He cast his family and children upon his mercy; and prayed that they might not suffer for their father's fault. On the twenty seventh of *May*, the day appointed for his execution, he came to the scaffold in a very solemn but undaunted manner, accompanied with many of the Nobility and some Ministers. He spoke for half an hour with a great appearance of serenity. *Cunningham* his physician told me he touched his pulse, and that it did then beat at the usual rate, calm and strong. He did in a most solemn manner vindicate himself from all knowledge or accession to the King's death: And execution.

1661. death: He pardoned all his enemies; and submitted to the sentence, as to the will of God: He spoke highly in justification of the Covenant, calling it the cause and work of God; and expressed his apprehension of sad times like to follow; and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, and to resolve to suffer rather than sin against their consciences. He parted with all his friends very decently. And after some time spent in his private devotions he was beheaded.

The execution of Guthrie a Minister.

A few days after Guthrie suffered. He was accused of accession to the remonstrance when the King was in *Scotland*, and for a book he had printed with the title of *the causes of God's wrath upon the nation*; in which the treating with the King, the tending him the Covenant, and the admitting him to the exercise of the government, were highly aggravated, as great acts of apostacy. His declining the King's authority to judge of his sermons, and his protesting for remedy of law against him, and the late seditious paper that he was drawing others to concur in, were the matters objected to him. He was a resolute and stiff man: So when his lawyers offered him legal defences, he would not be advised by them, but resolved to take his own way. He confessed, and justified all that he had done, as agreeing to the principles and practices of the Kirk, who had asserted all along that the doctrine delivered in their sermons did not fall under the cognisance of the temporal Courts, till it was first judged by the Church; for which he brought much tedious proof. He said, his protesting for remedy of law against the King was not meant at the King's person, but was only with relation to costs and damages. The Earl of *Middleton* had a personal animosity against him; for in the late times he had excommunicated him: So his eagerness in the prosecution did not look well. The defence he made signified nothing to justify himself, but laid a great load on Presbytery; since he made it out beyond all dispute, that he had acted upon their principles, which made them the more odious, as having among them some of the worst maxims of the Church of *Rome*; that in particular, to make the pulpit a privileged place, in which a man might safely vent treason, and be secure in doing it, if the Church judicatory should agree to acquit him. So upon this occasion great advantage was taken, to shew how near the spirit that had reigned in Presbytery came up to Popery. It was resolved to make a publick example of a Preacher: So he was singled out. He gave no advantage to those who wished to have saved him by the least step towards any submission, but much to the contrary. Yet, tho' all people were disgusted at the Earl of *Middleton's*

toun's eagerness in the prosecution, the Earl of *Tweeddale* was the only man that moved against the putting him to death. He said, banishment had been hitherto the severest censure that had been laid on the Preachers for their opinions: He knew *Guthry* was a man apt to give personal provocation: And he wished that might not have too great a share in carrying the matter so far. Yet he was condemned to die. I saw him suffer. He was so far from shewing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death. He spoke an hour upon the ladder, with the composedness of a man that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words. He justified all he had done, and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, which he magnified highly. With him one *Gouan* was also hanged, who had deserted the army while the King was in *Scotland*, and had gone over to *Cromwell*. The man was inconsiderable, till they made him more considered by putting him to death on such an account at so great a distance of time.

The gross iniquity of the Court appeared in nothing more eminently than in the favour shewed *Maccloud* of *Affin*, who had betrayed the Marquis of *Montrose*, and was brought over upon it. He in prison struck up to a high pitch of vice and impiety, and gave great entertainments: And that, notwithstanding the baseness of the man and of his crimes, begot him so many friends, that he was let go without any censure. The proceedings against *Wariston* were soon dispatched, he being absent. It was proved, that he had presented the Remonstrance, that he had acted under *Cromwell's* authority, and had sate as a Peer in his Parliament; that he had confirmed him in his Protectorship, and had likewise sate as one of the Committee of Safety: So he was attainted. *Swintoun* had been attainted in the Parliament at *Sterlin* for going over to *Cromwell*: So he was brought before the Parliament to hear what he could say, why the sentence should not be executed. He was then become a Quaker; and did, with a sort of eloquence that moved the whole house, lay out all his own errors, and the ill spirit he was in when he committed the things that were charged on him, with so tender a sense, that he seemed as one indifferent what they should do with him: And, without so much as moving for mercy, or even for a delay, he did so effectually prevail on them, that they recommended him to the King, as a fit object of his mercy. This was the more easily consented to by the Earl of *Midletoun*, in hatred to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who had got the gift of his estate. He had two great pleas in law: The one was, that the record of his attainder at *Sterlin*, with all that had pass'd in that Parliament, was lost: The other

Some others were proceeded against.

1661. other was, that by the act rescissory that Parliament being annulled, all that was done by it was void: But he urged neither, since there was matter enough to attain him anew, if the defects of that supposed attainder had been observed. So till the act of indemnity was pass'd he was still in danger, having been the man of all *Scotland* that had been the most trusted and employed by *Cromwell*: But upon passing the act of indemnity he was safe.

Midletoun
gave an account of all
that had passed in Parli-
ament to the
King.

The session of Parliament was now brought to a conclusion, without any motion for an act of indemnity. The secret of this was, that since Episcopacy was to be set up, and that those who were most like to oppose it were on other accounts obnoxious, it was thought best to keep them under that fear, till the change should be made. The Earl of *Midletoun* went up to Court full of merit, and as full of pride. He had a mind to be Lord Treasurer; and told the King, that, if he intended to set up Episcopacy, the Earl of *Crawford*, who was a noted Presbyterian, must be put out of that post: It was the opinion of the King's zeal for that form of government that must bear down all the opposition that might otherwise be made to it: And it would not be possible to persuade the nation of that, as long as they saw the white staff in such hands. Therefore, on the first day on which a *Scottish* Council was called after he came up, he gave a long account of the proceedings of Parliament, and magnified the zeal and loyalty that many had expressed, while others that had been not only pardoned, but were highly trusted by the King, had been often cold and backward, and sometimes plainly against the service. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was ill that day: So the Earl of *Crawford* undertook to answer this reflection, which he thought was meant of himself, for opposing the act rescissory. He said, he had observed such an entire unanimity in carrying on the King's service, that he did not know of any that had acted otherwise: And therefore he moved, that the Earl of *Midletoun* might speak plain, and name persons. The Earl of *Midletoun* desired to be excused: He did not intend to accuse any: But yet he thought, he was bound to let the King know how he had been served. The Earl of *Crawford* still press'd him to speak out after so general an accusation: No doubt, he would inform the King in private who these persons were: And since he had already gone so far in publick, he thought he ought to go farther. The Earl of *Midletoun* was in some confusion; for he did not expect to be thus attack'd: So to get off he named the opposition that the Earl of *Tweeddale* had made to the sentence pass'd on *Guthry*, not without making indecent reflections on it, as if his prosecution had flowed from the King's resentments

1661.

ments of his behaviour to himself: And so he turned the matter, that the Earl of *Tweeddale*'s reflection, which was thought indeed pointed against himself, should seem as meant against the King. The Earl of *Crawford* upon this said, that the Earl of *Midletoun* ought to have excepted to the words when they were first spoken; and no doubt the Parliament would have done the King justice: But it was never thought consistent with the liberty of speech in Parliament, to bring men into question afterwards for words spoken in any debate, when they were not challenged as soon as they were spoken. The Earl of *Midletoun* excused himself: He said, the thing was pass'd before he made due reflections on it; and so asked pardon for that omission. The Earl of *Crawford* was glad he himself had escaped, and was silent as to the Earl of *Tweeddale*'s concern: So, no body offering to excuse him, an order was presently sent down for committing him to prison, and for examining him upon the words he had spoken, and on his meaning in them. That was not a time in which men durst pretend to privilege, or the freedom of debate: So he did not insist on it; but sent up such an account of his words, and such an explanation of them, as fully satisfied the King. So after the imprisonment of some weeks he was set at liberty. But this raised a great outcry against the Earl of *Midletoun*, as a thing that was contrary to the freedom of debate, and destructive of the liberty of Parliament. It lay the more open to censure, because the Earl of *Midletoun* had accepted of a great entertainment from the Earl of *Tweeddale* after *Guthry*'s business was over: And it seemed contrary to the rules of hospitality, to have such a design in his heart against a man in whose house he had been so treated: All the excuse he made for it was, that he never intended it; but that the Earl of *Crawford* had press'd him so hard upon the complaint he had made in general, that he had no way of getting out of it without naming some particulars; and he had no other ready then at hand.

Another difference of greater moment fell in between him and the Earl of *Crawford*. The Earl of *Midletoun* was now raising the guards, that were to be paid out of the excise granted by the Parliament. So he moved, that the excise might be raised by collectors named by himself as General, that so he might not depend on the Treasury for the pay of the forces. The Earl of *Crawford* opposed this with great advantage, since all revenues given the King did by the course of law come into the Treasury. *Scotland* was not in a condition to maintain two Treasurers: And, as to what was said, of the necessity of having the pay of the army well ascertained and ever ready, otherwise it would become a grievance

1661. to the Kingdom, he said, the King was Master, and what orders soever he thought fit to send to the Treasury, they should be most punctually obeyed. But the Earl of *Midletoun* knew, there would be a great overplus of the excise beyond the pay of the troops: And he reckoned, that, if the collection was put in his hands, he would easily get a grant of the overplus at the year's end. The Earl of *Crawford* said, no such thing was ever pretended to by any General, unless by such as set up to be independent, and who hoped by that means to make themselves the masters of the army. So he carried the point, which was thought a victory. And the Earl of *Midletoun* was much blamed for putting his interest at Court on such an issue, where the pretension was so unusual and so unreasonable.

The next point was concerning Lord *Argile's* estate. The King was inclined to restore the Lord *Lorn*; tho' much pains was taken to persuade him, that all the zeal he had expressed in his service was only an artifice between his father and him to preserve the family in all adventures: It was said, that had been an ordinary practice in *Scotland* for father and son to put themselves in different sides. The Marquis of *Argile* had taken very extraordinary methods to raise his own family to such a superiority in the Highlands, that he was a sort of a King among them. The Marquis of *Huntly* had married his sister: And during their friendship *Argile* was bound with him for some of his debts. After that, the Marquis of *Huntly*, as he neglected his affairs, so he engaged in the King's side, by which *Argile* saw he must be undone. So he pretended, that he only intended to secure himself, when he bought in prior mortgages and debts, which, as was believed, were compounded at very low rates. The friends of the Marquis of *Huntly's* family press'd the King hard to give his heirs the confiscation of that part of *Argile's* estate, in which the Marquis of *Huntly's* debts, and all the pretension on his estate were comprehended. And it was given to the Marquis of *Huntly*, now Duke of *Gordon*, then a young child: But no care was taken to breed him a Protestant. The Marquis of *Montrose*, and all others whose estates had been ruined under *Argile's* conduct, expected likewise reparation out of his estate; which was a very great one, but in no way able to satisfy all those demands. And it was believed, that the Earl of *Midletoun* himself hoped to have carried away the main bulk of it: So that both the Lord *Lorn* and he concurred, tho' with different views, to put a stop to all the pretensions made upon it.

It was resolved to set up Episcopacy in *Scotland*.

The point of the greatest importance then under consideration was, whether Episcopacy should be restored in *Scotland*, or not.

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The Earl of *Midletoun* assured the King, it was desired by the greater and honefter part of the nation. One Synod had as good as petitioned for it: And many others wished for it, tho' the share they had in the late wars made them think it was not fit or decent for them to move for it. *Sharp* assured the King, that none but the Protestors, of whom he had a very bad opinion, were against it; and that of the Resolutioners there would not be found twenty that would oppose it. All those who were for making the change agreed, that it ought to be done now, in the first heat of joy after the Restoration, and before the act of indemnity pass'd. The Earl of *Lauderdale* and all his friends on the other hand assured the King, that the national prejudice against it was still very strong, that those who seemed zealous for it ran into it only as a method to procure favour, but that those who were against it would be found stiff and eager in their opposition to it, that by setting it up the King would lose the affections of the nation, and that the supporting it would grow a heavy load on his government. The Earl of *Lauderdale* turned all this, that looked like a zeal for Presbytery, to a dextrous insinuating himself into the King's confidence; as one that designed nothing but his greatness and his having *Scotland* sure to him, in order to the executing of any design he might afterwards be engaged in. The King went very coldly into the design. He said, he remembred well the aversion that he himself had observed in that nation to any thing that looked like a superiority in the Church. But to that the Earl of *Midletoun* and *Sharp* answered, by assuring him that the insolencies committed by the Presbyterians while they governed, and the ten years usurpation that had followed, had made such a change in peoples tempers, that they were much altered since he had been among them. The King naturally hated Presbytery: And, having called a new Parliament in *England*, that did with great zeal espouse the interests of the Church of *England*, and were now beginning to complain of the evacuating the garrisons held by the army in that Kingdom, he gave way, tho' with a visible reluctancy, to the change of the Church government in *Scotland*. The aversion he seemed to express was imputed to his own indifference as to all those matters and to his unwillingness to involve his government in new trouble. But the view of things that the Earl of *Lauderdale* had given him was the true root of all that coldness. The Earl of *Clarendon* set it on with great zeal. And so did the Duke of *Ormond*; who said, it would be very hard to maintain the government of the Church in *Ireland*, if Presbytery continued in *Scotland*; since the northern counties, which were the best stocked of any they had, as they were

1661. were originally from *Scotland*, so they would still follow the way of that nation. Upon all this diversity of opinion, the thing was proposed in a *Scotch* Council at *Whitehall*. The Earl of *Crawford* declared himself against it: But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, were only for delaying the making any such change, till the King should be better satisfied concerning the inclinations of the nation. The result of the debate (all the rest who were present being earnest for the change) was, that a letter was writ to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, intimating the King's intentions for setting up Episcopacy, and demanding their advice upon it. The Earl of *Glencairn* ordered the letter to be read, having taken care that such persons should be present who he knew would speak warmly for it, that so others, who might intend to oppose it, might be frightened from doing it. None spoke against it, but the Earl of *Kincairdin*. He proposed, that some certain methods might be taken, by which they might be well informed, and so be able to inform the King of the temper of the nation, before they offered an advice, that might have such effects as might very much perplex, if not disorder, all their affairs. Some smart repartees passed between the Earl of *Glencairn* and him. This was all the opposition that was made at that board. So a letter was writ to the King from thence, encouraging him to go on, and assuring him, that the change he intended to make would give a general satisfaction to the main body of the nation.

Men fought
out to be Bi-
shops.

Upon that the thing was resolved on. It remained after this only to consider the proper methods of doing it, and the men who ought to be employed in it. *Sheldon* and the *English* Bishops had an aversion to all that had been engaged in the Covenant: So they were for seeking out all the Episcopal Clergy, who had been driven out of *Scotland* in the beginning of the troubles, and preferring them. There was but one of the old Bishops left alive, *Sydserfe*, who had been Bishop of *Galloway*. He had come up to *London*, not doubting but that he should be advanced to the Primacy of *Scotland*. It is true, he had of late done some very irregular things: When the act of uniformity required all men who held any benefices in *England* to be episcopally ordained, he, who by observing the ill effects of their former violence was become very moderate, with others of the *Scotch* Clergy that gathered about him, did set up a very indefensible practice of ordaining all those of the *English* Clergy who came to him, and that without demanding either oaths or subscriptions of them. Some believed, that this was done by him, only to subsist on the fees that arose from the letters of orders so granted; for he was

very

very poor. This did so disgust the *English* Bishops at him and his company, that they took no care of him or them. Yet they were much against a set of Presbyterian Bishops. They believed they could have no credit, and that they would have no zeal. This touched *Sharp* to the quick: So he laid the matter before the Earl of *Clarendon*. He said, these old Episcopal men by their long absence out of *Scotland* knew nothing of the present generation: And by the ill usage they had met with they were so irritated, that they would run matters quickly to great extremities: And, if there was a faction among the Bishops, some valuing themselves upon their constant steddiness, and looking with an ill eye on those who had been carried away with the stream, this would divide and distract their counsels; whereas a set of men of moderate principles would be more uniform in their proceedings. This prevailed with the Earl of *Clarendon*, who saw the King so remiss in that matter, that he resolved to keep things in as great temper as was possible. And he, not doubting but that *Sharp* would pursue that in which he seemed to be so zealous and hot, and carry things with great moderation, persuaded the Bishops of *England* to leave the management of that matter wholly to him. And *Sharp*, being assured of that at which he had long aimed, laid aside his mask; and owned, that he was to be Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. He said to some, from whom I had it, that when he saw that the King was resolved on the change, and that some hot men were like to be advanced, whose violence would ruin the country, he had submitted to that post on design to moderate matters, and to cover some good men from a storm that might otherwise break upon them. So deeply did he still dissemble: For now he talked of nothing so much as of love and moderation.

Sydserfe was removed to be Bishop of *Orkney*, one of the best revenues of any of the Bishopricks in *Scotland*: But it had been almost in all times a *Sine-Cure*. He lived little more than a year after his translation. He had died in more esteem, if he had died a year before it. But *Sharp* was ordered to find out proper men for filling up the other Sees. That care was left entirely to him. The choice was generally very bad.

Two men were brought up to be consecrated in *England*, *Fairfoul* designed for the see of *Glasgow*, and *Hamilton*, brother to the Lord *Belhaven*, for *Galloway*. The former of these was a pleasant and facetious man, insinuating and crafty: But he was a better physician than a divine. His life was scarce free from scandal: And he was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function. He had not only sworn the Covenant, but had per-

1661. suaded others to do it. And when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he answered, there were some very good medicines that could not be chewed, but were to be swallowed down; and since it was plain that a man could not live in *Scotland* unless he sware it, therefore it must be swallowed down without any farther examination. Whatever the matter was, soon after the consecration his parts sunk so fast, that in a few months he, who had pass'd his whole life long for one of the cunningest men in *Scotland*, became almost a changling; upon which it may be easily collected what commentaries the Presbyterians would make. *Sharp* lamented this to me, as one of their great misfortunes. He said, it began to appear in less than a month after he came to *London*. *Hamilton* was a good natured man, but weak. He was always believed Episcopal. Yet he had so far complied in the time of the Covenant, that he affected a peculiar expression of his counterfeit zeal for their cause, to secure himself from suspicion: When he gave the sacrament, he excommunicated all that were not true to the Covenant, using a form in the Old Testament of shaking out the lap of his gown; saying, so did he cast out of the Church and communion all that dealt falsely in the Covenant.

Bishop
Leighton's
character.

With these there was a fourth man found out, who was then at *London* at his return from the *Bath*, where he had been for his health: And on him I will enlarge more copiously. He was the son of Doctor *Leighton*, who had in Archbishop *Laud's* time writ *Zion's plea against the Prelates*; for which he was condemned in the Star-Chamber to have his ears cut and his nose slit. He was a man of a violent and ungoverned heat. He sent his eldest son *Robert* to be bred in *Scotland*, who was accounted a Saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest *Latin* that ever I knew in any man. He was a master both of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man. He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation. He seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he did himself: He bore all sorts of ill usage and reproach, like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents,

dents, and in a course of twenty two years intimate conversation ^{1661.} with him, I never observed the least sign of passion, but upon one single occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity, that I never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile. And he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that I do not remember that ever I heard him say one idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with, to serious reflections. He seemed to be in a perpetual meditation. And, tho' the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest from superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them, possible. So that he did not so much as recommend them to others. He said, there was a diversity of tempers; and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and surprizing, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together in his memory the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens as well as christians, that I have ever known any man master of: And he used them in the aptest manner possible. He had been bred up with the greatest aversion imaginable to the whole frame of the Church of *England*. From *Scotland* his father sent him to travel. He spent some years in *France*, and spoke that language like one born there. He came afterwards and settled in *Scotland*, and had Presbyterian ordination. But he quickly broke thro' the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronounciation was such, that few heard him without a very sensible emotion: I am sure I never did. His style was rather too fine: But there was a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet with this he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher, that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others: And when he was a Bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice before hand: He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great croud. He soon came to see into the follies of the Presbyterians, and to dislike their Covenant; particularly the imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts: Theirs were narrow, as their tempers were sour. So he grew weary of mixing with them. He scarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own parish at *Newbottle* near *Edinburgh*. Yet all the opposi-
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1661. on that he made to them was, that he preached up a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature: But his own practice did even outshine his doctrine.

In the year 1648 he declared himself for the engagement for the King. But the Earl of *Lothian*, who lived in his parish, had so high an esteem for him, that he persuaded the violent men not to meddle with him: Tho' he gave occasion to great exception; for when some of his parish, who had been in the engagement, were ordered to make publick profession of their repentance for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition, in which, he believed, they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injustice and violence, of drunkenness and other immoralities, and he charged them to repent of these very seriously, without meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of that war. He entred into a great correspondence with many of the Episcopal party, and with my own father in particular; and did wholly separate himself from the Presbyterians. At last he left them, and withdrew from his cure: For he could not do the things imposed on him any longer. And yet he hated all contention so much, that he chose rather to leave them in a silent manner, than to engage in any disputes with them. But he had generally the reputation of a Saint, and of something above human nature in him: So the mastership of the College of *Edinburgh* falling vacant some time after, and it being in the gift of the city, he was prevail'd with to accept of it, because in it he was wholly separated from all Church matters. He continued ten years in that post: And was a great blessing in it; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction, that it had great effect on many of them. He preached often to them: And if crouds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his sermon in *Latin*, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in *Scotland*, in the highest reputation that any man in my time ever had in that Kingdom.

He had a brother well known at Court, Sir *Elisba*, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts, but the most unlike him in all other things that can be imagined: For, tho' he loved to talk of great sublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a Papist of a form of his own: But he had changed his religion to raise himself at Court; for he was at that time Secretary to the Duke of *York*, and was very intimate with the Lord *Aubigny*, a brother of the Duke of *Richmond's*, who had changed his religion, and was a Priest, and had probably been a Cardinal if he had lived a little longer. He maintained

maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions, than men of quality, who enter into orders in that Church, generally have. Yet he was a very vicious man: And that perhaps made him the more considered by the King, who loved and trusted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the King; for he was on the secret as to his religion, and was more trusted with the whole design, that was then managed in order to establish it, than any man whatsoever. Sir *Elisba* brought his brother and him acquainted: For *Leightoun* loved to know men in all the varieties of religion.

In the vacation time he made excursions, and came oft to *London*; where he observed all the eminent men in *Cromwell's* Court, and in the several parties then about the city of *London*. But he told me, he could never see any thing among them that pleased him. They were men of unquiet and meddling tempers: And their discourses and sermons were dry and unfavoury, full of airy cant, or of bombast swellings. Sometimes he went over to *Flanders*, to see what he could find in the several orders of the Church of *Rome*. There he found some of *Jansenius's* followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much set. He thought controversies had been too much insisted on, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raising himself at Court, fancied that his being made a Bishop might render himself more considerable. So he possessed the Lord *Aubigny* with such an opinion of him, that he made the King apprehend, that a man of his piety and his notions (and his not being married was not forgot) might contribute to carry on their design. He fancied such a monastick man, who had a great stretch of thought, and so many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at least to prepare the nation for Popery, if he did not directly come over to them; for his brother did not stick to say, he was sure that lay at root with him. So the King named him of his own proper motion, which gave all those that began to suspect the King himself great jealousies of him. *Leightoun* was averse to this promotion, as much as was possible. His brother had great power over him; for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a shew of piety. He seemed to be a Papist rather in name and shew than in reality, of which I will set down one instance that was then much talked of. Some of the Church of *England* loved to magnify the sacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real presence, only blaming the Church of *Rome* for defining the manner of it; saying, *Christ*

1661. was present in a most unconceivable manner. This was so much the mode, that the King and all the Court went into it. So the King, upon some raillery about transubstantiation, asked Sir *Elisha* if he believed it. He answered, he could not well tell; but he was sure the Church of *England* believed it. And when the King seemed amazed at that, he replied, do not you believe that *Christ* is present in a most unconceivable manner? Which the King granted: Then said he, that is just transubstantiation, the most unconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When *Leightoun* was prevailed on to accept a Bishoprick, he chose *Dunblane*, a small diocese as well as a little revenue. But the Deanry of the Chapel Royal was annexed to that see. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might set up the Common Prayer in the King's Chapel; for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The *English* Clergy were well pleased with him, finding him both more learned, and more thoroughly the irst in the other points of uniformity, than the rest of the *Scotch* Clergy, whom they could not much value. And tho' *Sheldon* did not much like his great strictness, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought such a man as he was might give credit to Episcopacy, in its first introduction to a nation much prejudiced against it. *Sharp* did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his strictness of life, nor his notions. He believed, they would not take the same methods, and fancied he might be much obscured by him; for he saw he would be well supported. He saw the Earl of *Lauderdale* began to magnify him. And so *Sharp* did all he could to discourage him, but without any effect; for he had no regard to him. I bear still the greatest veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any person; and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate conversation with him, that continued to his death for twenty three years, among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day in a most particular manner. And yet, tho' I know this account of his promotion may seem a blemish upon him, I would not conceal it, being resolved to write of all persons and things with all possible candor. I had the relation of it from himself, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes soever the Papists had of him at this time, when he knew nothing of the design of bringing in Popery, and had therefore talked of some points of Popery with the freedom of an abstracted and speculative man; yet he expressed another sense of the matter, when he came to see it was really intended to be brought in among us. He then spoke of Popery in the com-

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plex at much another rate: And he seemed to have more zeal 1661.
against it, than I thought was in his nature with relation to any
points in controversy; for his abstraction made him seem cold
in all those matters. But he gave all who conversed with him
a very different view of Popery, when he saw we were really in
danger of coming under the power of a religion, that had, as
he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual,
and devilish, but had nothing in it of the wisdom that was
from above, and was pure and peaceable. He did indeed think
the corruptions and cruelties of Popery were such gross and odi-
ous things, that nothing could have maintained that Church un-
der those just and visible prejudices, but the several orders among
them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of
the world, and with all the trash that was among them main-
tained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought the great
and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses,
and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows
and other mixtures, was not preserved: So that the Protestant
Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men
of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this man's cha-
racter. But it was so singular that it seemed to deserve it. And
I was so singularly bless'd by knowing him as I did, that I am
sure he deserved it of me, that I should give so full a view of him;
which I hope may be of some use to the world.

When the time fixed for the consecration of the Bishops of The Scottish
Bishops con-
secrated.
Scotland came on, the *English* Bishops finding that *Sharp* and
Leighton had not Episcopal ordination, as Priests and Deacons,
the other two having been ordained by Bishops before the wars,
they stood upon it, that they must be ordain'd, first Deacons and
then Priests. *Sharp* was very uneasie at this, and remembred them
of what had happened when King *James* had set up Episcopacy.
Bishop *Andrews* moved at that time the ordaining them, as was
now proposed: But that was overruled by King *James*, who
thought it went too far towards the unchurching of all those who
had no Bishops among them. But the late war, and the disputes
during that time, had raised these controversies higher, and brought
men to stricter notions, and to maintain them with more fierce-
ness. The *English* Bishops did also say, that by the late act of uni-
formity that matter was more positively settled, than it had been
before; so that they could not legally consecrate any, but those
who were, according to that constitution, made first Priests and
Deacons. They also made this difference between the present
time and King *James's*: For then the *Scots* were only in an im-
perfect state, having never had Bishops among them since the
Refor-

1661. Reformation; so in such a state of things, in which they had been under a real necessity, it was reasonable to allow of their orders, how defective soever: But that of late they had been in a state of schism, had revolted from their Bishops, and had thrown off that order; so that orders given in such a wilful opposition to the whole constitution of the primitive Church was a thing of another nature. They were positive in the point, and would not dispense with it. *Sharp* stuck more at it, than could have been expected from a man that had swallowed down greater matters. *Leightoun* did not stand much upon it. He did not think orders given without Bishops were null and void. He thought, the forms of government were not settled by such positive laws as were unalterable; but only by Apostolical practices, which, as he thought, authorised Episcopacy as the best form. Yet he did not think it necessary to the being of a Church. But he thought that every Church might make such rules of ordination as they pleased, and that they might re-ordain all that came to them from any other Church; and that the re-ordaining a Priest ordained in another Church imported no more, but that they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received. These two were upon this privately ordained Deacons and Priests. And then all the four were consecrated publickly in the Abbey of *Westminster*. *Leightoun* told me, he was much struck with the feasting and jollity of that day: It had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety, as became the new modelling of a Church. When that was over, he made some attempts to work up *Sharp* to the two designs which possessed him most. The one was, to try what could be done towards the uniting the Presbyterians and them. He offered *Usher's* reduction, as the plan upon which they ought to form their schemes. The other was, to try how they could raise men to a truer and higher sense of piety, and bring the worship of that Church out of their *extempore* methods into more order; and so to prepare them for a more regular way of worship, which he thought was of much more importance than a form of government. But he was amazed, when he observed that *Sharp* had neither formed any scheme, nor seemed so much as willing to talk of any. He reckoned, they would be established in the next session of Parliament, and so would be legally possessed of their Bishopricks: And then every Bishop was to do the best he could to get all once to submit to his authority: And when that point was carried, they might proceed to other things, as should be found expedient: But he did not care to lay down any scheme. *Fairfoul*, when he talked

to

to him, had always a merry tale ready at hand to divert him: 1661.
So that he avoided all serious discourse, and indeed did not seem capable of any. By these means *Leightoun* quickly lost all heart and hope; and said often to me upon it, that in the whole progress of that affair there appeared such cross characters of an angry providence, that, how fully soever he was satisfied in his own mind as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men that should build up his Church; so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God. He who had the greatest hand in it proceeded with so much dissimulation; and the rest of the order were so mean, and so selfish; and the Earl of *Midletoun*, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vitious, that it did cast a reproach on every thing relating to religion to see it managed by such instruments.

All the steps that were made afterwards were of a piece with this melancholy beginning. Upon the consecration of the Bishops, the Presbyteries of *Scotland* that were still sitting began now to declare openly against Episcopacy, and to prepare protestations, or other acts or instruments, against them. Some were talking of entring into new engagements against the submitting to them. So *Sharp* moved, that, since the King had set up Episcopacy, a Proclamation might be issued out, forbidding Clergymen to meet together in any Presbytery, or other judicatory, till the Bishops should settle a method of proceeding in them. Upon the setting out this Proclamation, a general obedience was given to it: Only the ministers, to keep up a shew of acting on an Ecclesiastick authority, met once and entred into their Books a protestation against the Proclamation, as an invasion on the liberties of the Church, to which they declared they gave obedience only for a time, and for peace sake. *Sharp* procured this without any advice: And it proved very fatal. For when King *James* brought in the Bishops before, they had still suffered the inferiour judicatories to continue sitting, till the Bishops came, and sate down among them: Some of them protested indeed against that: Yet they sate on ever after: And so the whole Church had a face of unity, while all sate together in the same judicatories, tho' upon different principles. The old Presbyterians said, they sate still as in a Court settled by the laws of the Church and State: And tho' they looked on the Bishops sitting among them, and assuming a negative vote, as an usurpation, yet, they said, it did not infer a nullity on the Court: Whereas now, by this silencing these Courts, the case was much altered:

1662.
The meetings of the Presbyteries forbidden.

1661. other was, that by the act rescissory that Parliament being annulled, all that was done by it was void: But he urged neither, since there was matter enough to attain him anew, if the defects of that supposed attainder had been observed. So till the act of indemnity was pass'd he was still in danger, having been the man of all *Scotland* that had been the most trusted and employed by *Cromwell*: But upon passing the act of indemnity he was safe.

Midletoun
gave an account of all
that had pass'd in Parli-
ament to the
King.

The session of Parliament was now brought to a conclusion, without any motion for an act of indemnity. The secret of this was, that since Episcopacy was to be set up, and that those who were most like to oppose it were on other accounts obnoxious, it was thought best to keep them under that fear, till the change should be made. The Earl of *Midletoun* went up to Court full of merit, and as full of pride. He had a mind to be Lord Treasurer; and told the King, that, if he intended to set up Episcopacy, the Earl of *Crawford*, who was a noted Presbyterian, must be put out of that post: It was the opinion of the King's zeal for that form of government that must bear down all the opposition that might otherwise be made to it: And it would not be possible to persuade the nation of that, as long as they saw the white staff in such hands. Therefore, on the first day on which a *Scottish* Council was called after he came up, he gave a long account of the proceedings of Parliament, and magnified the zeal and loyalty that many had expressed, while others that had been not only pardoned, but were highly trusted by the King, had been often cold and backward, and sometimes plainly against the service. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was ill that day: So the Earl of *Crawford* undertook to answer this reflection, which he thought was meant of himself, for opposing the act rescissory. He said, he had observed such an entire unanimity in carrying on the King's service, that he did not know of any that had acted otherwise: And therefore he moved, that the Earl of *Midletoun* might speak plain, and name persons. The Earl of *Midletoun* desired to be excused: He did not intend to accuse any: But yet he thought, he was bound to let the King know how he had been served. The Earl of *Crawford* still press'd him to speak out after so general an accusation: No doubt, he would inform the King in private who these persons were: And since he had already gone so far in publick, he thought he ought to go farther. The Earl of *Midletoun* was in some confusion; for he did not expect to be thus attack'd: So to get off he nam'd the opposition that the Earl of *Tweedale* had made to the sentence pass'd on *Guthry*, not without making indecent reflections on it, as if his prosecution had flow'd from the King's resentments

ments of his behaviour to himself: And so he turned the matter, that the Earl of *Tweedale's* reflection, which was thought indeed pointed against himself, should seem as meant against the King. The Earl of *Crawford* upon this said, that the Earl of *Midletoun* ought to have excepted to the words when they were first spoken; and no doubt the Parliament would have done the King justice: But it was never thought consistent with the liberty of speech in Parliament, to bring men into question afterwards for words spoken in any debate, when they were not challenged as soon as they were spoken. The Earl of *Midletoun* excused himself: He said, the thing was pass'd before he made due reflections on it; and so asked pardon for that omission. The Earl of *Crawford* was glad he himself had escaped, and was silent as to the Earl of *Tweedale's* concern: So, no body offering to excuse him, an order was presently sent down for committing him to prison, and for examining him upon the words he had spoken, and on his meaning in them. That was not a time in which men durst pretend to privilege, or the freedom of debate: So he did not insist on it; but sent up such an account of his words, and such an explanation of them, as fully satisfied the King. So after the imprisonment of some weeks he was set at liberty. But this raised a great outcry against the Earl of *Midletoun*, as a thing that was contrary to the freedom of debate, and destructive of the liberty of Parliament. It lay the more open to censure, because the Earl of *Midletoun* had accepted of a great entertainment from the Earl of *Tweedale* after *Guthry's* business was over: And it seemed contrary to the rules of hospitality, to have such a design in his heart against a man in whose house he had been so treated: All the excuse he made for it was, that he never intended it; but that the Earl of *Crawford* had press'd him so hard upon the complaint he had made in general, that he had no way of getting out of it without naming some particulars; and he had no other ready then at hand.

Another difference of greater moment fell in between him and the Earl of *Crawford*. The Earl of *Midletoun* was now raising the guards, that were to be paid out of the excise granted by the Parliament. So he moved, that the excise might be raised by collectors named by himself as General, that so he might not depend on the Treasury for the pay of the forces. The Earl of *Crawford* opposed this with great advantage, since all revenues given the King did by the course of law come into the Treasury. *Scotland* was not in a condition to maintain two Treasurers: And, as to what was said, of the necessity of having the pay of the army well ascertained and ever ready, otherwise it would become a grievance

1661. to the Kingdom, he said, the King was Master, and what orders soever he thought fit to send to the Treasury, they should be most punctually obeyed. But the Earl of *Midletoun* knew, there would be a great overplus of the excise beyond the pay of the troops: And he reckoned, that, if the collection was put in his hands, he would easily get a grant of the overplus at the year's end. The Earl of *Crawford* said, no such thing was ever pretended to by any General, unless by such as set up to be independent, and who hoped by that means to make themselves the masters of the army. So he carried the point, which was thought a victory. And the Earl of *Midletoun* was much blamed for putting his interest at Court on such an issue, where the pretension was so unusual and so unreasonable.

The next point was concerning Lord *Argile's* estate. The King was inclined to restore the Lord *Lorn*; tho' much pains was taken to persuade him, that all the zeal he had expressed in his service was only an artifice between his father and him to preserve the family in all adventures: It was said, that had been an ordinary practice in *Scotland* for father and son to put themselves in different sides. The Marquis of *Argile* had taken very extraordinary methods to raise his own family to such a superiority in the Highlands, that he was a sort of a King among them. The Marquis of *Huntly* had married his sister: And during their friendship *Argile* was bound with him for some of his debts. After that, the Marquis of *Huntly*, as he neglected his affairs, so he engaged in the King's side, by which *Argile* saw he must be undone. So he pretended, that he only intended to secure himself, when he bought in prior mortgages and debts, which, as was believed, were compounded at very low rates. The friends of the Marquis of *Huntly's* family press'd the King hard to give his heirs the confiscation of that part of *Argile's* estate, in which the Marquis of *Huntly's* debts, and all the pretension on his estate were comprehended. And it was given to the Marquis of *Huntly*, now Duke of *Gordon*, then a young child: But no care was taken to breed him a Protestant. The Marquis of *Montrose*, and all others whose estates had been ruined under *Argile's* conduct, expected like wise reparation out of his estate; which was a very great one, but in no way able to satisfy all those demands. And it was believed, that the Earl of *Midletoun* himself hoped to have carried away the main bulk of it: So that both the Lord *Lorn* and he concurred, tho' with different views, to put a stop to all the pretensions made upon it.

It was resolved to set up Episcopacy in *Scotland*.

The point of the greatest importance then under consideration was, whether Episcopacy should be restored in *Scotland*, or not.

The

The Earl of *Midletoun* assured the King, it was desired by the greater and honefter part of the nation. One Synod had as good as petitioned for it: And many others wished for it, tho' the share they had in the late wars made them think it was not fit or decent for them to move for it. *Sharp* assured the King, that none but the Protestors, of whom he had a very bad opinion, were against it; and that of the Resolutioners there would not be found twenty that would oppose it. All those who were for making the change agreed, that it ought to be done now, in the first heat of joy after the Restoration, and before the act of indemnity pass'd. The Earl of *Lauderdale* and all his friends on the other hand assured the King, that the national prejudice against it was still very strong, that those who seemed zealous for it ran into it only as a method to procure favour, but that those who were against it would be found stiff and eager in their opposition to it, that by setting it up the King would lose the affections of the nation, and that the supporting it would grow a heavy load on his government. The Earl of *Lauderdale* turned all this, that looked like a zeal for Presbytery, to a dextrous insinuating himself into the King's confidence; as one that designed nothing but his greatness and his having *Scotland* sure to him, in order to the executing of any design he might afterwards be engaged in. The King went very coldly into the design. He said, he remembred well the aversion that he himself had observed in that nation to any thing that looked like a superiority in the Church. But to that the Earl of *Midletoun* and *Sharp* answered, by assuring him that the insolencies committed by the Presbyterians while they governed, and the ten years usurpation that had followed, had made such a change in peoples tempers, that they were much altered since he had been among them. The King naturally hated Presbytery: And, having called a new Parliament in *England*, that did with great zeal espouse the interests of the Church of *England*, and were now beginning to complain of the evacuating the garrisons held by the army in that Kingdom, he gave way, tho' with a visible reluctancy, to the change of the Church government in *Scotland*. The aversion he seemed to express was imputed to his own indifference as to all those matters and to his unwillingness to involve his government in new trouble. But the view of things that the Earl of *Lauderdale* had given him was the true root of all that coldness. The Earl of *Clarendon* set it on with great zeal. And so did the Duke of *Ormond*; who said, it would be very hard to maintain the government of the Church in *Ireland*, if Presbytery continued in *Scotland*; since the northern counties, which were the best stocked of any they had, as they were

1661. were originally from *Scotland*, so they would still follow the way of that nation. Upon all this diversity of opinion, the thing was proposed in a *Scotch* Council at *Whitehall*. The Earl of *Crawford* declared himself against it: But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, were only for delaying the making any such change, till the King should be better satisfied concerning the inclinations of the nation. The result of the debate (all the rest who were present being earnest for the change) was, that a letter was writ to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, intimating the King's intentions for setting up Episcopacy, and demanding their advice upon it. The Earl of *Glencairn* ordered the letter to be read, having taken care that such persons should be present who he knew would speak warmly for it, that so others, who might intend to oppose it, might be frightened from doing it. None spoke against it, but the Earl of *Kincairdin*. He proposed, that some certain methods might be taken, by which they might be well informed, and so be able to inform the King of the temper of the nation, before they offered an advice, that might have such effects as might very much perplex, if not disorder, all their affairs. Some smart repartees passed between the Earl of *Glencairn* and him. This was all the opposition that was made at that board. So a letter was writ to the King from thence, encouraging him to go on, and assuring him, that the change he intended to make would give a general satisfaction to the main body of the nation.

Men fought
out to be Bi-
shops.

Upon that the thing was resolved on. It remained after this only to consider the proper methods of doing it, and the men who ought to be employed in it. *Sheldon* and the *English* Bishops had an aversion to all that had been engaged in the Covenant: So they were for seeking out all the Episcopal Clergy, who had been driven out of *Scotland* in the beginning of the troubles, and preferring them. There was but one of the old Bishops left alive, *Sydserfe*, who had been Bishop of *Galloway*. He had come up to *London*, not doubting but that he should be advanced to the Primacy of *Scotland*. It is true, he had of late done some very irregular things: When the act of uniformity required all men who held any benefices in *England* to be episcopally ordained, he, who by observing the ill effects of their former violence was become very moderate, with others of the *Scotch* Clergy that gathered about him, did set up a very indefensible practice of ordaining all those of the *English* Clergy who came to him, and that without demanding either oaths or subscriptions of them. Some believed, that this was done by him, only to subsist on the fees that arose from the letters of orders so granted; for he was

very poor. This did so disgust the *English* Bishops at him and his company, that they took no care of him or them. Yet they were much against a set of Presbyterian Bishops. They believed they could have no credit, and that they would have no zeal. This touched *Sharp* to the quick: So he laid the matter before the Earl of *Clarendon*. He said, these old Episcopal men by their long absence out of *Scotland* knew nothing of the present generation: And by the ill usage they had met with they were so irritated, that they would run matters quickly to great extremities: And, if there was a faction among the Bishops, some valuing themselves upon their constant steddiness, and looking with an ill eye on those who had been carried away with the stream, this would divide and distract their counsels; whereas a set of men of moderate principles would be more uniform in their proceedings. This prevailed with the Earl of *Clarendon*, who saw the King so remiss in that matter, that he resolved to keep things in as great temper as was possible. And he, not doubting but that *Sharp* would pursue that in which he seemed to be so zealous and hot, and carry things with great moderation, persuaded the Bishops of *England* to leave the management of that matter wholly to him. And *Sharp*, being assured of that at which he had long aimed, laid aside his mask; and owned, that he was to be Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. He said to some, from whom I had it, that when he saw that the King was resolved on the change, and that some hot men were like to be advanced, whose violence would ruin the country, he had submitted to that post on design to moderate matters, and to cover some good men from a storm that might otherwise break upon them. So deeply did he still dissemble: For now he talked of nothing so much as of love and moderation.

Sydserfe was removed to be Bishop of *Orkney*, one of the best revenues of any of the Bishopricks in *Scotland*: But it had been almost in all times a *Sine-Cure*. He lived little more than a year after his translation. He had died in more esteem, if he had died a year before it. But *Sharp* was ordered to find out proper men for filling up the other Sees. That care was left entirely to him. The choice was generally very bad.

Two men were brought up to be consecrated in *England*, *Fairfoul* designed for the see of *Glasgow*, and *Hamilton*, brother to the Lord *Belhaven*, for *Galloway*. The former of these was a pleasant and facetious man, insinuating and crafty: But he was a better physician than a divine. His life was scarce free from scandal: And he was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function. He had not only sworn the Covenant, but had per-

1661. suaded others to do it. And when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he answered, there were some very good medicines that could not be chewed, but were to be swallowed down; and since it was plain that a man could not live in *Scotland* unless he swore it, therefore it must be swallowed down without any farther examination. Whatever the matter was, soon after the consecration his parts sunk so fast, that in a few months he, who had pass'd his whole life long for one of the cunningest men in *Scotland*, became almost a changling; upon which it may be easily collected what commentaries the Presbyterians would make. *Sharp* lamented this to me, as one of their great misfortunes. He said, it began to appear in less than a month after he came to *London*. *Hamilton* was a good natured man, but weak. He was always believed Episcopal. Yet he had so far complied in the time of the Covenant, that he affected a peculiar expression of his counterfeit zeal for their cause, to secure himself from suspicion: When he gave the sacrament, he excommunicated all that were not true to the Covenant, using a form in the Old Testament of shaking out the lap of his gown; saying, so did he cast out of the Church and communion all that dealt falsely in the Covenant.

Bishop
Leightoun's
character.

With these there was a fourth man found out, who was then at *London* at his return from the *Bath*, where he had been for his health: And on him I will enlarge more copiously. He was the son of Doctor *Leightoun*, who had in Archbishop *Laud's* time writ *Zion's plea against the Prelates*; for which he was condemned in the Star-Chamber to have his ears cut and his nose slit. He was a man of a violent and ungoverned heat. He sent his eldest son *Robert* to be bred in *Scotland*, who was accounted a Saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest *Latin* that ever I knew in any man. He was a master both of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man. He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation. He seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he did himself: He bore all sorts of ill usage and reproach, like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents,

dents, and in a course of twenty two years intimate conversation 1661. with him, I never observed the least sign of passion, but upon one single occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity, that I never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile. And he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that I do not remember that ever I heard him say one idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with, to serious reflections. He seemed to be in a perpetual meditation. And, tho' the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest from superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them, possible. So that he did not so much as recommend them to others. He said, there was a diversity of tempers; and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and surprizing, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together in his memory the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens as well as christians, that I have ever known any man master of: And he used them in the aptest manner possible. He had been bred up with the greatest aversion imaginable to the whole frame of the Church of *England*. From *Scotland* his father sent him to travel. He spent some years in *France*, and spoke that language like one born there. He came afterwards and settled in *Scotland*, and had Presbyterian ordination. But he quickly broke thro' the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronounciation was such, that few heard him without a very sensible emotion: I am sure I never did. His style was rather too fine: But there was a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet with this he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher, that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others: And when he was a Bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice before hand: He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great croud. He soon came to see into the follies of the Presbyterians, and to dislike their Covenant; particularly the imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts: Theirs were narrow, as their tempers were sour. So he grew weary of mixing with them. He scarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own parish at *Newbottle* near *Edinburgh*. Yet all the opposi-
on

1661. on that he made to them was, that he preached up a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature: But his own practice did even outshine his doctrine.

In the year 1648 he declared himself for the engagement for the King. But the Earl of *Lothian*, who lived in his parish, had so high an esteem for him, that he persuaded the violent men not to meddle with him: Tho' he gave occasion to great exception; for when some of his parish, who had been in the engagement, were ordered to make publick profession of their repentance for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition, in which, he believed, they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injustice and violence, of drunkenness and other immoralities, and he charged them to repent of these very seriously, without meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of that war. He entred into a great correspondence with many of the Episcopal party, and with my own father in particular; and did wholly separate himself from the Presbyterians. At last he left them, and withdrew from his cure: For he could not do the things imposed on him any longer. And yet he hated all contention so much, that he chose rather to leave them in a silent manner, than to engage in any disputes with them. But he had generally the reputation of a Saint, and of something above human nature in him: So the mastership of the College of *Edinburgh* falling vacant some time after, and it being in the gift of the city, he was prevail'd with to accept of it, because in it he was wholly separated from all Church matters. He continued ten years in that post: And was a great blessing in it; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction, that it had great effect on many of them. He preached often to them: And if crouds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his sermon in *Latin*, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in *Scotland*, in the highest reputation that any man in my time ever had in that Kingdom.

He had a brother well known at Court, Sir *Elisba*, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts, but the most unlike him in all other things that can be imagined: For, tho' he loved to talk of great sublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a Papist of a form of his own: But he had changed his religion to raise himself at Court; for he was at that time Secretary to the Duke of *York*, and was very intimate with the Lord *Aubigny*, a brother of the Duke of *Richmond's*, who had changed his religion, and was a Priest, and had probably been a Cardinal if he had lived a little longer. He maintained

maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions, than men of quality, who enter into orders in that Church, generally have. Yet he was a very vicious man: And that perhaps made him the more considered by the King, who loved and trusted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the King; for he was on the secret as to his religion, and was more trusted with the whole design, that was then managed in order to establish it, than any man whatsoever. Sir *Elisba* brought his brother and him acquainted: For *Leightoun* loved to know men in all the varieties of religion.

In the vacation time he made excursions, and came oft to *London*; where he observed all the eminent men in *Cromwell's* Court, and in the several parties then about the city of *London*. But he told me, he could never see any thing among them that pleased him. They were men of unquiet and meddling tempers: And their discourses and sermons were dry and unfavoury, full of airy cant, or of bombast swellings. Sometimes he went over to *Flanders*, to see what he could find in the several orders of the Church of *Rome*. There he found some of *Jansenius's* followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much set. He thought controversies had been too much insisted on, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raising himself at Court, fancied that his being made a Bishop might render himself more considerable. So he possessed the Lord *Aubigny* with such an opinion of him, that he made the King apprehend, that a man of his piety and his notions (and his not being married was not forgot) might contribute to carry on their design. He fancied such a monastick man, who had a great stretch of thought, and so many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at least to prepare the nation for Popery, if he did not directly come over to them; for his brother did not stick to say, he was sure that lay at root with him. So the King named him of his own proper motion, which gave all those that began to suspect the King himself great jealousies of him. *Leightoun* was averse to this promotion, as much as was possible. His brother had great power over him; for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a shew of piety. He seemed to be a Papist rather in name and shew than in reality, of which I will set down one instance that was then much talked of. Some of the Church of *England* loved to magnify the sacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real presence, only blaming the Church of *Rome* for defining the manner of it; saying, *Christ*

1661. was present in a most unconceivable manner. This was so much the mode, that the King and all the Court went into it. So the King, upon some raillery about transubstantiation, asked Sir *Elisha* if he believed it. He answered, he could not well tell; but he was sure the Church of *England* believed it. And when the King seemed amazed at that, he replied, do not you believe that *Christ* is present in a most unconceivable manner? Which the King granted: Then said he, that is just transubstantiation, the most unconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When *Leightoun* was prevailed on to accept a Bishoprick, he chose *Dunblane*, a small diocese as well as a little revenue. But the Deanry of the Chapel Royal was annexed to that see. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might set up the Common Prayer in the King's Chapel; for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The *English* Clergy were well pleased with him, finding him both more learned, and more thoroughly the Irish in the other points of uniformity, than the rest of the *Scotch* Clergy, whom they could not much value. And tho' *Sheldon* did not much like his great strictness, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought such a man as he was might give credit to Episcopacy, in its first introduction to a nation much prejudiced against it. *Sharp* did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his strictness of life, nor his notions. He believed, they would not take the same methods, and fancied he might be much obscured by him; for he saw he would be well supported. He saw the Earl of *Lauderdale* began to magnify him. And so *Sharp* did all he could to discourage him, but without any effect; for he had no regard to him. I bear still the greatest veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any person; and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate conversation with him, that continued to his death for twenty three years, among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day in a most particular manner. And yet, tho' I know this account of his promotion may seem a blemish upon him, I would not conceal it, being resolved to write of all persons and things with all possible candor. I had the relation of it from himself, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes soever the Papists had of him at this time, when he knew nothing of the design of bringing in Popery, and had therefore talked of some points of Popery with the freedom of an abstracted and speculative man; yet he expressed another sense of the matter, when he came to see it was really intended to be brought in among us. He then spoke of Popery in the com-
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plex at much another rate: And he seemed to have more zeal 1661. against it, than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controversy; for his abstraction made him seem cold in all those matters. But he gave all who conversed with him a very different view of Popery, when he saw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion, that had, as he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual, and devilish, but had nothing in it of the wisdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of Popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that Church under those just and visible prejudices, but the several orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the trash that was among them maintained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved: So that the Protestant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this man's character. But it was so singular that it seemed to deserve it. And I was so singularly bless'd by knowing him as I did, that I am sure he deserved it of me, that I should give so full a view of him; which I hope may be of some use to the world.

When the time fixed for the consecration of the Bishops of *Scotland* came on, the *English* Bishops finding that *Sharp* and *Leightoun* had not Episcopal ordination, as Priests and Deacons, the other two having been ordained by Bishops before the wars, they stood upon it, that they must be ordain'd, first Deacons and then Priests. *Sharp* was very uneasie at this, and remembered them of what had happened when King *James* had set up Episcopacy. Bishop *Andrews* moved at that time the ordaining them, as was now proposed: But that was overruled by King *James*, who thought it went too far towards the unchurching of all those who had no Bishops among them. But the late war, and the disputes during that time, had raised these controversies higher, and brought men to stricter notions, and to maintain them with more fierceness. The *English* Bishops did also say, that by the late act of uniformity that matter was more positively settled, than it had been before; so that they could not legally consecrate any, but those who were, according to that constitution, made first Priests and Deacons. They also made this difference between the present time and King *James's*: For then the *Scots* were only in an imperfect state, having never had Bishops among them since the Reformation.

The *Scottish*
Bishops con-
secrated.

1661. Reformation; so in such a state of things, in which they had been under a real necessity, it was reasonable to allow of their orders, how defective soever: But that of late they had been in a state of schism, had revolted from their Bishops, and had thrown off that order; so that orders given in such a wilful opposition to the whole constitution of the primitive Church was a thing of another nature. They were positive in the point, and would not dispense with it. *Sharp* stuck more at it, than could have been expected from a man that had swallowed down greater matters. *Leightoun* did not stand much upon it. He did not think orders given without Bishops were null and void. He thought, the forms of government were not settled by such positive laws as were unalterable; but only by Apostolical practices, which, as he thought, authorised Episcopacy as the best form. Yet he did not think it necessary to the being of a Church. But he thought that every Church might make such rules of ordination as they pleased, and that they might re-ordain all that came to them from any other Church; and that the re-ordaining a Priest ordained in another Church imported no more, but that they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received. These two were upon this privately ordained Deacons and Priests. And then all the four were consecrated publickly in the Abbey of *Westminster*. *Leightoun* told me, he was much struck with the feasting and jollity of that day: It had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety, as became the new modelling of a Church. When that was over, he made some attempts to work up *Sharp* to the two designs which possessed him most. The one was, to try what could be done towards the uniting the Presbyterians and them. He offered *Usher's* reduction, as the plan upon which they ought to form their schemes. The other was, to try how they could raise men to a truer and higher sense of piety, and bring the worship of that Church out of their *extempore* methods into more order; and so to prepare them for a more regular way of worship, which he thought was of much more importance than a form of government. But he was amazed, when he observed that *Sharp* had neither formed any scheme, nor seemed so much as willing to talk of any. He reckoned, they would be established in the next session of Parliament, and so would be legally possessed of their Bishopricks: And then every Bishop was to do the best he could to get all once to submit to his authority: And when that point was carried, they might proceed to other things, as should be found expedient: But he did not care to lay down any scheme. *Fairfoul*, when he talked

to him, had always a merry tale ready at hand to divert him: 1661. So that he avoided all serious discourse, and indeed did not seem capable of any. By these means *Leightoun* quickly lost all heart and hope; and said often to me upon it, that in the whole progress of that affair there appeared such cross characters of an angry providence, that, how fully soever he was satisfied in his own mind as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men that should build up his Church; so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God. He who had the greatest hand in it proceeded with so much dissimulation; and the rest of the order were so mean, and so selfish; and the Earl of *Midletoun*, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vitious, that it did cast a reproach on every thing relating to religion to see it managed by such instruments.

All the steps that were made afterwards were of a piece with this melancholy beginning. Upon the consecration of the Bishops, the Presbyteries of *Scotland* that were still sitting began now to declare openly against Episcopacy, and to prepare protestations, or other acts or instruments, against them. Some were talking of entering into new engagements against the submitting to them. So *Sharp* moved, that, since the King had set up Episcopacy, a Proclamation might be issued out, forbidding Clergymen to meet together in any Presbytery, or other judicatory, till the Bishops should settle a method of proceeding in them. Upon the setting out this Proclamation, a general obedience was given to it: Only the ministers, to keep up a shew of acting on an Ecclesiastick authority, met once and entered into their Books a protestation against the Proclamation, as an invasion on the liberties of the Church, to which they declared they gave obedience only for a time, and for peace sake. *Sharp* procured this without any advice: And it proved very fatal. For when King *James* brought in the Bishops before, they had still suffered the inferiour judicatories to continue sitting, till the Bishops came, and sat down among them: Some of them protested indeed against that: Yet they sat on ever after: And so the whole Church had a face of unity, while all sat together in the same judicatories, tho' upon different principles. The old Presbyterians said, they sat still as in a Court settled by the laws of the Church and State: And tho' they looked on the Bishops sitting among them, and assuming a negative vote, as an usurpation, yet, they said, it did not infer a nullity on the Court: Whereas now, by this silencing these Courts, the case was much altered:

1662.

The meetings of the Presbyteries forbidden.

1662. the Clergy that must assist being to be pickt out by him, that was only a matter of shew; nor had they any authority lodged with them, all that being vested only in the Bishop: Nor did it escape censure, that among the qualifications of those Presbyters that were to be the Bishop's advisers and assistants, loyalty and prudence were only named; and that piety and learning were forgot, which must always be reckoned the first qualifications of the Clergy. As to the obligation to own and submit to the government thus established by law, they said, it was hard to submit to so high an authority as was now lodged with the Bishops; but to require them to own it, seemed to import an antecedent approving, or at least a subsequent justifying of such an authority, which carried the matter far beyond a bare obedience, even to an imposing upon conscience. These were not only the exceptions made by the Presbyterians, but by the Episcopal men themselves, who had never carried the argument farther in *Scotland*, than for a precedency, with some authority in ordination, and a negative in matters of jurisdiction. They thought, the body of the Clergy ought to be a check upon the Bishops, and that, without the consent of the majority, they ought not to be legally empowered to act in so imperious a manner, as was warranted by this act. Many of them would never subscribe to this form of owning and submitting: And the more prudent Bishops did not impose it on their Clergy. The whole frame of the act was liable to great censure. It was thought an unexcusable piece of madness, that, when a government was brought in upon a nation so averse to it, the first step should carry their power so high. All the Bishops, except *Sharp*, disowned their having any share in the penning this act; which indeed was pass'd in haste, without due consideration. Nor did any of the Bishops, no not *Sharp* himself, ever carry their authority so high, as by the act they were warranted to do. But all the enemies to Episcopacy had this act ever in their mouths, to excuse their not submitting to it; and said, it asserted a greater stretch of authority in Bishops, than they themselves thought fit to assume.

Scruples about the oath of supremacy.

Soon after that act pass'd, some of the Presbyterian preachers were summoned to answer before the Parliament for some reflections made in their sermons against Episcopacy. But nothing could be made of it: For their words were general, and capable of different senses. So it was resolved, for a proof of their loyalty, to tender them the oath of allegiance and supremacy. That had been enacted in the former Parliament, and was refused by none, but the Earl of *Cassilis*. He desired, that an explanation might be made of the supremacy: The words of the oath

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were large: And when the oath was enacted in *England*, a clear explanation was given in one of the articles of the Church of *England*, and more copiously afterwards in a discourse by Archbishop *Usher*, published by King *James's* order. But the Parliament would not satisfy him so far. And they were well pleased to see scruples raised about the oath, that so a colour might be put on their severities against such as should refuse it, as being men that refused to swear allegiance to the King. Upon that the Earl of *Cassilis* left the Parliament, and quitted all his employments: For he was a man of a most inflexible firmness. Many said, there was no need of an explanation, since how ambiguous soever the words might be in themselves, yet that oath, being brought to *Scotland* from *England*, ought to be understood in the same sense in which it was imposed in that Kingdom. On the other hand, there was just reason for some mens being tender in so sacred a matter as an oath. The Earl of *Cassilis* had offered to take the oath, provided he might join his explanation to it. The Earl of *Midletoun* was contented to let him say what he pleased, but he would not suffer him to put it in writing. The Ministers, to whom it was now tendred, offered to take it upon the same terms; and in a petition to the Lords of the articles they offered their explanation. Upon that a debate arose, whether an act explanatory of the oath should be offered to the Parliament, or not. This was the first time that *Leightoun* appeared in Parliament. He pressed, it might be done, with much zeal. He said, the land mourned by reason of the many oaths that had been taken: The words of this oath were certainly capable of a bad sense: In compassion to Papists a limited sense had been put on them in *England*: And he thought there should be a like tenderness shewed to Protestants, especially when the scruple was just, and there was an oath in the case, in which the matter ought certainly to be made clear: To act otherwise looked like the laying snares for people, and the making men offenders for a word. *Sharp* took this ill from him, and replied upon him with great bitterness: And said, it was below the dignity of government to make acts to satisfy the weak scruples of peevish men: It ill became them, who had imposed their Covenant on all people without any explanation, and had forced all to take it, now to expect such extraordinary favours. *Leightoun* insisted, that it ought to be done for that very reason, that all people might see a difference between the mild proceedings of the government now, and their severity: And that it ill became the very same persons, who had complained of that rigour, now to practise it themselves; for thus it may be said, the world goes mad by turns. This was

1662. ill taken by the Earl of *Midletoun*, and all his party: For they designed to keep the matter so, that the Presbyterians should be possessed with many scruples on this head; and that, when any of the party should be brought before them, whom they believed in fault, but had not full proof against, the oath should be tendred as the trial of their allegiance, and that on their refusing it they should censure them as they thought fit. So the Ministers petition was rejected, and they were required to take the oath as it stood in the law, without putting any sense upon it. They refused to do it, and were upon that condemned to perpetual banishment, as men that denied allegiance to the King. And by this an engine was found out to banish as many as they pleased: For the resolution was taken up by the whole party to refuse it, unless with an explanation. So soon did men forget all their former complaints of the severity of imposing oaths, and began to set on foot the same practices now, when they had it in their power to do it. But how unbecoming soever this rigour might be in laymen, it was certainly much more indecent when managed by Clergy-men. And the supremacy which was now turned against the Presbyterians was, not long after this, laid much heavier on the Bishops themselves: And then they desired an explanation, as much as the Presbyterians did now, but could not obtain it.

The Parliament was not satisfied with this oath: For they apprehended, that many would infer, that, since it came from *England*, it ought to be understood in the publick and established sense of the words that was pass'd there, both in an article of doctrine and in an act of Parliament. Therefore another oath was likewise taken from the *English* pattern, of abjuring the Covenant; both the League and the national Covenant. It is true, this was only imposed on men in the magistracy, or in publick employments. By it all the Presbyterians were turned out: For this oath was decried by the Ministers as little less than open apostacy from God, and a throwing off their baptismal Covenant.

Debates about an act of indemnity.

The main business of this session of Parliament, now that Episcopacy was settled, and these oaths were enacted, was the passing of the act of indemnity. The Earl of *Midletoun* had obtained of the King an instruction to consent to the fining of the chief offenders, or to other punishments not extending to life. This was intended to enrich him and his party, since all the rich and great offenders would be struck with the terror of this, and choose rather to make him a good present, than to be fined on record, as guilty persons. This matter was debated at the Council

cil in *Whitehall*. The Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Crawford* argued against it. They said, the King had granted a full indemnity in *England*, out of which none were excepted but the regicides: It seemed therefore an unkind and an unequal way of proceeding towards *Scotland*, that had merited eminently at the King's hands ever since the year 1648, and suffered much for it, that the one Kingdom should not have the same measure of grace and pardon that was granted in the other. The Earl of *Midletoun* answered, that all he desired was in favour of the loyal party in *Scotland*, who were undone by their adhering to the King: The revenue of the Crown was too small, and too much charged, to repair their losses: So the King had no other way to be just to them, but to make their enemies pay for their rebellion. Some plausible limitations were offered to the fines to which any should be condemned; as that they should be only for offences committed since the year 1650, and that no man should be fined in above a year's rent of his estate. These were agreed to. So he had an instruction to pass an act of indemnity, with a power of fining restrain'd to these rules. There was one Sir *George Mackenzie*, since made Lord *Tarbot* and Earl of *Cromarty*, a young man of great vivacity of parts, but full of ambition, and had the art to recommend himself to all sides and parties by turns, and has made a great figure in that country now above fifty years. He had great notions of vertue and religion: But they were only notions, at least they have not had great effect on himself at all times. He became now the Earl of *Midletoun*'s chief favourite. *Primerose* was grown rich and cautious: And his maxim having always been, that, when he apprehended a change, he ought to lay in for it by courting the side that was depressed, that so in the next turn he might secure friends to himself, he began to think that the Earl of *Midletoun* went too fast to hold out long. He had often advised him to manage the business of restoring Episcopacy in a slow progress. He had formed a scheme, by which it would have been the work of seven years. But the Earl of *Midletoun*'s heat, and *Sharp*'s vehemence, spoiled all his project. The Earl of *Midletoun* after his own disgrace said often to him, that his advices had been always wise and faithful: But he thought Princes were more sensible of services, and more apt to reflect on them, and to reward them, than he found they were.

When the settlement of Episcopacy was over, the next care was to prepare the act of indemnity. Some proposed, that, besides the power of fining, they should move the King, that he would consent to an instruction, empowering them likewise to put some under an incapacity to hold any publick trust. This had never been

It was desired that some might be incapacitated.

1662. been proposed in publick. But the Earl of *Midletoun* pretended, that many of the best affected of the Parliament had proposed it in private to himself. So he sent the Lord *Tarbot* up to the King with two draughts of an act of indemnity, the one containing an exception of some persons to be fined, and the other containing likewise a clause for the incapacitating of some, not exceeding twelve, from all publick trust. He was ordered to lay both before the King: The one was penned according to the Earl of *Midletoun*'s instructions: The other was drawn at the desire of the Parliament, for which he prayed an instruction, if the King thought fit to approve of it. The Earl of *Lauderdale* had no apprehension of any design against himself in the motion. So he made no objection to it. And an instruction was drawn, empowering the Earl of *Midletoun* to pass an act with that clause. *Tarbot* was then much considered at Court, as one of the most extraordinary men that *Scotland* had produced, and was the better liked, because he was looked on as the person that the Earl of *Midletoun* intended to set up in the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s room, who was then so much hated, that nothing could have preserved him but the course that was taken to ruine him. So Lord *Tarbot* went back to *Scotland*. And the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Newburgh* went down with him, by whose wild and ungoverned extravagancies the Earl of *Midletoun*'s whole conduct fell under such an universal odium, and so much contempt, that, as his own ill management forced the King to put an end to his ministry, so he could not have served there much longer with any reputation.

One instance of unusual severity was, that a letter of the Lord *Lorn*'s to the Lord *Duffus* was intercepted, in which he did a little too plainly, but very truly, complain of the practices of his enemies in endeavouring to possess the King against him by many lies: But he said, he had now discovered them, and had defeated them, and had gained the person upon whom the chief among them depended. This was the Earl of *Clarendon*, upon whom the Earl of *Berkshire* had wrought so much, that he resolved to oppose his restoration no more: And for this the Earl of *Berkshire* was to have a thousand pounds. This letter was carried into the Parliament, and complained of as leasing-making; since Lord *Lorn* pretended, he had discovered the lies of his enemies to the King, which was a sowing dissension between the King and his subjects, and the creating in the King an ill opinion of them. So the Parliament desired, the King would send him down to be tried upon it. The King thought the letter very indiscreetly writ, but could not see any thing in it that was criminal. Yet, in compliance with the
desire

desire of so zealous a Parliament, Lord *Lorn* was sent down upon his parole: But the King writ positively to the Earl of *Middle-*
toun, not to proceed to the execution of any sentence that might pass upon him. Lord *Lorn* upon his appearance was made a prisoner: And an indictment was brought against him for leasing-making. He made no defence: But in a long speech he set out the great provocation he had been under, the many libels that had been printed against him: Some of these had been put in the King's own hands, to represent him as unworthy of his grace and favour: So, after all that hard usage, it was no wonder, if he had writ with some sharpness: But he protested, he meant no harm to any person; his design being only to preserve and save himself from the malice and lies of others, and not to make lies of any. In conclusion, he submitted to the justice of the Parliament, and cast himself on the King's mercy. He was upon this condemned to die, as guilty of leasing-making: And the day of his execution was left to the Earl of *Middle-*
toun by the Parliament. 1662.
Lorn con-
demned.

I never knew any thing more generally cried out on than this was, unless it was the second sentence pass'd on him twenty years after this, which had more fatal effects, and a more tragical conclusion. He was certainly born to be the signalest instance in this age of the rigour, or rather of the mockery, of justice. All that was said at this time to excuse the proceeding was, that it was certain his life was in no danger. But since that depended on the King, it did not excuse those who pass'd so base a sentence, and left to posterity the precedent of a Parliamentary judgment, by which any man may be condemned for a letter of common news. This was not all the fury with which this matter was driven: For an act was pass'd against all persons, who should move the King for restoring the children of those who were attainted by Parliament; which was an unheard-of restraint on applications to the King for his grace and mercy. This the Earl of *Middle-*
toun also pass'd, tho' he had no instruction for it. There was no penalty put in the act: For it was a maxim of the pleaders for prerogative, that the fixing a punishment was a limitation on the Crown: Whereas an act forbidding any thing, tho' without a penalty, made the offenders criminal: And in that case they did reckon, that the punishment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. A Committee was next appointed for setting the fines. They proceeded without any regard to the rules the King had set them. The most obnoxious compounded secretly. No consideration was had either of mens crimes, or of their estates: No proofs were brought. Enquiries were not so much as made; But as men were delated, they were marked down

1662. for such a fine: And all was transacted in a secret Committee. When the list of the men and of their fines was read in Parliament, exceptions were made to divers; particularly some who had been under age all the time of transgression, and others abroad. But to every thing of that kind an answer was made, that there would come a proper time in which every man was to be heard in his own defence: For the meaning of setting the fine was only this, that such persons should have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unless they paid the fine: Therefore every one that could stand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, was thereby free from the fine, which was only his composition for the grace and pardon of the act. So all pass'd in that great hurry.

Some incapacitated by ballot

The other point, concerning the incapacity, was carried farther than was perhaps intended at first; tho' the Lord *Tarbot* assured me, he had from the beginning designed it. It was infused into all people, that the King was weary of the Earl of *Lauderdale*, but that he could not decently throw him off, and that therefore the Parliament must help him with a fair pretence for doing it. Yet others were very apprehensive, that the King could not approve of a Parliament's falling upon a Minister. So Lord *Tarbot* proposed two expedients. The one was, that no person should be named, but that every member should do it by ballot, and should bring twelve names in a paper; and that a secret Committee of three of every Estate should make the scrutiny; and that they, without making any report to the Parliament, should put those twelve names on whom the greater number fell in the act of incapacity; which was to be an act apart, and not made a clause of the act of indemnity. This was taken from the ostracism in *Athens*, and seemed the best method in an act of oblivion, in which all that was pass'd was to be forgotten: And no seeds of feuds would remain, when it was not so much as known against whom any one had voted. The other expedient was, that a clause should be put in the act, that it should have no force, and that the names in it should never be published, unless the King should approve of it. By this means it was hoped, that, if the King should dislike the whole thing, yet it would be easy to soften that, by letting him see how entirely the act was in his power. Emissaries were sent to every Parliament man, directing him how to make his list, that so the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Crawford*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, might be three of the number. This was managed so carefully, that by a great majority they were three of the incapacitated persons. The Earl of *Midletoun* pass'd the act, tho' he had no instruction about it in this form.

The

1662.

The matter was so secretly carried, that it was not let out till the day before it was done: For they reckoned their success in it was to depend on the secrecy of it, and in their carrying it to the King, before he should be possessed against it by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, or his party. So they took great care to visit the packet, and to stop any that should go to Court post: And all people were under such terror, that no courage was left. Only Lord *Lorn* sent one on his own horses, who was to go on in cross roads, till he got into *Yorkshire*; for they had secured every stage to *Durham*. By this means the Earl of *Lauderdale* had the news three days before the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* got to Court. He carried it presently to the King, who could scarce believe it. But when he saw by the letters that it was certainly true, he assured the Earl of *Lauderdale*, that he would preserve him, and never suffer such a destructive precedent to pass. He said, he looked for no better upon the Duke of *Richmond's* going to *Scotland*, and his being perpetually drunk there. This mortified the Earl of *Lauderdale*; for it looked like the laying in an excuse for the Earl of *Middleton*. From the King, by his orders, he went to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and told all to him. He was amazed at it; and said, that certainly he had some secret friend that had got into their confidence, and had persuaded them to do as they had done on design to ruine them. But growing more serious, he added, he was sure the King on his own account would take care not to suffer such a thing to pass: Otherwise no man could serve him: If way was given to such a method of proceeding, he himself would go out of his dominions as fast as his gout would suffer him.

The King was displeased with this.

Great pains taken to extract this.

Two days after this the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* came to Court. They brought the act of incapacity sealed up, together with a letter from the Parliament, magnifying the Earl of *Middleton's* services, and another letter signed by ten of the Bishops, setting forth his zeal for the Church, and his care of them all: And in particular they set out the design he was then on, of going round some of the worst affected counties to see the Church established in them, as a work that was highly meritorious. At the same time he sent over the Earl of *Newburgh* to *Ireland*, to engage the Duke of *Ormond* to represent to the King the good effects that they began to feel in that Kingdom from the Earl of *Middleton's* administration in *Scotland*, hoping the King would not discourage, much less change so faithful a minister. The King received the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* very coldly. When they delivered the act of incapacity to him, he assured them, it should never be open'd by him; and said, their

last

1661. Reformation; so in such a state of things, in which they had been under a real necessity, it was reasonable to allow of their orders, how defective soever: But that of late they had been in a state of schism, had revolted from their Bishops, and had thrown off that order; so that orders given in such a wilful opposition to the whole constitution of the primitive Church was a thing of another nature. They were positive in the point, and would not dispense with it. *Sharp* stuck more at it, than could have been expected from a man that had swallowed down greater matters. *Leightoun* did not stand much upon it. He did not think orders given without Bishops were null and void. He thought, the forms of government were not settled by such positive laws as were unalterable; but only by Apostolical practices, which, as he thought, authorised Episcopacy as the best form. Yet he did not think it necessary to the being of a Church. But he thought that every Church might make such rules of ordination as they pleased, and that they might re-ordain all that came to them from any other Church; and that the re-ordaining a Priest ordained in another Church imported no more, but that they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received. These two were upon this privately ordained Deacons and Priests. And then all the four were consecrated publickly in the Abbey of *Westminster*. *Leightoun* told me, he was much struck with the feasting and jollity of that day: It had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety, as became the new modelling of a Church. When that was over, he made some attempts to work up *Sharp* to the two designs which possessed him most. The one was, to try what could be done towards the uniting the Presbyterians and them. He offered *Usher's* reduction, as the plan upon which they ought to form their schemes. The other was, to try how they could raise men to a truer and higher sense of piety, and bring the worship of that Church out of their *extempore* methods into more order; and so to prepare them for a more regular way of worship, which he thought was of much more importance than a form of government. But he was amazed, when he observed that *Sharp* had neither formed any scheme, nor seemed so much as willing to talk of any. He reckoned, they would be established in the next session of Parliament, and so would be legally possessed of their Bishopricks: And then every Bishop was to do the best he could to get all once to submit to his authority: And when that point was carried, they might proceed to other things, as should be found expedient: But he did not care to lay down any scheme. *Fairfoul*, when he talked

to him, had always a merry tale ready at hand to divert him: 1661.
So that he avoided all serious discourse, and indeed did not seem capable of any. By these means *Leightoun* quickly lost all heart and hope; and said often to me upon it, that in the whole progress of that affair there appeared such cross characters of an angry providence, that, how fully soever he was satisfied in his own mind as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men that should build up his Church; so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God. He who had the greatest hand in it proceeded with so much dissimulation; and the rest of the order were so mean, and so selfish; and the Earl of *Midletoun*, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vitious, that it did cast a reproach on every thing relating to religion to see it managed by such instruments.

All the steps that were made afterwards were of a piece with this melancholy beginning. Upon the consecration of the Bishops, the Presbyteries of *Scotland* that were still sitting began now to declare openly against Episcopacy, and to prepare protestations, or other acts or instruments, against them. Some were talking of entering into new engagements against the submitting to them. So *Sharp* moved, that, since the King had set up Episcopacy, a Proclamation might be issued out, forbidding Clergymen to meet together in any Presbytery, or other judicatory, till the Bishops should settle a method of proceeding in them. Upon the setting out this Proclamation, a general obedience was given to it: Only the ministers, to keep up a shew of acting on an Ecclesiastick authority, met once and entered into their Books a protestation against the Proclamation, as an invasion on the liberties of the Church, to which they declared they gave obedience only for a time, and for peace sake. *Sharp* procured this without any advice: And it proved very fatal. For when King *James* brought in the Bishops before, they had still suffered the inferiour judicatories to continue sitting, till the Bishops came, and sat down among them: Some of them protested indeed against that: Yet they sat on ever after: And so the whole Church had a face of unity, while all sat together in the same judicatories, tho' upon different principles. The old Presbyterians said, they sat still as in a Court settled by the laws of the Church and State: And tho' they looked on the Bishops sitting among them, and assuming a negative vote, as an usurpation, yet, they said, it did not infer a nullity on the Court: Whereas now, by this silencing these Courts, the case was much altered:
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1662.

The meetings of the Presbyteries forbidden.

The new Bishops came down to Scotland.

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1662. ed. For if they had continued sitting, and the Bishops had come among them, they would have said, it was like the bearing with an usurpation, when there was no remedy: And what protestations soever they might have made, or what opposition soever they might have given the Bishops, that would have been kept within their own walls, but would not have broken out into such a distraction, as the nation was cast into upon this: All the opposition that might have been made would have died with those few that were disposed to make it: And, upon due care to fill the vacant places with worthy and well affected men, the nation might have been brought off from their prejudices. But these Courts being now once broken, and brought together afterwards by a sort of connivance, without any legal authority, only as the Bishops assistants and officials, to give him advice, and to act in his name, they pretended they could not sit in them any more, unless they should change their principles and become thoroughly Episcopal, which was too great a turn to be soon brought about. So fatally did *Sharp* precipitate matters. He affected to have the reins of the Church wholly put into his hands. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was not sorry to see him commit errors; since the worse things were managed, his advices would be thereby the more justified. And the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party took no care of any business, being almost perpetually drunk: By which they came in a great measure to loose the King. For, tho', upon a frolick, the King, with a few in whose company he took pleasure, would sometimes run into excess, yet he did it seldom, and had a very bad opinion of all that got into the habit and love of drunkenness.

The new
Bishops
came down
to Scotland.

The Bishops came down to *Scotland* soon after their consecration, all in one coach. *Leightoun* told me, he believed they were weary of him, for he was very weary of them: But he, finding they intended to be received at *Edenburgh* with some pomp, left them at *Morpeth*, and came to *Edenburgh* a few days before them. He hated all the appearances of vanity. He would not have the title of Lord given him by his friends, and was not easy when others forced it on him. In this I always thought him too stiff: It provoked the other Bishops, and looked like singularity and affectation, and furnished those that were prejudiced against him with a specious appearance, to represent him as a man of odd notions and practices. The Lord Chancellour, with all the Nobility and Privy Councillours, then at *Edenburgh*, went out, together with the Magistracy of the city, and brought the Bishops in, as in triumph. I looked on; And tho' I was thoroughly Episcopal, yet I thought there was somewhat in the

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pomp of that entry, that did not look like the humility that became their function: Soon after their arrival, six other Bishops were consecrated, but not ordained Priests and Deacons. The See of *Edenburgh* was for some time kept vacant. *Sharp* hoped that *Douglas* might be prevailed on to accept it: But he would enter into no treaty about it. So the Earl of *Midletoun* forced upon *Sharp* one *Wishart*, who had been the Marquis of *Montrose's* chaplain, and had been taken prisoner, and used with so much cruelty in the jail of *Edenburgh*, that it seem'd but justice to advance a man in that place, where he had suffer'd so much.

The session of Parliament came on in *April* 1662: Where the first thing that was proposed by the Earl of *Midletoun* was, that since the act rescissory had annulled all the Parliaments after that held in the year 1633, the former laws in favour of Episcopacy were now again in force, the King had restored that function which had been so long glorious in the Church, and for which his blessed father had suffered so much: And tho' the Bishops had a right to come and take their place in Parliament, yet it was a piece of respect to send some of every state to invite them to come, and sit among them. This was agreed to: So upon the message the Bishops came and took their places. *Leigh-toun* went not with them, as indeed he never came to Parliament but when there was something before them that related to religion, or to the Church.

The first act that passed in this session was for restoring Episcopacy, and settling the government of the Church in their hands. *Sharp* had the framing of this act, as *Primerose* told me. The whole government and jurisdiction of the Church in the several dioceses was declared to be lodged in the Bishops, which they were to exercise with the advice and assistance of such of their clergy, as were of known loyalty and prudence: All men that held any benefice in the Church were required to own and submit to the government of the Church, as now by law established. This was plainly the setting Episcopacy on another bottom, than it had been ever on in *Scotland* before this time: For the whole body of the Presbyterians did formerly maintain such a share in the administration, that the Bishops had never pretended to any more, than to be their settled Presidents with a negative voice upon them. But now it was said, that the whole power was lodged simply in the Bishop, who was only bound to carry along with him in the administration so many Presbyters, as he thought fit to single out, as his advisers and assistants; which was the taking all power out of the body of the Clergy: Church judicatories were now made only the Bishop's assistants: And the few of the

1662.

They were brought into Parliament.

1662. the Clergy that must assist being to be pickt out by him, that was only a matter of shew; nor had they any authority lodged with them, all that being vested only in the Bishop: Nor did it escape censure, that among the qualifications of those Presbyters that were to be the Bishop's advisers and assistants, loyalty and prudence were only named; and that piety and learning were forgot, which must always be reckoned the first qualifications of the Clergy. As to the obligation to own and submit to the government thus established by law, they said, it was hard to submit to so high an authority as was now lodged with the Bishops; but to require them to own it, seemed to import an antecedent approving, or at least a subsequent justifying of such an authority, which carried the matter far beyond a bare obedience, even to an imposing upon conscience. These were not only the exceptions made by the Presbyterians, but by the Episcopal men themselves, who had never carried the argument farther in *Scotland*, than for a precedency, with some authority in ordination, and a negative in matters of jurisdiction. They thought, the body of the Clergy ought to be a check upon the Bishops, and that, without the consent of the majority, they ought not to be legally impowered to act in so imperious a manner, as was warranted by this act. Many of them would never subscribe to this form of owning and submitting: And the more prudent Bishops did not impose it on their Clergy. The whole frame of the act was liable to great censure. It was thought an unexcusable piece of madness, that, when a government was brought in upon a nation so averse to it, the first step should carry their power so high. All the Bishops, except *Sharp*, disowned their having any share in the penning this act; which indeed was pass'd in haste, without due consideration. Nor did any of the Bishops, no not *Sharp* himself, ever carry their authority so high, as by the act they were warranted to do. But all the enemies to Episcopacy had this act ever in their mouths, to excuse their not submitting to it; and said, it asserted a greater stretch of authority in Bishops, than they themselves thought fit to assume.

Scruples about the oath of supremacy.

Soon after that act pass'd, some of the Presbyterian preachers were summoned to answer before the Parliament for some reflections made in their sermons against Episcopacy. But nothing could be made of it: For their words were general, and capable of different senses. So it was resolved, for a proof of their loyalty, to tender them the oath of allegiance and supremacy. That had been enacted in the former Parliament, and was refused by none, but the Earl of *Cassilis*. He desired, that an explanation might be made of the supremacy: The words of the oath

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were large: And when the oath was enacted in *England*, a clear explanation was given in one of the articles of the Church of *England*, and more copiously afterwards in a discourse by Archbishop *Usher*, published by King *James's* order. But the Parliament would not satisfy him so far. And they were well pleased to see scruples raised about the oath, that so a colour might be put on their severities against such as should refuse it, as being men that refused to swear allegiance to the King. Upon that the Earl of *Cassilis* left the Parliament, and quitted all his employments: For he was a man of a most inflexible firmness. Many said, there was no need of an explanation, since how ambiguous soever the words might be in themselves, yet that oath, being brought to *Scotland* from *England*, ought to be understood in the same sense in which it was imposed in that Kingdom. On the other hand, there was just reason for some mens being tender in so sacred a matter as an oath. The Earl of *Cassilis* had offered to take the oath, provided he might join his explanation to it. The Earl of *Midletoun* was contented to let him say what he pleased, but he would not suffer him to put it in writing. The Ministers, to whom it was now tendred, offered to take it upon the same terms; and in a petition to the Lords of the articles they offered their explanation. Upon that a debate arose, whether an act explanatory of the oath should be offered to the Parliament, or not. This was the first time that *Leightoun* appeared in Parliament. He pressed, it might be done, with much zeal. He said, the land mourned by reason of the many oaths that had been taken: The words of this oath were certainly capable of a bad sense: In compassion to Papists a limited sense had been put on them in *England*: And he thought there should be a like tenderness shewed to Protestants, especially when the scruple was just, and there was an oath in the case, in which the matter ought certainly to be made clear: To act otherwise looked like the laying snares for people, and the making men offenders for a word. *Sharp* took this ill from him, and replied upon him with great bitterness: And said, it was below the dignity of government to make acts to satisfy the weak scruples of peevish men: It ill became them, who had imposed their Covenant on all people without any explanation, and had forced all to take it, now to expect such extraordinary favours. *Leightoun* insisted, that it ought to be done for that very reason, that all people might see a difference between the mild proceedings of the government now, and their severity: And that it ill became the very same persons, who had complained of that rigour, now to practise it themselves; for thus it may be said, the world goes mad by turns. This was

1662. ill taken by the Earl of *Midletoun*, and all his party: For they designed to keep the matter so, that the Presbyterians should be possessed with many scruples on this head; and that, when any of the party should be brought before them, whom they believed in fault, but had not full proof against, the oath should be tendred as the trial of their allegiance, and that on their refusing it they should censure them as they thought fit. So the Ministers petition was rejected, and they were required to take the oath as it stood in the law, without putting any sense upon it. They refused to do it, and were upon that condemned to perpetual banishment, as men that denied allegiance to the King. And by this an engine was found out to banish as many as they pleased: For the resolution was taken up by the whole party to refuse it, unless with an explanation. So soon did men forget all their former complaints of the severity of imposing oaths, and began to set on foot the same practices now, when they had it in their power to do it. But how unbecoming soever this rigour might be in laymen, it was certainly much more indecent when managed by Clergy-men. And the supremacy which was now turned against the Presbyterians was, not long after this, laid much heavier on the Bishops themselves: And then they desired an explanation, as much as the Presbyterians did now, but could not obtain it.

The Parliament was not satisfied with this oath: For they apprehended, that many would infer, that, since it came from *England*, it ought to be understood in the publick and established sense of the words that was pass'd there, both in an article of doctrine and in an act of Parliament. Therefore another oath was likewise taken from the *English* pattern, of abjuring the Covenant; both the League and the national Covenant. It is true, this was only imposed on men in the magistracy, or in publick employments. By it all the Presbyterians were turned out: For this oath was decried by the Ministers as little less than open apostacy from God, and a throwing off their baptismal Covenant.

Debates about an act of indemnity.

The main business of this session of Parliament, now that Episcopacy was settled, and these oaths were enacted, was the passing of the act of indemnity. The Earl of *Midletoun* had obtained of the King an instruction to consent to the fining of the chief offenders, or to other punishments not extending to life. This was intended to enrich him and his party, since all the rich and great offenders would be struck with the terror of this, and choose rather to make him a good present, than to be fined on record, as guilty persons. This matter was debated at the Council

cil in *Whitehall*. The Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Crawford* argued against it. They said, the King had granted a full indemnity in *England*, out of which none were excepted but the regicides: It seemed therefore an unkind and an unequal way of proceeding towards *Scotland*, that had merited eminently at the King's hands ever since the year 1648, and suffered much for it, that the one Kingdom should not have the same measure of grace and pardon that was granted in the other. The Earl of *Midletoun* answered, that all he desired was in favour of the loyal party in *Scotland*, who were undone by their adhering to the King: The revenue of the Crown was too small, and too much charged, to repair their losses: So the King had no other way to be just to them, but to make their enemies pay for their rebellion. Some plausible limitations were offered to the fines to which any should be condemned; as that they should be only for offences committed since the year 1650, and that no man should be fined in above a year's rent of his estate. These were agreed to. So he had an instruction to pass an act of indemnity, with a power of fining restrain'd to these rules. There was one Sir *George Mackenzie*, since made Lord *Tarbot* and Earl of *Cromarty*, a young man of great vivacity of parts, but full of ambition, and had the art to recommend himself to all sides and parties by turns, and has made a great figure in that country now above fifty years. He had great notions of vertue and religion: But they were only notions, at least they have not had great effect on himself at all times. He became now the Earl of *Midletoun*'s chief favourite. *Primerose* was grown rich and cautious: And his maxim having always been, that, when he apprehended a change, he ought to lay in for it by courting the side that was depressed, that so in the next turn he might secure friends to himself, he began to think that the Earl of *Midletoun* went too fast to hold out long. He had often advised him to manage the business of restoring Episcopacy in a slow progress. He had formed a scheme, by which it would have been the work of seven years. But the Earl of *Midletoun*'s heat, and *Sharp*'s vehemence, spoiled all his project. The Earl of *Midletoun* after his own disgrace said often to him, that his advices had been always wise and faithful: But he thought Princes were more sensible of services, and more apt to reflect on them, and to reward them, than he found they were.

When the settlement of Episcopacy was over, the next care was to prepare the act of indemnity. Some proposed, that, besides the power of fining, they should move the King, that he would consent to an instruction, empowering them likewise to put some under an incapacity to hold any publick trust. This had never been

It was desired that some might be incapacitated.

1662. been proposed in publick. But the Earl of *Midletoun* pretended, that many of the best affected of the Parliament had proposed it in private to himself. So he sent the Lord *Tarbot* up to the King with two draughts of an act of indemnity, the one containing an exception of some persons to be fined, and the other containing likewise a clause for the incapacitating of some, not exceeding twelve, from all publick trust. He was ordered to lay both before the King: The one was penned according to the Earl of *Midletoun*'s instructions: The other was drawn at the desire of the Parliament, for which he prayed an instruction, if the King thought fit to approve of it. The Earl of *Lauderdale* had no apprehension of any design against himself in the motion. So he made no objection to it. And an instruction was drawn, empowering the Earl of *Midletoun* to pass an act with that clause. *Tarbot* was then much considered at Court, as one of the most extraordinary men that *Scotland* had produced, and was the better liked, because he was looked on as the person that the Earl of *Midletoun* intended to set up in the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s room, who was then so much hated, that nothing could have preserved him but the course that was taken to ruine him. So Lord *Tarbot* went back to *Scotland*. And the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Newburgh* went down with him, by whose wild and ungoverned extravagancies the Earl of *Midletoun*'s whole conduct fell under such an universal odium, and so much contempt, that, as his own ill management forced the King to put an end to his ministry, so he could not have served there much longer with any reputation.

One instance of unusual severity was, that a letter of the Lord *Lorn*'s to the Lord *Duffus* was intercepted, in which he did a little too plainly, but very truly, complain of the practices of his enemies in endeavouring to possess the King against him by many lies: But he said, he had now discovered them, and had defeated them, and had gained the person upon whom the chief among them depended. This was the Earl of *Clarendon*, upon whom the Earl of *Berkshire* had wrought so much, that he resolved to oppose his restoration no more: And for this the Earl of *Berkshire* was to have a thousand pounds. This letter was carried into the Parliament, and complained of as leasing-making; since Lord *Lorn* pretended, he had discovered the lies of his enemies to the King, which was a sowing dissension between the King and his subjects, and the creating in the King an ill opinion of them. So the Parliament desired, the King would send him down to be tried upon it. The King thought the letter very indiscreetly writ, but could not see any thing in it that was criminal. Yet, in compliance with the
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desire of so zealous a Parliament, Lord *Lorn* was sent down upon his parole: But the King writ positively to the Earl of *Middle-*
toun, not to proceed to the execution of any sentence that might
pass upon him. Lord *Lorn* upon his appearance was made a
prisoner: And an indictment was brought against him for leasing-
making. He made no defence: But in a long speech he set
out the great provocation he had been under, the many libels
that had been printed against him: Some of these had been put
in the King's own hands, to represent him as unworthy of his
grace and favour: So, after all that hard usage, it was no won-
der, if he had writ with some sharpness: But he protested, he
meant no harm to any person; his design being only to preserve
and save himself from the malice and lies of others, and not to
make lies of any. In conclusion, he submitted to the justice of the
Parliament, and cast himself on the King's mercy. He was upon
this condemned to die, as guilty of leasing-making: And the day of
his execution was left to the Earl of *Middle-*
toun by the Parliament. 1662.
Lorn con-
demned.

I never knew any thing more generally cried out on than this
was, unless it was the second sentence pass'd on him twenty years
after this, which had more fatal effects, and a more tragical con-
clusion. He was certainly born to be the signalest instance in this
age of the rigour, or rather of the mockery, of justice. All that
was said at this time to excuse the proceeding was, that it was
certain his life was in no danger. But since that depended on
the King, it did not excuse those who pass'd so base a sentence,
and left to posterity the precedent of a Parliamentary judgment,
by which any man may be condemned for a letter of common
news. This was not all the fury with which this matter was dri-
ven: For an act was pass'd against all persons, who should move
the King for restoring the children of those who were attainted
by Parliament; which was an unheard-of restraint on applicati-
ons to the King for his grace and mercy. This the Earl of *Middle-*
toun also pass'd, tho' he had no instruction for it. There was
no penalty put in the act: For it was a maxim of the pleaders
for prerogative, that the fixing a punishment was a limitation on
the Crown: Whereas an act forbidding any thing, tho' with-
out a penalty, made the offenders criminal: And in that case
they did reckon, that the punishment was arbitrary; only that
it could not extend to life. A Committee was next appointed
for setting the fines. They proceeded without any regard to the
rules the King had set them. The most obnoxious compounded
secretly. No consideration was had either of mens crimes, or
of their estates: No proofs were brought. Enquiries were not so
much as made; But as men were delated, they were marked down

1662. for such a fine: And all was transacted in a secret Committee. When the list of the men and of their fines was read in Parliament, exceptions were made to divers; particularly some who had been under age all the time of transgression, and others abroad. But to every thing of that kind an answer was made, that there would come a proper time in which every man was to be heard in his own defence: For the meaning of setting the fine was only this, that such persons should have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unless they paid the fine: Therefore every one that could stand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, was thereby free from the fine, which was only his composition for the grace and pardon of the act. So all pass'd in that great hurry.

Some incapacitated by ballot

The other point, concerning the incapacity, was carried farther than was perhaps intended at first; tho' the Lord *Tarbot* assured me, he had from the beginning designed it. It was infused into all people, that the King was weary of the Earl of *Lauderdale*, but that he could not decently throw him off, and that therefore the Parliament must help him with a fair pretence for doing it. Yet others were very apprehensive, that the King could not approve of a Parliament's falling upon a Minister. So Lord *Tarbot* proposed two expedients. The one was, that no person should be named, but that every member should do it by ballot, and should bring twelve names in a paper; and that a secret Committee of three of every Estate should make the scrutiny; and that they, without making any report to the Parliament, should put those twelve names on whom the greater number fell in the act of incapacity; which was to be an act apart, and not made a clause of the act of indemnity. This was taken from the ostracism in *Athens*, and seemed the best method in an act of oblivion, in which all that was pass'd was to be forgotten: And no seeds of feuds would remain, when it was not so much as known against whom any one had voted. The other expedient was, that a clause should be put in the act, that it should have no force, and that the names in it should never be published, unless the King should approve of it. By this means it was hoped, that, if the King should dislike the whole thing, yet it would be easy to soften that, by letting him see how entirely the act was in his power. Emissaries were sent to every Parliament man, directing him how to make his list, that so the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Crawford*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, might be three of the number. This was managed so carefully, that by a great majority they were three of the incapacitated persons. The Earl of *Midletoun* pass'd the act, tho' he had no instruction about it in this form.

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The matter was so secretly carried, that it was not let out till the day before it was done: For they reckoned their success in it was to depend on the secrecy of it, and in their carrying it to the King, before he should be possessed against it by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, or his party. So they took great care to visit the packet, and to stop any that should go to Court post: And all people were under such terror, that no courage was left. Only Lord *Lorn* sent one on his own horses, who was to go on in cross roads, till he got into *Yorkshire*; for they had secured every stage to *Durham*. By this means the Earl of *Lauderdale* had the news three days before the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* got to Court. He carried it presently to the King, who could scarce believe it. But when he saw by the letters that it was certainly true, he assured the Earl of *Lauderdale*, that he would preserve him, and never suffer such a destructive precedent to pass. He said, he looked for no better upon the Duke of *Richmond's* going to *Scotland*, and his being perpetually drunk there. This mortified the Earl of *Lauderdale*; for it looked like the laying in an excuse for the Earl of *Midletoun*. From the King, by his orders, he went to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and told all to him. He was amazed at it; and said, that certainly he had some secret friend that had got into their confidence, and had persuaded them to do as they had done on design to ruine them. But growing more serious, he added, he was sure the King on his own account would take care not to suffer such a thing to pass: Otherwise no man could serve him: If way was given to such a method of proceeding, he himself would go out of his dominions as fast as his gout would suffer him.

Two days after this the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* came to Court. They brought the act of incapacity sealed up, together with a letter from the Parliament, magnifying the Earl of *Midletoun's* services, and another letter signed by ten of the Bishops, setting forth his zeal for the Church, and his care of them all: And in particular they set out the design he was then on, of going round some of the worst affected counties to see the Church established in them, as a work that was highly meritorious. At the same time he sent over the Earl of *Newburgh* to *Ireland*, to engage the Duke of *Ormond* to represent to the King the good effects that they began to feel in that Kingdom from the Earl of *Midletoun's* administration in *Scotland*, hoping the King would not discourage, much less change so faithful a minister. The King received the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* very coldly. When they delivered the act of incapacity to him, he assured them, it should never be open'd by him; and said, their

1662.

The King was displeased with this.

Great pains taken to extract this MS.

The Treaty of Union MS.

last

1662. last actings were like madmen, or like men that were perpetually drunk. Lord *Tarbot* said, all was yet entire, and in his hands, the act being to live or to die as he pleased: He magnified the Earl of *Midletoun*'s zeal in his service, and the loyal affections of his Parliament, who had on this occasion consulted both the King's safety, and his honour: The incapacity act was only intended, to put it out of the power of men, who had been formerly bad instruments, to be so any more: And even that was submitted by them to the King's judgment. The King heard them patiently, and, without any farther discourse on the subject, dismissed them: So they hoped they had mollified him. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* turned the matter upon the Earl of *Midletoun* and Lord *Tarbot*, who had made the King believe that the Parliament desired leave to incapacitate some, whereas no such desire had ever been made in Parliament: And then, after that the King upon that misrepresentation had given way to it, the Parliament was made believe that the King desired that some might be put under that censure: So that the abuse had been equally put on both: Honours went by ballot at *Venice*: But punishments had never gone so, since the ostracism at *Athens*, which was the factious practice of a jealous Commonwealth, never to be set up as a precedent under a Monarchy: Even the *Athenians* were ashamed of it, when *Aristides*, the justest man among them, fell under the censure: And they laid it aside not long after.

Great pains
taken to excuse
Midletoun.

The Earl of *Clarendon* gave up the thing as inexcusable: But he studied to preserve the Earl of *Midletoun*. The change newly made in the Church of *Scotland* had been managed by him with zeal and success: But tho' it was well begun, yet if these laws were not maintained by a vigorous execution, the Presbyterians, who were quite dispirited by the steadiness of his conduct, would take heart again; especially if they saw the Earl of *Lauderdale* grow upon him, whom they looked on as theirs in his heart: So he prayed the King to forgive one single fault, that came after so much merit. He also sent advices to the Earl of *Midletoun* to go on in his care of establishing the Church, and to get the Bishops to send up copious accounts of all that he had done. The King ordered him to come up, and to give him an account of the affairs in *Scotland*. But he represented the absolute necessity of seeing some of the laws lately made put in execution: For it was hoped, the King's displeasure would be allayed, and go off, if some time could be but gained.

The Presbyterian
Ministers
suffered.

One act pass'd in the last Parliament that restored the rights of patronage, the taking away of which even Presbytery could not carry till the year 1649, in which they had the Parliament entirely

tirely in their hands. Then the election of Ministers was put ^{1662.} in the Church session and the lay elders: So that, from that time all that had been admitted to Churches came in without presentations. One clause in the act declared all these incumbents to be unlawful possessors: Only it indemnified them for what was past, and required them before *Michaelmas* to take presentations from the patrons, who were obliged to give them being demanded, and to get themselves to be instituted by the Bishops; otherwise their Churches were declared vacant on *Michaelmas* day. This took in all the young and hot men: So the Presbyterians had many meetings about it, in which they all resolved not to obey the act. They reckoned, the taking institution from a Bishop was such an owning of his authority, that it was a renouncing of all their former principles: Whereas some few that had a mind to hold their benefices, thought that was only a secular law for a legal right to their tithes and benefices, and had no relation to their spiritual concerns; and therefore they thought they might submit to it, especially where Bishops were so moderate as to impose no subscription upon them, as the greater part were. But the resolution taken by the main body of the Presbyterians was, to pay no obedience to any of the acts made in this session, and to look on, and see what the State would do. The Earl of *Midletoun* was naturally fierce, and that was heightened by the ill state of his affairs at Court: So he resolved on a punctual execution of the law. He and all about him were at this time so constantly disordered by high entertainments and other excesses, that, even in the short intervals between their drunken bouts, they were not cool nor calm enough to consider what they were doing. He had also so mean an opinion of the party, that he believed they would comply with any thing rather than loose their benefices. And therefore he declared, he would execute the law in its utmost rigour. On the other hand, the heads of the Presbyterians reckoned, that if great numbers were turned out all at once, it would not be possible to fill their places on the sudden; and that the government would be forced to take them in again, if there were such a vacancy made, that a great part of the nation were cast destitute, and had no divine service in it. For that which all the wiser of the party apprehended most was, that the Bishops would go on slowly, and single out some that were more factious upon particular provocations, and turn them out by degrees, as they had men ready to put in their room; which would have been more insensible, and more excusable, if indiscreet zealots had, as it were, forced censures from them. The advice sent over all the countrey, from their leaders who

1662. had settled measures at *Edenburgh*, was, that they should do and say nothing that might give a particular distaste, but should look on, and do their duty as long as they were connived at; and that if any proclamation should be issued out, commanding them to be silent, they should all obey at once. In these measures both sides were deceived in their expectations. The Bishops went to their several dioceses: And according as the people stood affected they were well or ill received: And they held their synods every where in *October*. In the northern parts very few stood out: But in the western parts scarce any came to them. The Earl of *Midletoun* went to *Glasgow* before *Michaelmas*. So when the time fixed by the act was pass'd, and that scarce any one in all those Counties had paid any regard to it, he called a meeting of the Privy Council, that they might consider what was fit to be done. Duke *Hamilton* told me, they were all so drunk that day, that they were not capable of considering any thing that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but the executing the law without any relenting or delay. So a proclamation was issued out, requiring all who had their livings without presentations, and who had not obeyed the late act, to give over all farther preaching, or serving the cure, and to withdraw from their parishes immediately: And the military men that lay in the countrey were ordered to pull them out of their pulpits, if they should presume to go on in their functions. This was opposed only by Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *James Lockhart*, father to Sir *William Lockhart*. They represented, that the much greater part of the preachers in these Counties had come into their Churches since the year 1649; that they were very popular men, both esteemed and beloved of their people: It would be a great scandal, if they should be turned out, and none be ready to be put in their places: And it would not be possible to find a competent number of well qualified men, to fill the many vacancies that this proclamation would make. The Earl of *Midletoun* would hear of nothing, but the immediate execution of the law. So the proclamation was issued out: And upon it above two hundred Churches were shut up in one day: And above one hundred and fifty more were to be turned out for not obeying, and submitting to the Bishops summons to their synods. All this was done without considering the consequence of it, or communicating it to the other Bishops. *Sharp* said to my self, that he knew nothing of it; nor did he imagine, that so rash a thing could have been done, till he saw it in print. He was glad that this was done without his having any share in it: For by it he was furnished with somewhat, in which he was no way concerned, upon which

he might cast all the blame of all that followed. Yet this 1662. was suitable enough to a maxim that he and all that sort of people set up, that the execution of laws was that by which all governments maintained their strength, as well as their honour. The Earl of *Midletoun* was surprized at this extraordinary submission of the Presbyterians. He had fancied, that the greatest part would have complied, and that some of the more intractable would have done some extraordinary thing, to have justified the severities he would have exercised in that case; and was disappointed both ways. Yet this obedience of a party, so little accustomed to it, was much magnified at Court. It was said, that all plied before him: They knew he was steddly: So they saw how necessary it was not to change the management, if it was really intended to preserve the Church. Lord *Tarbot* told me, that the King had expressed to himself the esteem he had for *Sheldon*, upon the account of the courage that he shewed in the debate concerning the execution of the act of Uniformity at the day prefixed, which was St. *Bartholomew's*: For some suggested the danger that might arise, if the act were vigorously executed. From thence it seems the Earl of *Midletoun* concluded, the zeal he shewed now would be so acceptable, that all former errors would be forgiven, if he went through with it; as indeed he stuck at nothing. Yet the clamour of putting several Counties, as it were, under an interdict, was very great. So all endeavours were used to get as many as could be had to fill those vacancies. And among others I was much pressed, both by the Earl of *Glencairn* and the Lord *Tarbot*, to go into any of the vacant Churches that I liked. I was then but nineteen: Yet there is no law in *Scotland* limiting the age of a priest. And it was upon this account that I was let so far into the secret of all affairs: For they had such an imagination of some service I might do them, that they treated me with a very particular freedom and confidence. But I had drunk in the principles of moderation so early, that, tho' I was entirely Episcopal, yet I would not engage with a body of men, that seemed to have the principles and tempers of Inquisitors in them, and to have no regard to religion in any of their proceedings. So I stood upon my youth, and could not be wrought on to go to the west; tho' the Earl of *Glencairn* offered to carry me with him under his protection.

There was a sort of an invitation sent over the Kingdom, like a huy and cry, to all persons to accept of benefices in the west. The livings were generally well endowed, and the parsonage houses were well built, and in good repair: And this drew many very worthless

1662. less persons thither, who had little learning, less piety, and no
 A general character of them. fort of discretion. They came thither with great prejudices against
 them, and had many difficulties to wrestle with. The former
 incumbents, who were for the most part Protestors, were a grave
 solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager, and their tem-
 pers sour: But they had an appearance that created respect.
 They were related to the chief families in the countrey, either
 by blood or marriage; and had lived in so decent a manner, that
 the Gentry paid great respect to them. They used to visit their
 parishes much, and were so full of the scriptures, and so ready
 at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practice ex-
 tempore sermons: For the custom in *Scotland* was after dinner or
 supper to read a chapter in the scripture: And where they hap-
 pened to come, if it was acceptable, they on the sudden expound-
 ed the chapter. They had brought the people to such a degree
 of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed
 extempore. I have often over heard them at it: And, tho' there
 was a large mixture of odd stuff, yet I have been astonished to
 hear how copious and ready they were in it. Their Ministers
 generally brought them about them on the Sunday nights, where
 the sermons were talked over; and every one, women as well
 as men, were desired to speak their sense and their experience:
 And by these means they had a comprehension of matters of
 religion, greater than I have seen among people of that sort
 any where. The preachers went all in one track, of raising ob-
 servations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving
 these by reasons, and then of applying those, and shewing the
 use that was to be made of such a point of doctrine, both for
 instruction and terrour, for exhortation and comfort, for trial
 of themselves upon it, and for furnishing them with proper di-
 rections and helps: And this was so methodical, that the peo-
 ple grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it.
 To this some added, the resolving of doubts concerning the
 state they were in, or their progress or decay in it; which they
 called cases of conscience: And these were taken from what their
 people said to them at any time, very oft being under fits of me-
 lancholy, or vapours, or obstructions, which, tho' they flowed
 from natural causes, were looked on as the work of the spirit of
 God, and a particular exercise to them and they fed this dis-
 ease of weak minds too much. Thus they had laboured very
 diligently, tho' with a wrong method and wrong notions. But
 as they lived in great familiarity with their people, and used to
 pray and to talk oft with them in private, so it can hardly be
 imagined to what a degree they were loved and revered by
 them.

them. They kept scandalous persons under a severe discipline: 1662.
 For breach of sabbath, for an oath, or the least disorder in drunkenness, persons were cited before the Church session, that consisted of ten or twelve of the chief of the parish, who with the Minister had this care upon them, and were solemnly reproved for it: For fornication they were not only reproved before these; but there was a high place in the church called the stool or pillar of repentance, where they sate at the times of worship for three Lords-day's, receiving admonitions, and making profession of repentance on all those days; which some did with many tears, and serious exhortations to all the rest, to take warning by their fall: For adultery they were to sit six months in that place, covered with sackcloth. These things had a grave appearance. Their faults and defects were not so conspicuous. They had a very scanty measure of learning, and a narrow compass in it. They were little men, of a very indifferent size of capacity, and apt to fly out into great excess of passion and indiscretion. They were servile, and too apt to fawn upon, and flatter their admirers. They were affected in their deportment, and very apt to censure all who differed from them, and to believe and report whatsoever they heard to their prejudice. And they were superstitious and haughty. In their sermons they were apt to enlarge on the state of the present time, and to preach against the sins of Princes and Courts: A topick that naturally makes men popular. It has an appearance of courage: And the people are glad to hear those sins insisted on, in which they perceive they have no share, and to believe that all the judgments of God come down by the means and procurement of other mens sins. But their opinions about the independence of the Church and Clergy on the Civil power, and their readiness to stir up the people to tumults and wars, was that which begot so ill an opinion of them at this time in all men, that very few, who were not deeply engaged with them in these conceits, pitied them much under all the ill usage they now met with. I hope this is no impertinent nor ungrateful digression. It is a just and true account of these men and those times, from which a judicious reader will make good inferences. I will conclude this with a judicious answer that one of the wisest and best of them, *Colvil*, who succeeded *Leightoun* in the Headship of the College of *Edenburgh*, made to the Earl of *Midletoun*, when he press'd him in the point of defensive arms to tell plainly his opinion, whether they were lawful or not. He said, the question had been often put to him, and he had always declined to answer it: But to him he plainly said, he wished that Kings and their Ministers would believe them lawful, and so govern

1662. vern as men that expect to be resisted; but he wished, that all their subjects would believe them to be unlawful, and so the world would be at quiet.

Prejudices
infused a-
gainst Epif-
copacy.

I do now return to end the account of the state of that coun-
trety at this time. The people were much troubled, when so ma-
ny of their Ministers were turned out. Their Ministers had, for
some months before they were thus silenced, been infusing this
into their people, both in publick and private; that all that was
designed in this change of Church government was to destroy
the power of godliness, and to give an impunity to vice; that Pre-
lacy was a tyranny in the Church, set on by ambitious and cove-
tous men, who aimed at nothing but authority and wealth, luxu-
ry and idleness; and that they intended to encourage vice, that
they might procure to themselves a great party among the impi-
ous and immoral. The people, thus prepossessed, seeing the Earl
of *Midletoun*, and all the train that followed him thro' those Coun-
ties, running into excesses of all sorts, and railing at the very ap-
pearance of vertue and sobriety, were confirmed in the belief of all
that their Ministers had told them. What they had heard concern-
ing *Sharp's* betraying those that had employed him, and the other
Bishops, who had taken the Covenant, and had forced it on
others, and now preach'd against it, openly owning that they had
in so doing gone against the expresse dictate of their own consci-
ence, did very much heighten all their prejudices, and fixed them
so in them, that it was scarce possible to conquer them afterwards.
All this was out of measure increased by the new incumbents,
who were put in the places of the ejected preachers, and were
generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were
the worst preachers I ever heard: They were ignorant to a re-
proach: And many of them were openly vitious. They were a
disgrace to their orders, and the sacred functions; and were in-
deed the dreg and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them,
who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent
tempers, that they were as much hated, as the others were
despised. This was the fatal beginning of restoring Episcopacy
in *Scotland*, of which few of the Bishops seemed to have any sense.
Fairfoul, the most concerned, had none at all: For he fell into
a paralytick state, in which he languished a year before he died.
I have thus opened the first settlement in *Scotland*: Of which I
my self observed what was visible, and understood the more secret
transactions from those, who had such a share in them, that it
was not possible for them, to mistake them: And I had no rea-
son to think they intended to deceive, or misinform me.

I will

I will in the next place change the climate, and give as particular an account as I can of the settlement of *England* both in Church and State: Which, tho' it will be perhaps imperfect, and will in some parts be out of order, yet I am well assured it will be found true; having picked it up at several times, from the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Sir *Robert Murray*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Earl of *Clarendon* the son of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Hollis*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, who was the Speaker of the House of Commons, under whose protection I lived nine years when I was preacher at the Rolls, he being then Master of the Rolls. From such hands I could not be misled, when I laid all together, and considered what reason I had to make allowances for the different accounts that diversity of parties and interests may lead men to give, they too easily believing some things, and as easily rejecting others, as they stood affected.

1660.

The affairs
of *England*.

After the King came over, no person in the House of Commons had the courage to move the offering propositions for any limitation of prerogative, or the defining of any doubtful points. All was joy and rapture. If the King had applyed himself to business, and had pursued those designs which he studied to retrieve all the rest of his reign, when it was too late, he had probably in those first transports carried every thing that he would have desired, either as to revenue or power. But he was so given up to pleasure, that he devolved the management of all his affairs on the Earl of *Clarendon*; who, as he had his breeding in the law, so he had all along declared himself for the ancient liberties of *England*, as well as for the rights of the Crown. A domestick accident had happened to him, which heightened his zeal for the former. He, when he began to grow eminent in his profession, came down to see his aged father, a gentleman of *Wiltshire*: Who, one day, as they were walking in the field together, told him, that men of his profession did often stretch law and prerogative, to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves: So he charged him, if ever he grew to any eminence in his profession, that he should never sacrifice the laws and liberties of his countrey to his own interests, or to the will of a Prince. He repeated this twice: And immediately he fell into a fit of an apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. This the Earl of *Clarendon* told the Lady *Ranelagh*, who put him often in mind of it: And from her I had it.

He resolved not to stretch the prerogative beyond what it was before the wars, and would neither set aside the Petition of Right, nor

Clarendon's
just and moderate
notions.

1660. nor endeavour to raise the Courts of the Star Chamber or the High Commission again, which could have been easily done, if he had set about it: Nor did he think fit to move for the repeal of the act for triennial Parliaments, till other matters were well settled. He took care indeed to have all the things that were extorted by the long Parliament from King *Charles I.* to be repealed. And since the dispute of the power of the Militia was the most important, and the most insisted on, he was very earnest to have that clearly determined for the future. But as to all the acts relating to property, or the just limitation of the prerogative, such as the matter of the ship-money, the tonnage and poundage, and the *Habeas Corpus* act, he did not touch on these. And as for the standing revenue, 1200000 *l.* a year was all that was asked: And, tho' it was much more than any of our Kings had formerly, yet it was readily granted. This was to answer all the ordinary expence of the government. It was believed, that if two millions had been asked, he could have carried it. But he had no mind to put the King out of the necessity of having recourse to his Parliament. The King came afterwards to believe, that he could have raised both his authority and revenue much higher, but that he had no mind to carry it farther, or to trust him too much. Whether all these things could have been got at that time, or not, is above my conjecture. But this I know, that all the Earl of *Clarendon's* enemies after his fall said, these things had been easily obtained, if he had taken any pains in the matter, but that he himself had no mind to it: And they infused this into the King, so that he believed it, and hated him mortally on that account. And in his difficulties afterwards he said often, all those things might have been prevented, if the Earl of *Clarendon* had been true to him.

Venner's fury.

The King had not been many days at *Whitehall*, when one *Venner*, a violent fifth-monarchy man, who thought it was not enough to believe that *Christ* was to reign on earth, and to put the saints in the possession of the Kingdom, (an opinion that they were all unspeakably fond of,) but added to this, that the saints were to take the Kingdom themselves. He gathered some of the most furious of the party to a meeting in *Coleman* street. There they concerted the day and the manner of their rising to set *Christ* on his Throne, as they called it. But withal they meant to manage the government in his name; and were so formal, that they had prepared standards and colours with their devices on them, and furnished themselves with very good arms. But when the day came, there was but a small appearance, not exceeding twenty. However they resolved to venture out into the

the streets, and cry out, No King but *Christ*. Some of them 1660. seemed persuaded that *Christ* would come down, and head them. They scoured the streets before them, and made a great progress. Some were afraid, and all were amazed at this piece of extravagance. They killed a great many, but were at last mastered by numbers: And were all either killed, or taken and executed. Upon this some troops of guards were raised. And there was a great talk of a design, as soon as the Army was disbanded, to raise a force that should be so chosen and modelled that the King might depend upon it; and that it should be so considerable, that there might be no reason to apprehend new tumults any more. The Earl of *Southampton* looked on a while: And, when he saw how this design seemed to be entertained and magnified, he entered into a very free expostulation with the Earl of *Clarendon* about it. He said, they had felt the effects of a military government, tho' sober and religious, in *Cromwell's* army: He believed vitious and dissolute troops would be much worse: The King would grow fond of them: And they would quickly become insolent and ungovernable: And then such men as he was must be only instruments to serve their ends. He said, he would not look on, and see the ruin of his countrey begun, and be silent: A white staff should not bribe him. The Earl of *Clarendon* was persuaded he was in the right, and promised he would divert the King from any other force than what might be decent to make a shew with, and what might serve to disperse unruly multitudes. The Earl of *Southampton* said, if it went no farther he could bear it; but it would not be easy to fix such a number, as would please our Princes, and not give jealousy. The Earl of *Clarendon* persuaded the King, that it was necessary for him to carry himself with great caution, till the old Army should be disbanded: For, if an ill humour got among them, they knew both their courage and their principles, which the present times had for a while a little suppressed: Yet upon any just jealousy there might be great cause to fear new and more violent disorders. By these means the King was so wrought on, that there was no great occasion given for jealousy. The Army was to be disbanded, but in such a manner, with so much respect, and so exact an account of arrears, and such gratuities, that it looked rather to be the dismissing them to the next opportunity, and a reserving them till there should be occasion for their service, than a breaking of them. They were certainly the bravest, the best disciplined, and the soberest Army that had been known in these latter ages: Every soldier was able to do the functions of an officer. The Court was at great quiet, when they got rid of such a burden, as lay on

T t

them

1660. them from the fear of such a body of men. The guards, and the new troops that were raised, were made up of such of the Army as *Monk* recommended, and answered for. And with that his great interest at Court came to a stand. He was little considered afterwards.

The trial
and executi-
on of the
Regicides.

In one thing the temper of the nation appeared to be contrary to severe proceedings: For, tho' the Regicides were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by vast crouds, and all people seemed pleased with the sight, yet the odiousness of the crime grew at last to be so much flatten'd by the frequent executions, and most of those who suffered dying with much firmness and shew of piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account, that the King was advised not to proceed farther, at least not to have the scene so near the Court as *Charing-cross*. It was indeed remarkable that *Peters*, a sort of an enthusiastical buffoon preacher, tho' a very vitious man, who had been of great use to *Cromwell*, and had been outrageous in pressing the King's death with the cruelty and rudeness of an Inquisitor, was the man of them all that was the most sunk in his spirit, and could not in any sort bear his punishment. He had neither the honesty to repent of it, nor the strength of mind to suffer for it as all the rest of them did. He was observed all the while to be drinking some cordial liquors to keep him from fainting. *Harrison* was the first that suffered. He was a fierce and bloody enthusiast. And it was believed, that while the army was in doubt, whether it was fitter to kill the King privately, or to bring him to an open trial, that he offered, if a private way was settled on, to be the man that should do it. So he was begun with. But, however reasonable this might be in it self, it had a very ill effect: For he was a man of great heat and resolution, fixed in his principles, and so persuaded of them, that he had never looked after any interests of his own, but had opposed *Cromwell* when he set up for himself. He went thro' all the indignities and severities of his execution, in which the letter of the law in cases of treason was punctually observed, with a calmness, or rather a chearfulness, that astonished the spectators. He spoke very positively, that what they had done was the cause and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that time. Upon this a report was spread, and generally believed, that he said, he himself should rise again: Tho' the party denied that, and reported the words as I have set them down. One person escaped, as was reported, merely by his vices: *Henry Martin*, who had been a most violent enemy to Monarchy.

Monarchy. But all that he moved for, was upon *Roman* or *Greek* 1660. principles. He never entered into matters of Religion, but on design to laugh both at them and all morality; for he was both an impious and vitious man. And now in his imprisonment he deliver'd himself up to vice and blasphemy. It was said, that this helped him to so many friends, that upon that very account he was spared. *John Goodwin* and *Milton* did also escape all censure, to the surprise of all people. *Goodwin* had so often not only justified, but magnified the putting the King to death, both in his sermons and books, that few thought he could have been either forgot or excused; for *Peters* and he were the only preachers that spoke of it in that strain. But *Goodwin* had been so zealous an Arminian, and had sown such division among all the sectaries upon these heads, that it was said this procured him friends. Upon what account soever it was, he was not censured. *Milton* had appeared so boldly, tho' with much wit and great purity and elegancy of style, against *Salmasius* and others, upon that argument of the putting the King to death, and had discovered such violence against the late King and all the Royal family, and against Monarchy, that it was thought a strange omission if he was forgot, and an odd strain of clemency, if it was intended he should be forgiven. He was not excepted out of the act of indemnity. And afterwards he came out of his concealment, and lived many years much visited by all strangers, and much admired by all at home for the poems he writ, tho' he was then blind; chiefly that of *Paradise Lost*, in which there is a nobleness both of contrivance and execution, that, tho' he affected to write in blank verse without rhyme, and made many new and rough words, yet it was esteemed the beautifullest and perfectest poem that ever was writ, at least in our language.

But as the sparing these persons was much censured, so on the 1661. other hand the putting Sir *Henry Vane* to death was as much blamed: For the declaration from *Breda* being full for an indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; since, tho' he was for changing the government, and deposing the King, yet he did not approve of the putting him to death, nor of the force put on the Parliament, but did for some time, while these things were acted, withdraw from the scene. This was so represented by his friends, that an address was made by both Houses on his behalf, to which the King gave a favourable answer, tho' in general words. So he reckoned that he was safe, that being equivalent to an act of Parliament, tho' it wanted the necessary forms. Yet the great share he had in the attainer

1661. tainder of the Earl *Strafford*, and in the whole turn of affairs to the total change of government, but above all the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the Court think it was necessary to put him out of the way. He was naturally a very fearful man: This one who knew him well told me, and gave me eminent instances of it. He had a head as darkened in his notions of religion, as his mind was clouded with fear: For tho' he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations. In these meetings he preached and prayed often himself, but with so peculiar a darkness, that tho' I have sometimes taken pains to see if I could find out his meaning in his works, yet I could never reach it. And since many others have said the same, it may be reasonable to believe he hid somewhat that was a necessary key to the rest. His friends told me, he leaned to *Origen's* notion of an universal salvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and to the doctrine of pre-existence. When he saw his death was designed, he composed himself to it, with a resolution that surprised all who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some instances of this were very extraordinary, tho' they cannot be mentioned with decency. He was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, where a new and very indecent practice was begun. It was observed, that the dying speeches of the Regicides had left impressions on the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the government. So strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, to prevent that, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who as soon as he began to speak of the publick, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums. This put him in no disorder. He desired they might be stopped, for he understood what was meant by it. Then he went thro' his devotions. And, as he was taking leave of those about him, he happening to say somewhat with relation to the times, the drums struck up a second time: So he gave over, and died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought, the government had lost more than it had gained by his death.

And execution.

The King gave himself up to his pleasures.

The act of indemnity pass'd with very few exceptions; at which the Cavaliers were highly dissatisfied, and made great complaints of it. In the disposal of offices and places, as it was not possible to gratify all, so there was little regard had to mens merits or services. The King was determined to most of these by the cabal that met at *Mistress Palmer's* lodgings. And tho' the Earl of *Clarendon*

Clarendon did often prevail with the King to alter the resolutions taken there, yet he was forced to let a great deal go that he did not like. He would never make applications to *Mistress Palmer*, nor let any thing pass the seal in which she was named, as the Earl of *Southampton* would never suffer her name to be in the Treasury books. Those vertuous Ministers thought it became them, to let the world see that they did not comply with the King in his vices. But whether the Earl of *Clarendon* spoke so freely to the King about his course of life, as was given out, I cannot tell. When the Cavaliers saw, they had not that share in places that they expected, they complained of it so highly, that the Earl of *Clarendon*, to excuse the King's passing them by, was apt to beat down the value they set on their services. This laid the foundation of an implacable hatred in many of them, that was compleated by the extent and comprehensiveness of the act of indemnity, which cut off their hopes of being re-imburshed out of the fines, if not the confiscations of those, who had during the course of the wars been on the Parliament's side. It is true, the first Parliament, called, by way of derogation, the Convention, had been too much on that side not to secure themselves and their friends. So they took care to have the most comprehensive words put in it, that could be thought of. But when the new Parliament was called a year after, in which there was a design to set aside the act of indemnity, and to have brought in a new one, the King did so positively insist on his adhering to the act of indemnity, that the design of breaking into it was laid aside. The Earl of *Clarendon* owned it was his counsel. Acts or promises of indemnity, he thought, ought to be held sacred: A fidelity in the observation of them was the only foundation, upon which any government could hope to quiet seditions or civil wars: And if people once thought, that those promises were only made to deceive them, without an intention to observe them religiously, they would never for the future hearken to any treaty. He often said, it was the making those promises had brought the King home, and it was the keeping them must keep him at home. So that whole work from beginning to the end was entirely his. The angry men, that were thus disappointed of all their hopes, made a jest of the title of it, *An act of oblivion and of indemnity*; and said, the King had pass'd an act of oblivion for his friends, and of indemnity for his enemies. To load the Earl of *Clarendon* the more, it was given out that he advised the King to gain his enemies, since he was sure of his friends by their principles. With this he was often charged, tho' he always denied it. Whether the King fastened it upon him

The act of
indemnity
maintained.

1661. after he had disgraced him, to make him the more odious, I cannot tell. It is certain, the King said many very hard things of him, for which he was much blamed: And in most of them he was but little believed.

1662. It was natural for the King upon his Restoration to look out for a proper marriage. And it was soon observed, that he was resolved not to marry a Protestant. He pretended a contempt of the *Germans*, and of the northern Crowns. *France* had no sister. He had seen the Duke of *Orleans's* daughters, and liked none of them. *Spain* had only two Infantas: And as the eldest was married to the King of *France*, the second was to go to *Vienna*. So the House of *Portugal* only remained, to furnish him a wife, among the crowned heads. *Monk* began to hearken to a motion made him for this by a *Jew*, that managed the concerns of *Portugal*, which were now given for lost, since they were abandoned by *France* by the treaty of the *Pyrenees*; in which it appears by Cardinal *Mazarin's* letters, that he did entirely deliver up their concerns; which was imputed to his desire to please the Queen-mother of *France*, who, being a daughter of *Spain*, owned herself still to be in the interests of *Spain* in every thing in which *France* was not concerned, for in that case she pretended she was true to the Crown of *France*. And this was the true secret of Cardinal *Mazarin's* carrying on that war so feebly as he did, to gratify the Queen-mother on the one hand, and his own covetousness on the other: For the less publick expence was made, he had the greater occasions of enriching himself, which was all he thought on. The *Portuguese* being thus, as they thought, cast off by *France*, were very apprehensive of falling under the *Castillians*, who, how weak soever they were in opposition to *France*, yet were like to be too hard for them, when they had nothing else on their hands. So, vast offers were made, if the King would marry their Infanta, and take them under his protection. *Monk* was the more encouraged to entertain the proposition, because some pretended, that, in the beginning of the war of *Portugal*, King *Charles* had entred into a negotiation for a marriage between his son and this Infanta. And the veneration paid his memory was then so high, that every thing he had projected was esteemed sacred. *Monk* promised to serve the interests of *Portugal*: And that was, as Sir *Robert Southwell* told me, the first step made in that matter. Soon after the King came into *England*, an embassy of congratulation came from thence, with orders to negotiate that business. The *Spanish* Ambassador, who had a pretension of merit from the King in behalf

half of that Crown, since they had received and entertained him ^{1662.} at *Brussels*, when *France* had thrown him off, set himself much against this match: And among other things affirmed, that the Infanta was incapable of having children. But this was little considered. The *Spaniards* are not very scrupulous in affirming any thing that serves their ends: And this marriage was like to secure the Kingdom of *Portugal*. So it was no wonder that he opposed it: And little regard was had to all that he said to break it.

At this time Monsieur *Fouquet* was gaining an ascendant in the counsels of *France*, Cardinal *Mazarin* falling then into a languishing, of which he died a year after. He sent one over to the King with a project of an alliance between *France* and *England*. He was addressed first to the Earl of *Clarendon*, to whom he enlarged on all the heads of the scheme he had brought, of which the match with *Portugal* was a main article. And, to make all go down the better, *Fouquet* desired to enter into a particular friendship with the Earl of *Clarendon*; and sent him the offer of 10000 *l*, and assured him of the renewing the same present every year. The Lord *Clarendon* told him, he would lay all that related to the King faithfully before him, and give him his answer in a little time: But for what related to himself, he said, he served a great and bountiful master, who knew well how to support and reward his servants: He would ever serve him faithfully; and, because he knew he must serve those from whom he accepted the hire, therefore he rejected the offer with great indignation. He laid before the King the heads of the proposed alliance, which required much consultation. But in the next place he told both the King and his brother what had been offered to himself. They both advised him to accept of it. Why, said he, have you a mind that I should betray you? The King answered, he knew nothing could corrupt him. Then, said he, you know me better than I do my self: For if I take the money I shall find the sweet of it, and study to have it continued to me by deserving it. He told them, how he had rejected the offer; and very seriously warned the King of the danger he saw he might fall into, if he suffered any of those, who served him, to be once pensioners to other Princes: Those presents were made only to bias them in their counsels, and to discover secrets by their means: And if the King gave way to it, the taking money would soon grow to a habit, and spread like an infection thro' the whole Court.

As

1662.

The Duke
of York's
marriage.

As the motion for the match with *Portugal* was carried on, an incident of an extraordinary nature happened in the Court. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s daughter, being with child, and near her time, called upon the Duke of *York* to own his marriage with her. She had been maid of honour to the Princess Royal: And the Duke, who was even to his old age of an amorous disposition, tried to gain her to comply with his desires. She managed the matter with so much address, that in conclusion he married her. Her father did very solemnly protest, that he knew nothing of the matter, till now that it broke out. The Duke thought to have shaken her from claiming it by great promises, and as great threatnings. But she was a woman of a great spirit. She said, she was his wife, and would have it known that she was so, let him use her afterwards as he pleased. Many discourses were set about upon this occasion. But the King ordered some Bishops and Judges to peruse the proofs she had to produce: And they reported that, according to the doctrine of the Gospel, and the law of *England*, it was a good marriage. So it was not possible to break it, but by trying how far the matter could be carried against her, for marrying a person so near the King without his leave. The King would not break with the Earl of *Clarendon*: And so he told his brother, he must drink as he brewed, and live with her whom he had made his wife. All the Earl of *Clarendon*'s enemies rejoiced at this: For they reckoned, how much soever it seemed to raise him at present, yet it would raise envy so high against him, and make the King so jealous of him, as being more in his brother's interests than in his own, that they looked on it as that which would end in his ruine. And he himself thought so, as his son told me: For, as soon as he knew of it, and when he saw his son lifted up with it, he protested to him, that he knew nothing of the matter, till it broke out; but added, that he looked on it, as that which must be all their ruine sooner or later.

The Duke's
character.

Upon this I will digress a little to give an account of the Duke's character, whom I knew for some years so particularly, that I can say much upon my own knowledge. He was very brave in his youth, and so much magnified by Monsieur *Turenne*, that, till his marriage lessened him he really clouded the King, and pass'd for the superior genius. He was naturally candid and sincere, and a firm friend, till affairs and his religion wore out all his first principles and inclinations. He had a great desire to understand affairs: And in order to that he kept a constant journal of all that pass'd, of which he shewed me a great deal.

The

The Duke of *Buckingham* gave me once a short but severe character of the two brothers. It was the more severe, because it was true: The King (he said) could see things if he would, and the Duke would see things if he could. He had no true judgment, and was soon determined by those whom he trusted: But he was obstinate against all other advices. He was bred with high notions of the Kingly authority, and laid it down for a maxim, that all who opposed the King were rebels in their hearts. He was perpetually in one amour or other, without being very nice in his choice: Upon which the King said once, he believed his brother had his mistresses given him by his Priests for penance. He gave me this account of his changing his religion: When he escaped out of the hands of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had the charge of his education trusted to him by the Parliament, and had used him with great respect, all due care was taken, as soon as he got beyond sea, to form him to a strict adherence to the Church of *England*: Among other things much was said of the authority of the Church, and of the tradition from the Apostles in support of Episcopacy: So that, when he came to observe that there was more reason to submit to the Catholick Church than to one particular Church, and that other traditions might be taken on her word, as well as Episcopacy was received among us, he thought the step was not great, but that it was very reasonable to go over to the Church of *Rome*: And Doctor *Steward* having taught him to believe a real but unconceivable presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, he thought this went more than half way to transubstantiation. He said, that a Nun's advice to him to pray every day, that, if he was not in the right way, God would set him right, did make a great impression on him. But he never told me when or where he was reconciled. He suffered me to say a great deal to him on all these heads. I shewed the difference between submission and obedience in matters of order and indifferent things, and an implicate submission from the belief of infallibility. I also shewed him the difference between a speculation of a mode of *Christ's* presence, when it rested in an opinion, and an adoration founded on it: Tho' the opinion of such a presence was wrong, there was no great harm in that alone: But the adoration of an undue object was idolatry. He suffered me to talk much and often to him on these heads. But I plainly saw, it made no impression: And all that he seemed to intend by it was, to make use of me as an instrument to soften the aversion that people began to be possessed with to him. He was naturally eager and revengeful: And was against the taking off any that set up in an opposition

1660. to the measures of the Court, and who by that means grew popular in the House of Commons. He was for rougher methods. He continued for many years dissembling his religion, and seemed zealous for the Church of *England*: But it was chiefly on design to hinder all propositions that tended to unite us among our selves. He was a frugal Prince, and brought his Court into method and magnificence: For he had 100000 *l.* a year allowed him. He was made High Admiral: And he came to understand all the concerns of the sea very particularly. He had a very able Secretary about him, Sir *William Coventry*; a man of great notions and eminent virtues, the best Speaker in the House of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief ministry, as it was once thought he was very near it. The Duke found, all the great seamen had a deep tincture from their education: They both hated Popery, and loved liberty: They were men of severe tempers, and kept good discipline. But in order to the putting the fleet into more confident hands, the Duke began a method of sending pages of honour, and other young persons of quality, to be bred to the sea. And these were put in command, as soon as they were capable of it, if not sooner. This discouraged many of the old seamen, when they saw in what a channel advancement was like to go; who upon that left the service, and went and commanded merchantmen. By this means the vertue and discipline of the navy is much lost. It is true, we have a breed of many gallant men, who do distinguish themselves in action. But it is thought, the Nation has suffered much by the vices and disorders of those Captains, who have risen by their quality, more than by merit or service.

The Duchess's character.

The Duchess of *York* was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively sense of things. She soon understood what belonged to a Princess; and took state on her rather too much. She writ well; and had begun the Duke's life, of which she shewed me a volume. It was all drawn from his journal: And he intended to have employed me in carrying it on. She was bred to great strictness in religion, and practised secret confession. *Morley* told me, he was her confessor. She began at twelve years old, and continued under his direction, till, upon her father's disgrace, he was put from the Court. She was generous and friendly; but was too severe an enemy.

The Duke of Gloucester's character.

The King's third brother, the Duke of *Gloucester*, was of a temper different from his two brothers. He was active, and loved business, was apt to have particular friendships; and had an insinuating temper, which was generally very acceptable. The King loved him much better than the Duke of *York*.

But

But he was uneasy, when he saw there was no post left for him, 1660. since *Monk* was General. So he spoke to the Earl of *Clarendon*, that he might be made Lord Treasurer. But he told him, it was a post below his dignity. He would not be put off with that: For he could not bear an idle life, nor to see his brother at the head of the Fleet, when he himself had neither business nor dependence. But the mirth and entertainments of that time raised his blood so high, that he took the small pox; of which he died, much lamented by all, but most particularly by the King, who was never in his whole life seen so much troubled, as he was on that occasion. Those, who would not believe he had much tenderness in his nature, imputed this rather to his jealousy of the brother that survived, since he had now lost the only person that could ballance him. Not long after him the Princess Royal died likewise of the small pox; but was not much lamented. She had lived in her widowhood for some years with great reputation, kept a decent Court, and supported her brothers very liberally; and lived within bounds. But her mother, who had the art of making herself believe any thing she had a mind to, upon a conversation with the Queen Mother of *France*, fancied the King of *France* might be inclined to marry her. So she writ to her to come to *Paris*. In order to that, she made an equipage far above what she could support. So she ran herself into debt, sold all her jewels, and some estates that were in her power as her son's guardian; and was not only disappointed of that vain expectation, but fell into some misfortunes, that lessened the reputation she had formerly lived in. Upon her death it might have been expected, both in justice and gratitude, that the King would in a most particular manner have taken her son, the young Prince of *Orange*, into his protection. But he fell into better hands: For his grandmother became his guardian, and took care both of his estate and his education.

Thus two of the branches of the Royal family were cut off soon after the Restoration. And so little do the events of things answer the first appearances, that a Royal family of three Princes and two Princesses, all young and graceful persons, that promised a numerous issue, did moulder away so fast, that now, while I am writing, all is reduced to the person of the Queen, and the Duchess of *Savoy*. The King had a very numerous issue, tho' none by his Queen. The Duke had by both his wives, and some irregular amours, a very numerous issue. And the present Queen has had a most fruitful marriage as to issue, tho' none of them survive. The Princess *Henriette* was so pleased with the diver-

The prospect of the Royal family much changed.

1660. diversion of the *French* Court, that she was glad to go thither again to be married to the King's Brother.

Schomberg
went thro'
England to
Portugal.

As the treaty with *Portugal* went on, *France* did engage in the concerns of that Crown, tho' they had by treaty promised the contrary to the *Spaniards*. To excuse their perfidy, Count *Schomberg*, a *German* by birth, and a Calvinist by his religion, was ordered to go thither, as one prevailed with by the *Portugal* Ambassador, and not as sent over by the orders of the Court of *France*. He pass'd thro' *England* to concert with the King the matters of *Portugal*, and the supply that was to be sent thither from *England*. He told me, the King had admitted him into great familiarities with him at *Paris*. He had known him first at the *Hague*: For he was the Prince of *Orange's* particular favourite; but had so great a share in the last violent actions of his life, seizing the States, and in the attempt upon *Amsterdam*, that he left the service upon his death; and gained so great a reputation in *France*, that, after the Prince of *Conde* and *Turenne*, he was thought the best General they had. He had much free discourse with the King, tho' he found his mind was so turned to mirth and pleasure, that he seemed scarce capable of laying any thing to heart. He advised him to set up for the head of the Protestant religion: For tho', he said to him, he knew he had not much religion, yet his interests led him to that. It would keep the Princes of *Germany* in a great dependence on him, and make him the umpire of all their affairs; and would procure him great credit with the Huguenots of *France*, and keep that Crown in perpetual fear of him. He advised the King to employ the military men that had served under *Cromwell*, whom he thought the best officers he had ever seen: And he was sorry to see, they were dismiss'd, and that a company of wild young men were those the King relied on. But what he press'd most on the King, as the business then in agitation, was concerning the sale of *Dunkirk*. The *Spaniards* pretended it ought to be restored to them, since it was taken from them by *Cromwell*, when they had the King and his brothers in their armies: But that was not much regarded. The *French* pretended, that, by their agreement with *Cromwell*, he was only to hold it, till they had repaid the charge of the war: Therefore they, offering to lay that down, ought to have the place delivered to them. The King was in no sort bound by this. So the matter under debate was, whether it ought to be kept or sold? The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by *France*, said, the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the King to a great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the cost of keeping

Dunkirk sold
to the
French.

ing it. The Earl of *Clarendon* said, he understood not those mat- 1661.
ters; but appealed to *Monk's* judgment, who did positively advise
the letting it go for the sum that *France* offered. To make the bu-
siness go the easier, the King promised, that he would lay up
all the money in the Tower; and that it should not be touched,
but upon extraordinary occasions. *Schomberg* advised, in oppo-
sition to all this, that the King should keep it; for, considering
the naval power of *England*, it could not be taken. He knew,
that, tho' *France* spoke big, as if they would break with *England*
unless that was delivered up, yet they were far from the thoughts
of it. He had considered the place well; and he was sure it
could never be taken, as long as *England* was master of the sea.
The holding it would keep both *France* and *Spain* in a depen-
dence upon the King. But he was singular in that opinion.
So it was sold: And all the money, that was paid for it, was im-
mediately squandred away among the mistress's creatures.

By this the King lost his reputation abroad. The Court was
believed venal. And because the Earl of *Clarendon* was in great-
est credit, the blame was cast chiefly on him; tho' his son assur-
ed me, he kept himself out of that affair entirely. The cost
bestowed on that place since that time, and the great prejudice
we have suffered by it, has made that sale to be often reflected
on very severely. But it was pretended, that *Tangier*, which
was offered as a part of the portion that the Infanta of *Portugal*
was to bring with her, was a place of much greater consequence.
Its situation in the map is indeed very eminent. And if *Spain* had
been then in a condition to put any restraint on our trade, it
had been of great use to us; especially, if the making a mole
there had been more practicable, than it proved to be. It was
then spoken of in the Court in the highest strains of flattery. It
was said, this would not only give us the entire command of the
Mediterranean trade, but it would be a place of safety for a squa-
dron to be always kept there, for securing our *West* and *East*
India trade. And such mighty things were said of it, as if it had
been reserved for the King's reign, to make it as glorious abroad,
as it was happy at home: Tho' since that time we have never
been able, neither by force nor treaty, to get ground enough
round the town from the *Moors* to maintain the garrison. But
every man that was employed there studied only his own interest,
and how to rob the King. If the money, that was laid out in the
mole at different times, had been raised all in a succession, as fast
as the work could be carried on, it might have been made a ve-
ry very valuable place. But there were so many discontinuings,
and so many new undertakings, that after an immense charge
the

1661. the Court grew weary of it: And in the year 1638 they sent a squadron of ships to bring away the garrison, and to destroy all the works.

To end this matter of the King's marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal* all at once: It was at last concluded. The Earl of *Sandwich* went for her, and was the King's proxy in the nuptial ceremony. The King communicated the matter both to the Parliament of *England*, and *Scotland*. And so strangely were people changed, that tho' they all had seen the mischievous effects of a Popish Queen in the former reign, yet not one person moved against it in either Parliament, except the Earl of *Cassilis* in *Scotland*; who moved for an address to the King to marry a Protestant. He had but one to second him: So entirely were men run from one extream to another.

1662. When the Queen was brought over, the King met her at *Winchester* in summer 1662. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* came to perform the ceremony: But the Queen was bigotted to such a degree, that she would not say the words of matrimony, nor bear the sight of the Archbishop. The King said the words hastily: And the Archbishop pronounced them married persons. Upon this some thought afterwards to have dissolved the marriage, as a marriage only *de facto*, in which no consent had been given. But the Duke of *York* told me, they were married by the Lord *Aubigny* according to the *Roman* ritual, and that he himself was one of the witnesses: And he added, that, a few days before he told me this, the Queen had said to him, that she heard some intended to call her marriage in question; and that, if that was done, she must call on him as one of her witnesses to prove it. I saw the letter that the King writ to the Earl of *Clarendon* the day after their marriage, by which it appeared very plainly that the marriage was consummated, and that the King was well pleased with her. The King himself told me, she had been with child: And *Willis* the great Physician told Doctor *Lloyd*, from whom I had it, that she had once miscarried of a child, which was so far advanced, that, if it had been carefully look'd to, the sex might have been distinguished. But she proved a barren wife, and was a woman of a mean appearance, and of no agreeable temper: So that the King never considered her much. And she made ever after but a very mean figure. For some time the King carried things decently, and did not visit his mistress openly. But he grew weary of that restraint; and shook it off so entirely, that he had ever after that mistresses to the end of his life, to the great scandal of the world, and

The manner
of the
King's marriage.

The King
lived in an
avowed
course of
leudness.

and to the particular reproach of all that served about him in 1662:
the Church. He usually came from his mistrisses lodgings to
Church, even on Sacrament days. He held as it were a Court
in them: And all his Ministers made applications to them. On-
ly the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Southampton* would never so much
as make a visit to any of them, which was maintaining the
decencies of vertue in a very solemn manner. The Lord *Clare-*
rendon put the justice of the Nation in very good hands; and
employed some who had been on the bench in *Cromwell's* time,
the famous Sir *Matthew Hale* in particular.

The business of *Ireland* was a harder province. The *Irish* 1660.
that had been in the rebellion had made a treaty with the Duke The settle-
ment of Ire-
land.
of *Ormond*, then acting in the King's name, tho' he had no le-
gal power under the Great Seal, the King being then a prisoner.
But the Queen-mother got, as they give out, the Crown of
France to become the guarantee for the performance. By the
treaty they were to furnish him with an army, to adhere to the
King's interests, and serve under the Duke of *Ormond*: And for
this they were to be pardoned all that was pass'd, to have the
open exercise of their religion, and a free admittance into all
employments, and to have a free Parliament without the curb
of *Poyning's* law. But after the misfortune at *Dublin*, they set
up a supream council again, and refused to obey the Duke of
Ormond; in which the Pope's Nuncio conducted them. After
some disputes, and that the Duke of *Ormond* saw he could not
prevail with them to be commanded by him any more, he left
Ireland. And *Cromwell* came over, and reduced the whole coun-
treys, and made a settlement of the confiscated estates, for the pay
of the undertakers for the *Irish* war, and of the officers that had
served in it. The King had in his Declaration from *Breda* pro-
mised to confirm the settlement of *Ireland*. So now a great de-
bate arose between the native *Irish* and the *English* settled in
Ireland. The former claimed the articles that the Duke of *Or-*
mond had granted them. He in answer to this said, they had
broken first on their part, and so had forfeited their claim to them.
They seemed to rely much on the Court of *France*, and on the
whole Popish party abroad, of which they were the most confi-
derable branch at home. But *England* did naturally incline to
support the *English* Interests. And, as that interest in *Ireland* had
gone in very unanimously to the design of the King's Resto-
ration, and had merited much on that account, so they drew
over the Duke of *Ormond* to join with them, in order to an act
confirming *Cromwell's* settlement. Only a Court of claims was
set up, to examine the pretensions of some of the *Irish*, who had
special

1660. special excuses for themselves, why they should not be included in the general forfeiture of the Nation. Some were under age: Others were travelling, or serving abroad: And many had distinguish'd themselves in the King's service, when he was in *Flanders*; chiefly under the Duke of *York*, who pleaded much for them, and was always depended on by them, as their chief patron. It was thought most equitable, to send over men from *England*, who were not concerned in the interests or passions of the parties of that Kingdom, to try those claims. Their proceedings were much cried out on: For it was said, that every man's claim, who could support it with a good present, was found good, and that all the members of that Court came back very rich. So that, tho' the *Irish* thought they had not justice enough done them, the *English* said they had too much. When any thing was to be proved by witnesses, sets of them were hired, to depose according to the instructions given them. This was then cried out on, as a new scene of wickedness, that was then opened, and which must in the end subvert all justice and good government. The infection has spread since that time, and crossed the sea. And the danger of being ruined by false witnesses has become so terrible, that there is no security against it, but from the sincerity of juries. And if these come to be packt, then all men may be soon at mercy, if a wicked government should set on a violent prosecution, as has happened oftner than once. I am not instructed enough in the affairs of *Ireland*, to carry this matter into more particulars. The *English* interest was managed chiefly by two men of a very indifferent reputation: The Earls of *Anglesey*, and *Orrery*. The chief manager of the *Irish* interest was *Richard Talbot*, one of the Duke's bedchamber men, who had much cunning, and had the secret both of his master's pleasures, and of his religion, for some years, and was afterwards raised by him to be Earl and Duke of *Tirconnel*. Thus I have gone over the several branches of the settlement of matters after the Restoration. I have reserved the affairs of the Church last, as those about which I have taken the most pains to be well informed; and which I do therefore offer to the reader with some assurance, and on which I hope due reflection will be made.

The Bishops
who had
then the
greatest cre-
dit.

At the Restoration, *Juxon*, the ancientest and most eminent of the former Bishops, who had assisted the late King in his last hours, was promoted to *Canterbury*, more out of decency, than that he was then capable to fill that post; for as he was never a great divine, so he was now superannuated. Tho' others have assured me, that after some discourses with the King he was so much

much struck with what he observed in him, that upon that he 1660. lost both heart and hope. The King treated him with outward respect, but had no great regard to him. *Sheldon* and *Morley* were the men that had the greatest credit. *Sheldon* was esteemed a learned man before the wars: But he was now engaged so deep in politicks, that scarce any prints of what he had been remained. He was a very dextrous man in business, had a great quickness of apprehension, and a very true judgment. He was a generous and charitable man. He had a great pleasantness of conversation, perhaps too great. He had an art, that was peculiar to him, of treating all that came to him in a most obliging manner: But few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all: And spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy. By this means the King came to look on him as a wise and honest Clergy man. *Sheldon* was at first made Bishop of *London*, and was upon *Juxon's* death promoted to *Canterbury*. *Morley* had been first known to the world as a friend of the Lord *Falkland's*: And that was enough to raise a man's character. He had continued for many years in the Lord *Clarendon's* family, and was his particular friend. He was a Calvinist with relation to the Arminian points, and was thought a friend to the Puritans before the wars: But he took care after his promotion to free himself from all suspicions of that kind. He was a pious and charitable man, of a very exemplary life, but extream passionate, and very obstinate. He was first made Bishop of *Worcester*. Doctor *Hammond*, for whom that See was designed, died a little before the Restoration, which was an unspeakable loss to the Church: For, as he was a man of great learning, and of most eminent merit, he having been the person that during the bad times had maintained the cause of the Church in a very singular manner, so he was a very moderate man in his temper, tho' with a high principle; and probably he would have fallen into healing counsels. He was also much set on reforming abuses, and for raising in the Clergy a due sense of the obligations they lay under. But by his death *Morley* was advanced to *Worcester*: And not long after he was removed to *Winchester*, void by *Duppa's* death, who had been the King's tutor, tho' no way fit for that post; but he was a meek and humble man, and much loved for the sweetness of his temper; and would have been more esteemed, if he had died before the Restoration; for he made not that use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him that was expected. *Morley* was thought always the honestest man of the two, as *Sheldon* was certainly the abler man.

1660.

Debates
concerning
the uniting
with the
Presbyterians.

The first point in debate was, whether concessions should be made, and pains taken to gain the Dissenters, or not; especially the Presbyterians. The Earl of *Clarendon* was much for it; and got the King to publish a declaration soon after his Restoration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs, to which if he had stood, very probably the greatest part of them might have been gained. But the Bishops did not approve of this: And after the service they did that Lord in the Duke of *York's* marriage, he would not put any hardship on those who had so signally obliged him. This disgusted the Lord *Southampton*, who was for carrying on the design that had been much talked of during the wars, of moderating matters both with relation to the government of the Church, and the worship and ceremonies: Which created some coldness between him and the Earl of *Clarendon*, when the Lord Chancellor went off from those designs. The consideration that those Bishops and their party had in the matter was this: The Presbyterians were possessed of most of the great benefices in the Church, chiefly in the City of *London*, and in the two Universities. It is true, all that had come into the room of those who were turned out by the Parliament, or the visitors sent by them, were removed by the course of law, as men that were illegally possessed of other mens rights: And that even where the former incumbents were dead, because a title originally wrong was still wrong in law. But there were a great many of them in very eminent posts, who were legally possessed of them. Many of these, chiefly in the city of *London*, had gone into the design of the Restoration in so signal a manner, and with such success, that they had great merit, and a just title to very high preferment. Now, as there remained a great deal of the old animosity against them for what they had done during the wars, so it was said, it was better to have a schism out of the Church than within it; and that the half conformity of the Puritans before the war had set up a faction in every city and town between the lecturers and the incumbents, that the former took all methods to render themselves popular, and to raise the benevolence of their people, which was their chief subsistence, by disparaging the government both in Church and State. They had also many stories among them, of the credit they had in the elections of Parliament men, which they infused in the King, to possess him with the necessity of having none to serve in the Church, but persons that should be firmly tied to his interest, both by principle, and by subscriptions and oaths. It is true, the joy then spread thro' the Nation had got at this time a new Parliament to be elected of men so high and

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so hot, that, unless the Court had restrained them, they would have carried things much farther than they did, against all that had been concerned in the late wars: But they were not to expect such success at all times: Therefore they thought it was necessary to make sure work at this time: And, instead of using methods to bring in the sectaries, they resolved rather to seek the most effectual ones for casting them out, and bringing a new set of men into the Church. This took with the King, at least it seemed to do so. But, tho' he put on an outward appearance of moderation, yet he was in another and deeper laid design, to which the heat of these men proved subservient, for bringing in of Popery. A Popish Queen was a great step to keep it in countenance at Court, and to have a great many Priests going about the Court making converts. It was thought, a toleration was the only method for setting it a going all the Nation over. And nothing could make a toleration for Popery pass, but the having great bodies of men put out of the Church, and put under severe laws, which should force them to move for a toleration, and should make it reasonable to grant it to them. And it was resolved, that whatever should be granted of that sort should go in so large a manner, that Papists should be comprehended within it. So the Papists had this generally spread among them, that they should oppose all propositions for comprehension, and should animate the Church party to maintain their ground against all the sectaries. And in that point they seemed zealous for the Church. But at the same time they spoke of toleration, as necessary both for the peace and quiet of the Nation, and for the encouragement of trade. And with this the Duke was so possessed, that he declared himself a most violent enemy to comprehension, and as zealous for toleration. The King being thus resolved on fixing the terms of conformity to what they had been before the war, without making the least abatement or alteration, they carried on still an appearance of moderation, till the strength of the parties should appear in the new Parliament.

So, after the declaration was set out, a commission was granted to twelve of a side, with nine assistants to each side, who were appointed to meet at the *Savoy*, and to consider on the ways of uniting both sides. At their first meeting, *Sheldon* told them, that those of the Church had not desired this meeting, as being satisfied with the legal establishment; and therefore they had nothing to offer; but it belonged to the other side, who moved for alterations, to offer both their exceptions to the laws in being, and the alterations that they proposed. He told them, they

A treaty in
the *Savoy*.

1660. they were to lay all they had to offer before them at once; for they would not engage to treat about any one particular, till they saw how far their demands went: And he said, that all was to be transacted in writing, tho' the others insisted on an amicable conference; which was at first denied: Yet some hopes were given of allowing it at last. Papers were upon this given in. The Presbyterians moved, that Bishop *Usher's* Reduction should be laid down as a ground-work to treat on; that Bishops should not govern their diocese by their single authority, nor depute it to Lay officers in their Courts, but should in matters of ordination and jurisdiction take along with them the counsel and concurrence of the Presbyters. They did offer several exceptions to the Liturgy, against the many responses by the people; and they desired, all might be made one continued prayer. They desired that no lessons should be taken out of the Apocryphal books; that the Psalms used in the daily service should be according to the new translation. They excepted to many parts of the office of baptism, that import the inward regeneration of all that were baptized. But as they proposed these amendments, so they did also offer a Liturgy new drawn by Mr. *Baxter*. They insisted mainly against kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, chiefly against the imposing it; and moved that the posture might be left free, and that the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, of God-fathers being the sponsors in baptism, and of the holy days, might be abolished. *Sheldon* saw well what the effect would be of putting them to make all their demands at once. The number of them raised a mighty outcry against them, as people that could never be satisfied. But nothing gave so great an advantage against them, as their offering a new Liturgy. In this they were divided among themselves. Some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that, if they were gained, and a union followed upon that, it would be easier to gain other things afterwards. But all this was overthrown by Mr. *Baxter*, who was a man of great piety; and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age: He writ near two hundred books: Of these, three are large folios: He had a very moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much simplicity; but was most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in every thing. There was a great submission paid to him by the whole party. So he persuaded them, that from the words of the commission they were bound to offer every thing that they thought might conduce to the good or peace of the Church, without consider-

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ing what was like to be obtained, or what effect their demand- 1660.
ing so much might have, in irritating the minds of those who were
then the superiour body in strength and number. All the whole
matter was at last reduced to one single point, whether it was
lawful to determine the certain use of things indifferent in the
worship of God? The Bishops held them to that point, and
pressed them to shew that any of the things imposed were of
themselves unlawful. The Presbyterians declined this; but af-
firmed, that other circumstances might make it become unlawful
to settle a peremptory law about things indifferent; which they
applied chiefly to kneeling in the Sacrament, and stood upon it
that a law, which excluded all that did not kneel from the Sacra-
ment, was unlawful, as a limitation in the point of communion
put on the laws of *Christ*, which ought to be the only condition
of those who had a right to it. Upon this point there was a free
conference that lasted some days. The two men, that had the
chief management of the debate, were the most unfit to heal
matters, and the fittest to widen them, that could have been
found out. *Baxter* was the opponent, and *Gunning* was the respon-
dent; who was afterwards advanced, first to *Chichester*, and then
to *Ely*: He was a man of great reading, and noted for a special
subtilty of arguing: All the arts of sophistry were made use of
by him on all occasions, in as confident a manner, as if they had
been sound reasoning: He was a man of an innocent life, un-
weariedly active to very little purpose: He was much set on
the reconciling us with Popery in some points: And, because the
charge of idolatry seemed a bar to all thoughts of reconciliation
with them, he set himself with very great zeal to clear the Church
of *Rome* of idolatry: This made many suspect him as inclining
to go over to them: But he was far from it; and was a very
honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment, and of no pru-
dence in affairs: He was for our conforming in all things to
the rules of the Primitive Church, particularly in praying for
the dead, in the use of oil, with many other rituals: He form-
ed many in *Cambridge* upon his own notions, who have carried
them perhaps farther than he intended. *Baxter* and he spent
some days in much logical arguing, to the diversion of the town,
who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in disputes,
that could never be brought to an end, nor have any good ef-
fect. In conclusion, this commission, being limited to such a
number of days, came to an end, before any one thing was
agreed on. The Bishops insisted on the laws that were still in
force, to which they would admit of no exception, unless it was
proved that the matter of those laws was sinful. They charged

1660. the Presbyterians with having made a schism, upon a charge against the Church for things, which now they themselves could not call sinful. They said, there was no reason to gratify such a sort of men in any thing: One demand granted would draw on many more: All authority both in Church and State was struck at by the position they had insisted on, that it was not lawful to impose things indifferent, since they seemed to be the only proper matter in which human authority could interpose. So this furnished an occasion to expose them as enemies to all order. Things had been carried at the *Savoy* with great sharpness, and many reflections. *Baxter* said once, such things would offend many good men in the Nation. *Stearn*, the Archbishop of *York*, upon that took notice that he would not say Kingdom, but Nation, because he would not acknowledge a King. Of this great complaints were made, as an indecent return for the zeal they had shewn in the Restoration.

1661.
The terms
of conformity made
harder.

The conference broke up without doing any good. It did rather hurt, and heightened the sharpness that was then on peoples minds to such a degree, that it needed no addition to raise it higher. The Presbyterians laid their complaints before the King: But little regard was had to them. And now all the concern that seemed to employ the Bishops thoughts was, not only to make no alteration on their account, but to make the terms of conformity much stricter than they had been before the war. So it was resolved to maintain conformity to the height, and to put lecturers in the same condition with the incumbents, as to oaths and subscriptions; and to oblige all persons to subscribe an unfeigned assent and consent to all and every particular contained and prescribed in the book of Common Prayer. Many, who thought it lawful to conform in submission, yet scrupled at this, as importing a particular approbation of every thing: And great distinction was made between a conformity in practice, and so full and distinct an assent. Yet men got over that, as importing no more but a consent of obedience: For tho' the words of the subscription, which were also to be publicly pronounced before the congregation, declaring the person's unfeigned assent and consent, seemed to import this, yet the clause of the act that enjoined this carried a clear explanation of it; for it enacted this declaration as an assent and Consent to the use of all things contained in the book. Another subscription was enacted, with relation to the League and Covenant; by which they were required to declare it unlawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King, renouncing the traiterous position of
taking

taking arms by his authority against his person, or those com-
 missioned by him, together with a declaration, that no obliga-
 tion lay on them or any other person from the League or Cove-
 nant to endeavour any change or alteration of government in
 Church and State, and that the Covenant was in it self an unlaw-
 ful oath. This was contriv'd against all the old men, who had
 both taken the Covenant themselves, and had press'd it upon
 others. So they were now to own themselves very guilty in that
 matter. And those, who thought it might be lawful upon great and
 illegal provocation to resist unjust invasions on the laws and li-
 berties of the subjects, excepted to the subscription, tho' it was
 scarce safe for any at that time to have insisted on that point.
 Some thought, that since the King had taken the Covenant,
 he at least was bound to stand to it.

Another point was fixed by the Act of Uniformity, which
 was more at large formerly: Those, who came to *England* from
 the foreign Churches, had not been required to be ordained among
 us: But now all, that had not Episcopal ordination, were made
 incapable of holding any Ecclesiastical Benefice. Some few al-
 terations were made in the Liturgy by the Bishops themselves: A
 few new collects were made, as the prayer for all conditions of
 men, and the general thanksgiving. A collect was also drawn
 for the Parliament, in which a new epithet was added to the
 King's title, that gave great offence, and occasioned much in-
 decent raillery: He was styled our most religious King. It was
 not easy to give a proper sense to this, and to make it go well
 down; since, whatever the signification of religion might be in
 the *Latin* word, as importing the sacredness of the King's per-
 son, yet in the *English* language it bore a signification that was
 no way applicable to the King. And those who took great li-
 berties with him have often asked him, what must all his peo-
 ple think, when they heard him prayed for as their most reli-
 gious King? Some other lesser additions were made. But care
 was taken, that nothing should be altered, so as it had been
 moved by the Presbyterians; for it was resolved to gratify them
 in nothing. One important addition was made, chiefly by *Gaw-
 den's* means: He pressed that a declaration, explaining the rea-
 sons of their kneeling at the Sacrament, which had been in King
Edward's Liturgy, but was left out in Queen *Elizabeth's* time,
 should be again set where it had once been. The Papists were
 highly offended, when they saw such an express declaration made
 against the real presence, and the Duke told me, that when he
 asked *Sheldon* how they came to declare against a doctrine, which
 he had been instructed was the doctrine of the Church, *Sheldon*
 answered

1661. answered, ask *Gawden* about it, who is a Bishop of your own making: For the King had ordered his promotion for the service he had done. The Convocation that prepared those alterations, as they added some new holy days, *St. Barnabas*, and the Conversion of *St. Paul*, so they took in more lessons out of the Apocrypha, in particular the story of *Bell and the Dragon*: New offices were also drawn for two new days, the thirtieth of *January*, called King *Charles* the Martyr, and the twenty ninth of *May*, the day of the King's birth and return. *Sancroft* drew for these some offices of a very high strain. Yet others of a more moderate strain were preferred to them. But he, coming to be advanced to the See of *Canterbury*, got his offices to be published by the King's authority, in a time when so high a style as was in them did not sound well in the Nation. Such care was taken in the choice and returns of the members of the Convocation, that every thing went among them as was directed by *Sheldon* and *Morley*. When they had prepared all their alterations, they offered them to the King, who sent them to the House of Commons, upon which the Act of Uniformity was prepared by *Keeling*, afterwards Lord Chief Justice.

When it was brought into the House, many did apprehend that so severe an act might have ill effects, and began to abate of their first heat: Upon which reports were spread, and much aggravated as they were reported to the House of Commons, of the Plots of the Presbyterians in several Counties. Many were taken up on those reports: But none were ever tried for them. So, the thing being let fall, it has been given out since, that these were forged by the direction of some hot spirits, who might think such arts were necessary to give an alarm, and by rendring the party odious to carry so severe an act against them. The Lord *Clarendon* himself was charged as having directed this piece of artifice: But I could never see any ground for fastening it on him: Tho' there were great appearances of foul dealing among some of the fiercer sort. The Act pass'd by no great majority: And by it all who did not conform to the Liturgy by the twenty fourth of *August*, *St. Bartholomew's* day, in the year 1662, were deprived of all Ecclesiastical benefices, without leaving any discretionary power with the King in the execution of it, and without making provision for the maintenance of those who should be so deprived: A severity neither practised by Queen *Elizabeth* in the enacting her Liturgy, nor by *Cromwell* in ejecting the Royalists, in both which a fifth part of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence. *St. Bartholomew's* day was pitched on, that, if they were then deprived, they should loose the

the profits of the whole year, since the tithes are commonly due at *Michaelmas*. The Presbyterians remembred what a *St. Bartholomew's* had been held at *Paris* ninety years before, which was the day of that massacre, and did not stick to compare the one to the other. The Book of Common-prayer with the new corrections was that to which they were to subscribe. But the corrections were so long a preparing, and the vast number of copies, above two thousand, that were to be wrought off for all the parish Churches of *England*, made the impresson go on so slowly, that there were few Books set out to sale when the day came. So, many that were well affected to the Church, but that made conscience of subscribing to a book that they had not seen, left their benefices on that very account. Some made a journey to *London* on purpose to see it. With so much precipitation was that matter driven on, that it seemed expected, that the Clergy should subscribe implicitly to a book they had never seen. This was done by too many, as I was informed by some of the Bishops. But the Presbyterians were now in great difficulties. They had many meetings, and much disputing about conformity. *Reynolds* accepted of the Bishoprick of *Norwich*. But *Calamy* and *Baxter* refused the Sees of *Litchfield* and *Hereford*. And about two thousand of them fell under the Parliamentary deprivation, as they gave out. The numbers have been much controverted. This raised a grievous outcry over the Nation; tho' it was less considered at that time, than it would have been at any other. *Baxter* told me, that had the terms of the King's Declaration been stood to, he did not believe that above three hundred of these would have been so deprived. Some few, and but few, of the Episcopal party were troubled at this severity, or apprehensive of the very ill effects it was like to have. Here were many men, much valued, some on better grounds, and others on worse, who were now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much spiteful usage, and cast upon those popular practices that both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting men from the publick worship, and from considering their successors as the lawful pastors of those Churches in which they had served. The blame of all this fell heaviest on *Sheldon*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was charged with his having entertained the Presbyterians with hopes and good words, while he was all the while carrying on, or at least giving way to the Bishop's project. When the Convocation had gone thro' the book of Common-prayer; it was in the next place proposed, that, according to a clause in the King's licence, they should consider the Ca-

1661. nons of the Church. They had it then in their power to have reformed many abuses, and particularly to have provided an effectual remedy to the root of all those, which arise from the poor maintenance that is reserved to the incumbents. Almost all the leases of the Church estates over *England* were fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty years. The leases for years were determined: And the wars had carried off so many men, that most of the leases for lives were fallen into the incumbents hands. So that the Church estates were in them: And the fines raised by the renewing the leases rose to about a million and a half. It was an unreasonable thing to let those who were now promoted carry off so great a treasure. If the half had been applied to the buying of tithes or glebes for small Vicarages, here a foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual reformation. In some fees forty or fifty thousand pound was raised, and applied to the enriching the Bishops families. Something was done to Churches and Colleges, in particular to *St. Paul's* in *London*: And a noble collection was made for redeeming all the *English* slaves that were in any part of *Barbary*. But this fell far short of what might have been expected. In this the Lord *Clarendon* was heavily charged, as having shown that he was more the Bishop's friend than the Church's. It is true, the law made those fines belong to the incumbents. But such an extraordinary occasion deserved, that a law should have been made on purpose. What the Bishops did with those great fines was a pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, who generally took more care of themselves than of the Church. The men of merit and service were loaded with many livings and many dignities. With this great accession of wealth there broke in upon the Church a great deal of luxury and high living, on the pretence of hospitality; while others made purchases, and left great estates, most of which we have seen melt away. And with this overset of wealth and pomp, that came on men in the decline of their parts and age, they, who were now growing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the Church: They left preaching and writing to others, while they gave themselves up to ease and sloth. In all which sad representation some few exceptions are to be made; but so few, that, if a new set of men had not appeared of another stamp, the Church had quite lost her esteem over the Nation.

The great
fines then
raised on the
Church e-
states ill ap-
plied.

Divines
called Lati-
tudinarians.

These were generally of *Cambridge*, formed under some divines, the chief of whom were Drs. *Whitchcot*, *Cudworth*, *Wilkins*, *More*, and *Worthington*. *Whitchcot* was a man of a rare temper, very mild and obliging. He had great credit with some that

that had been eminent in the late times; but made all the use ^{1661.} he could of it to protect good men of all persuasions. He was much for liberty of conscience: And being disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he studied to raise those who conversed with him to a nobler set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of a deiform nature, (to use one of his own phrases.) In order to this, he set young students much on reading the ancient Philosophers, chiefly *Plato*, *Tully*, and *Plotin*, and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to elevate and sweeten humane nature, in which he was a great example, as well as a wise and kind instructor. *Cudworth* carried this on with a great strength of genius, and a vast compass of learning. He was a man of great conduct and prudence: Upon which his enemies did very falsely accuse him of craft and dissimulation. *Wilkins* was of *Oxford*, but removed to *Cambridge*. His first rise was in the Elector Palatine's family, when he was in *England*. Afterwards he married *Cromwell's* sister; but made no other use of that alliance, but to do good offices, and to cover the University from the surliness of *Owen* and *Goodwin*. At *Cambridge* he joined with those who studied to propagate better thoughts, to take men off from being in parties, or from narrow notions, from superstitious conceits, and a fierceness about opinions. He was also a great observer and a promoter of experimental philosophy, which was then a new thing, and much looked after. He was naturally ambitious, but was the wisest Clergy-man I ever knew. He was a lover of mankind, and had a delight in doing good. *More* was an open hearted, and sincere christian philosopher, who studied to establish men in the great principles of religion against atheism, that was then beginning to gain ground, chiefly by reason of the hypocrisy of some, and the fantastical conceits of the more sincere enthusiasts.

Hobbs, who had long followed the Court, and passed there for a mathematical man, tho' he really knew little that way, being disgusted by the Court, came into *England* in *Cromwell's* time, and published a very wicked book, with a very strange title, *The Leviathan*. His main principles were, that all men acted under an absolute necessity, in which he seemed protected by the then received doctrine of absolute decrees. He seemed to think that the universe was God, and that souls were material, Thought being only subtil and unperceptible motion. He thought interest and fear were the chief principles of society: And he put all morality in the following that which was our own private will or advantage. He thought religion had no other foundation than the laws

1661. laws of the land. And he put all the law in the will of the Prince, or of the people: For he writ his book at first in favour of absolute monarchy, but turned it afterwards to gratify the republican party. These were his true principles, tho' he had disguised them, for deceiving unwary readers. And this set of notions came to spread much. The novelty and boldness of them set many on reading them. The impiety of them was acceptable to men of corrupt minds, which were but too much prepared to receive them by the extravagancies of the late times. So this set of men at *Cambridge* studied to assert, and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds, and in a philosophical method. In this *More* led the way to many that came after him. *Worthington* was a man of eminent piety and great humility, and practised a most sublime way of self-denial and devotion. All these, and those who were formed under them, studied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church, and the Liturgy, and could well live under them: But they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and in divinity: From whence they were called men of Latitude. And upon this men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers fastened upon them the name of Latitudinarians. They read *Episcopius* much. And the making out the reasons of things being a main part of their studies, their enemies called them Socinians. They were all very zealous against popery. And so, they becoming soon very considerable, the Papists set themselves against them to decry them as Atheists, Deists, or at best Socinians. And now that the main principle of religion was struck at by *Hobbs* and his followers, the Papists acted upon this a very strange part. They went in so far even into the argument for Atheism, as to publish many books, in which they affirmed, that there was no certain proofs of the Christian religion, unless we took it from the authority of the Church as infallible. This was such a delivering up of the cause to them, that it raised in all good men a very high indignation at Popery; that party shewing, that they chose to make men, who would not turn Papists, become Atheists, rather than believe Christianity upon any other ground than infallibility.

The most eminent of those, who were formed under those 1661.
great men I have mention'd, were *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, and *Pa-*
trick. The first of these was a man of a clear head, and a sweet A character
temper. He had the brightest thoughts, and the most correct of some di-
style of all our divines; and was esteemed the best preacher of vines.
the age. He was a very prudent man; and had such a manage-
ment with it, that I never knew any Clergy-man so universally
esteemed and beloved, as he was for above twenty years. He
was eminent for his opposition to Popery. He was no friend to
persecution, and stood up much against Atheism. Nor did any
man contribute more to bring the City to love our worship, than
he did. But there was so little superstition, and so much reason
and gentleness in his way of explaining things, that malice was
long levelled at him, and in conclusion broke out fiercely on
him. *Stillingfleet* was a man of much more learning, but of a
more reserved, and a haughtier temper. He in his youth writ
an *Irenicum* for healing our divisions, with so much learning and
moderation, that it was esteemed a master-piece. His notion
was, that the Apostles had settled the Church in a constitution
of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, but had made no perpetual law
about it, having only taken it in, as they did many other things,
from the customs and practice of the synagogue; from which
he inferred, that certainly the constitution was lawful since au-
thorised by them, but not necessary, since they had made no
settled law about it. This took with many; but was cried out
upon by others as an attempt against the Church. Yet the ar-
gument was managed with so much learning and skill, that none
of either side ever undertook to answer it. After that, he wrote
against infidelity, beyond any that had gone before him. And
then he engaged to write against Popery, which he did with such
an exactness and liveliness, that no books of controversy were so
much read and valued, as his were. He was a great man in ma-
ny respects. He knew the world well, and was esteemed a ve-
ry wise man. The writing of his *Irenicum* was a great snare to
him: For, to avoid the imputations which that brought upon
him, he not only retracted the book, but he went into the hu-
mours of that high sort of people beyond what became him,
perhaps beyond his own sense of things. He applied himself
much to the study of the law and records, and the original of
our constitution, and was a very extraordinary man. *Patrick*
was a great preacher. He wrote much, and well, and chiefly on
the Scriptures. He was a laborious man in his function, of great
strictness of life, but a little too severe against those who differed
from him. But that was, when he thought their doctrines struck

1661. at the fundamentals of religion. He became afterwards more moderate. To these I shall add another divine, who, tho' of *Oxford*, yet as he was formed by Bishop *Wilkins*, so he went into most of their principles; but went far beyond them in learning. *Lloyd* was a great critick in the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, but chiefly in the Scriptures; of the words and phrases of which he carried the most perfect concordance in his memory, and had it the readiest about him, of all men that ever I knew. He was an exact historian, and the most punctual in chronology of all our divines. He had read the most books, and with the best judgment, and had made the most copious abstracts out of them, of any in this age: So that *Wilkins* used to say, he had the most learning in ready cash of any he ever knew. He was so exact in every thing he set about, that he never gave over any part of study, till he had quite mastered it. But when that was done, he went to another subject, and did not lay out his learning with the diligence with which he laid it in. He had many volumes of materials upon all subjects laid together in so distinct a method, that he could with very little labour write on any of them. He had more life in his imagination, and a truer judgment, than may seem consistent with such a laborious course of study. Yet, as much as he was set on learning, he had never neglected his pastoral care. For several years he had the greatest cure in *England*, *St. Martins*, which he took care of with an application and diligence beyond any about him; to whom he was an example, or rather a reproach, so few following his example. He was a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good when he saw a proper opportunity: Even his love of study did not divert him from that. He did upon his promotion find a very worthy successor in his cure, *Tenison*, who carried on and advanced all those good methods that he had begun in the management of that great cure. He endowed schools, set up a publick library, and kept many Curates to assist him in his indefatigable labours among them. He was a very learned man, and took much pains to state the notions and practices of heathenish idolatry, and so to fasten that charge on the Church of *Rome*. And, *Whitehall* lying within that parish, he stood as in the front of the battel all King *James's* reign; and maintained, as well as managed, that dangerous post with great courage and much judgment, and was held in very high esteem for his whole deportment, which was ever grave and moderate. These have been the greatest divines we have had these forty years: And may we ever have a succession of such men to fill the room of those who have already gone off the stage, and of those who,

being

being now very old, cannot hold their posts long. Of these I 1661.
have writ the more fully, because I knew them well, and have
lived long in great friendship with them; but most particularly
with *Tillotson* and *Lloyd*. And, as I am sensible I owe a great deal
of the consideration that has been had for me to my being known
to be their friend, so I have really learned the best part of what
I know from them. But I owed them much more on the account
of those excellent principles and notions, of which they were in
a particular manner communicative to me. This set of men
contributed more than can be well imagined to reform the way
of preaching; which among the divines of *England* before them
was over-run with pedantry, a great mixture of quotations from
fathers and ancient writers, a long opening of a text with the con-
cordance of every word in it, and a giving all the different exposi-
tions with the grounds of them, and the entring into some parts of controversy, and all concluding in some, but very short,
practical applications, according to the subject or the occasion. The way of
This was both long and heavy, when all was pye-balled, full preaching
of many sayings of different languages. The common style of which then
sermons was either very flat and low, or swelled up with rheto- prevailed.
rick to a false pitch of a wrong sublime. The King had little
or no literature, but true and good sense; and had got a right
notion of style; for he was in *France* at a time when they were
much set on reforming their language. It soon appear'd that
he had a true taste. So this help'd to raise the value of these
men, when the King approved of the style their discourses ge-
nerally ran in; which was clear, plain, and short. They gave
a short paraphrase of their text, unless where great difficulties
required a more copious enlargement: But even then they cut
off unnecessary shews of learning, and applied themselves to the
matter, in which they opened the nature and reasons of things
so fully, and with that simplicity, that their hearers felt an in-
struction of another sort than had commonly been observed be-
fore. So they became very much followed: And a set of these
men brought off the City in a great measure from the prejudices
they had formerly to the Church.

There was a great debate in Council, a little before St. Bar- 1662.
tholomew's day, whether the Act of Uniformity should be punc- The Act of
tually executed, or not. Some moved to have the execution of it Uniformity
delayed to the next session of Parliament. Others were for ex- executed
ecuting it in the main, but to connive at some eminent men, with rigor;
and to put Curates into their Churches to read and officiate accor-
ding to the Common-prayer, but to leave them to preach on,
till

1662. till they should die out. The Earl of *Manchester* laid all these things before the King with much zeal, but with no great force. *Sheldon* on the other hand press'd the execution of the law: *England* was accustomed to obey laws: So while they stood on that ground, they were safe, and needed fear none of the dangers that seemed to be threatened: He also undertook to fill all the vacant pulpits, that should be forsaken in *London*, better and more to the satisfaction of the people, than they had been before: And he seemed to apprehend, that a very small number would fall under the deprivation, and that the gross of the party would conform. On the other hand, those who led the party took great pains to have them all stick together: They infused it into them, that if great numbers stood out, that would shew their strength, and produce new laws in their favour; whereas they would be despised, if, after so much noise made, the greater part of them should conform. So it was thought, that many went out in the croud to keep their friends company. Many of these were distinguished by their abilities and zeal. They cast themselves upon the providence of God, and the charity of their friends, which had a fair appearance, as of men that were ready to suffer persecution for their consciences. This begot esteem, and raised compassion: Whereas the old Clergy, now much enriched, were as much despised. But the young Clergy that came from the Universities did good service. Learning was then high at *Oxford*; chiefly the study of the oriental tongues, which was much raised by the *Polyglot* Bible, then lately set forth. They read the fathers much there. mathematicks and the new philosophy were in great esteem. And the meetings that *Wilkins* had begun at *Oxford* were now held in *London* too, in so publick manner, that the King himself encouraged them much, and had many experiments made before him.

The Royal
Society.

The men that formed the Royal Society in *London* were Sir *Robert Murray*, the Lord *Brounker*, a profound mathematician, and Doctor *Ward*, soon after promoted to *Exeter*, and afterwards removed to *Salisbury*. *Ward* was a man of great reach, went deep in mathematical studies, and was a very dextrous man, if not too dextrous; for his sincerity was much questioned. He had complied during the late times, and held in by taking the Covenant: So he was hated by the high men as a time-server. But the Lord *Clarendon* saw, that most of the Bishops were men of merit by their sufferings, but of no great capacity for business. He brought *Ward* in, as a man fit to govern the Church: For *Ward*, to get his former errors to be forgot, went into the high notions of a severe conformity, and became the most considera-

ble man on the Bishops bench. He was a profound States man, 1662. but a very indifferent Clergy-man. Many Physicians, and other ingenious men went into the Society for natural Philosophy. But he who laboured most, at the greatest charge, and with the most success at experiments, was *Robert Boyle*, the Earl of *Cork's* youngest son. He was looked on by all who knew him, as a very perfect pattern. He was a very devout Christian, humble and modest, almost to a fault, of a most spotless and exemplary life in all respects. He was highly charitable; and was a mortified and self-denied man, that delighted in nothing so much as in the doing good. He neglected his person, despised the world, and lived abstracted from all pleasures, designs, and interests. I preached his funeral sermon, in which I gave his character so truly, that I do not think it necessary now to enlarge more upon it. The Society for Philosophy grew so considerable, that they thought fit to take out a patent, which constituted them a body, by the name of the Royal Society; of which Sir *Robert Murray* was the first President, Bishop *Ward* the second, and the Lord *Brouncker* the third. Their history is writ so well by Doctor *Spratt*, that I will insist no more on them, but go on to other matters.

After St. *Bartholomew's* day, the Dissenters, seeing both Court and Parliament was so much set against them, had much consultation together what to do. Many were for going over to *Holland*, and settling there with their Ministers. Others proposed *New-England*, and the other Plantations. Upon this the Earl of *Bristol* drew to his house a meeting of the chief Papists in Town: And after an oath of secrecy he told them, now was the proper time for them to make some steps towards the bringing in of their religion: In order to that it seemed advisable for them to take pains to procure favour to the Nonconformists; (for that became the common name to them all, as Puritan had been before the war:) They were the rather to bestir themselves to procure a toleration for them in general terms, that they themselves might be comprehended within it. The Lord *Aubigny* seconded the motion. He said, it was so visibly the interest of *England* to make a great body of the trading men stay within the Kingdom, and be made easy in it, that it would have a good grace in them to seem zealous for it: And, to draw in so great a number of those, who had been hitherto the hottest against them, to feel their care, and to see their zeal to serve them, he recommended to them to make this the subject of all their discourses, and to engage all their friends in the design. *Bennet* did not meet with them, but was known to be of the secret; as the Lord *Stafford* told me in the Tower a little before his death. But that

Consultations among the Papists.

1662. Lord soon withdrew from those meetings: For he apprehended the Earl of *Bristol's* heat, and that he might raise a storm against them by his indiscreet meddling.

A Declaration for toleration.

The King was so far prevailed on by them, that in *December* 1662 he set out a Declaration, that was generally thought to be procured by the Lord *Bristol*: But it had a deeper root, and was designed by the King himself. In it the King expressed his aversion to all severities on the account of religion, but more particularly to all sanguinary laws; and gave hopes both to Papists and Nonconformists, that he would find out such ways for tempering the severities of the laws, that all his subjects should be easy under them. The wiser of the Nonconformists saw at what all this was aimed, and so received it coldly. But the Papists went on more warmly, and were preparing a scheme for a toleration for them. And one part of it raised great disputes among themselves. Some were for their taking the oath of allegiance, which renounced the Popes deposing power. But all those that were under a management from *Rome* refused this. And the Internuntio at *Brussels* proceeded to censure those that were for it, as enemies to the Papal authority. A proposition was also made for having none but secular Priests tolerated in *England*, who should be under a Bishop, and under an established government. But that all the regulars, in particular all Jesuits, should be under the strictest penalties forbid the Kingdom.

Designed for the Papists.

The Earl of *Clarendon* set this on; for he knew well it would divide the Papists among themselves. But, tho' a few honest Priests, such as *Blacklow*, *Serjeant*, *Caron*, and *Walsh* were for it, yet they could not make a party among the leading men of their own side. It was pretended, that this was set on foot with a design to divide them, and so to break their strength. The Earl of *Clarendon* knew, that Cardinal *de Retz*, for whom he saw the King had a particular esteem, had come over incognito, and had been with the King in private. So, to let the King see how odious a thing his being suspected of Popery would be, and what a load it would lay on his government if it came to be believed, he got some of his party, as Sir *Allain Brodrick* told me, to move in the House of Commons for an Act rendring it capital to say the King was a Papist. And, whereas the King was made to believe that the old Cavaliers were become milder with relation to Popery, the Lord *Clarendon* upon this new Act inferred, that it still appeared that the opinion of his being a Papist would so certainly make him odious, that for that reason the Parliament had made the spreading those reports so penal. But this was taken

taken by another handle, while some said, that this Act was made on purpose, that, tho' the design of bringing in Popery should become ever so visible, none should dare to speak of it. The Earl of *Clarendon* had a quite contrary design in it, to let the King see how fatal the effects of any such suspicions were like to be. When the Earl of *Bristol's* declaration was proposed in Council, Lord *Clarendon* and the Bishops opposed it. But there was nothing in it directly against law, hopes being only given of endeavours to make all men easy under the King's government: So it pass'd. The Earl of *Bristol* carried it as a great victory. And he, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all Lord *Clarendon's* enemies, declared openly against him. But the poor Priests, who had made those honest motions, were very ill looked on by all their own party, as men gained on design to betray them. I knew all this from *Peter Walsh* himself, who was the honestest and learnedest man I ever knew among them. He was of *Irish* extraction, and of the *Franciscan* order: And was indeed in all points of controversy almost wholly Protestant: But he had senses of his own, by which he excused his adhering to the Church of *Rome*: And he maintained, that with these he could continue in the communion of that Church without sin: And he said, that he was sure he did some good staying still on that side, but that he could do none at all if he should come over: He thought, no man ought to forsake that religion in which he was born and bred, unless he was clearly convinced, that he must certainly be damned if he continued in it. He was an honest and able man, much practised in intrigues, and knew well the methods of the *Jesuits*, and other *Missionaries*. He told me often, there was nothing which the whole *Popish* party feared more than an union of those of the Church of *England* with the *Presbyterians*: They knew, we grew the weaker, the more our breaches were widened; and that, the more we were set against one another, we would mind them the less. The *Papists* had two maxims, from which they never departed: The one was to divide us: And the other was to keep themselves united, and either to set on an indiscriminated toleration, or a general prosecution; for so we loved to soften the harsh word of persecution. And he observed, not without great indignation at us for our folly, that we, instead of uniting among our selves, and dividing them, according to their maxims, did all we could to keep them united, and to disjoint our own body: For he was persuaded, if the government had held an heavy hand on the *Regulars* and the *Jesuits*, and had been gentle to the *Seculars*, and had set up a distinguishing test, renouncing all
fort

1662. sort of power in the Pope over the temporal rights of Princes, to which the Regulars and the Jesuits could never submit, that this would have engaged them into such violent quarrels among themselves, that censures would have been thundred at *Rome* against all that should take any such test; which would have procured much disputing, and might have probably ended in the revolt of the soberer part of that Church. But he found, that, tho' the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Duke of *Ormond* liked the project, little regard was had to it by the governing party in the Court.

1663. The Church party was alarmed at all this. And tho' they were unwilling to suspect the King or the Duke, yet the management for Popery was so visible, that in the next session of Parliament the King's declaration was severely arraigned, and the authors of it were plainly enough pointed at. This was done chiefly by the Lord *Clarendon's* Friends. And at this the Earl of *Bristol* was highly displeased, and resolved to take all possible methods to ruine the Earl of *Clarendon*. He had a great skill in astrology, and had possessed the King with an high opinion of it: And told the Duke of *Buckingham*, as he said to the Earl of *Rochester*, *Wilmot*, from whom I had it, that he was confident that he would lay that before the King, which would totally alienate him both from his brother and from the Lord *Clarendon*: For he could demonstrate by the principles of that art, that he was to fall by his brother's means, if not by his hand: And he was sure this would work on the King. It would so, said the Duke of *Buckingham*, but in another way than he expected: For it would make the King be so afraid of offending him, that he would do any thing rather than provoke him. Yet the Lord *Bristol* would lay this before the King. And the Duke of *Buckingham* believed, that it had the effect ever after, that he had apprehended: For tho' the King never loved nor esteemed the Duke, yet he seemed to stand in some sort of awe of him.

He accused
Clarendon in
the House of
Lords.

But this was not all: The Lord *Bristol* resolved to offer articles of impeachment against the Earl of *Clarendon* to the House of Lords, tho' it was plainly provided against by the statute against appeals in the reign of *Henry* the fourth. Yet both the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Bristol*, the fathers of these two Lords, had broken thro' that in the former reign. So the Lord *Bristol* drew his impeachment, and carried it to the King, who took much pains on him in a soft and gentle manner to dissuade him from it. But he would not be wrought on. And he told the King plainly, that, if he forsook him, he would raise such disorders

1663.

disorders that all *England* should feel them, and the King himself should not be without a large share in them. The King, as the Earl of *Lauderdale* told me, who said he had it from himself, said, he was so provoked at this, that he durst not trust himself in answering it, but went out of the room, and sent the Lord *Aubigny* to soften him: But all was in vain. It is very probable, that the Lord *Bristol* knew the secret of the King's religion, which both made him so bold, and the King so fearful. The next day he carried the charge to the House of Lords. It was of a very mixed nature: In one part he charged the Lord *Clarendon* with raising jealousies, and spreading reports of the King's being a Papist: And yet in the other articles he charged him with correspondence with the Court of *Rome*, in order to the making the Lord *Aubigny* a Cardinal, and several other things of a very strange nature. As soon as he put it in, he, it seems, either repented of it, or at least was prevailed with to abscond. He was ever after that looked on, as a man capable of the highest extravagances possible. He made the matter worse by a letter that he wrote to the Lords, in which he expressed his fear of the danger the King was in by the Duke's having of guards. Proclamations went out for discovering him. But he kept out of the way till the storm was over. The Parliament expressed a firm resolution to maintain the Act of Uniformity. And the King being run much in debt, they gave him four subsidies, being willing to return to the ancient way of taxes by subsidies. But these were so evaded, and brought in so little money, that the Court resolved never to have recourse to that method of raising money any more, but to betake themselves for the future to the assessment begun in the war. The Convocation gave at the same time four subsidies, which proved as heavy on them, as they were light on the temporality. This was the last aid that the spirituality gave: For the whole proving so inconsiderable, and yet so unequally heavy on the Clergy, it was resolved on hereafter to tax Church benefices as temporal estates were taxed; which proved indeed a lighter burden, but was not so honorable as when it was given by themselves. Yet interest prevailing above the point of honour, they acquiesced in it. So the Convocations being no more necessary to the Crown, this made that there was less regard had to them afterwards. They were often discontinued, and prorogued: And when they met, it was only for form. The Parliament did pass another Act, that was very acceptable to the Court, and that shewed a confidence in the King, repealing the Act of triennial Parliaments, which had been obtained with so much difficulty, and was clogged with so many

1663. clauses, which seemed to transfer the power from the Crown to the people, that, when it was carried, it was thought the greatest security that the people had for all their other liberties. But it was now given up without a struggle, or any clauses for a certainty of Parliaments, besides a general one, that there should be a Parliament called within three years after the dissolution of the present Parliament, and so ever afterwards; but without any severe clauses, in case the Act was not observed.

As for our foreign negotiations I know nothing in particular concerning them. Secretary *Bennet* had them all in his hands: And I had no confidence with any about him. Our concerns with *Portugal* were publick: And I knew no secrets about these.

A Plot discovered.

By a melancholy instance to our private family it appeared, that *France* was taking all possible methods to do every thing that the King desired. The Common-wealths-men were now thinking, that they saw the stream of the Nation beginning to turn against the Court: And upon that they were meeting, and laying plots to retrieve their lost game. One of these being taken, and apprehending he was in danger, begg'd his life of the King, and said, if he might be assured of his pardon, he would tell where my uncle *Wariston* was, who was then in *Rouen*: For the air of *Hamborough* agreed so ill with him, that he was advised to go to *France*; and this man was on the secret. The King sent one to the Court of *France*, desiring he might be put in his hands: And this was immediately done: And no notice was sent to my uncle to go out of the way, as is usual in such cases, when a person is not charged with assassinations or any infamous action, but only with crimes of State. He was sent over, and kept some months in the Tower of *London*; and from that was sent to *Scotland*, as shall be told afterwards.

The design of a war with the States.

The design of a war with *Holland* was now working. I have been very positively assured by States-men of both sides, that the *French* set it on in a very artificial manner: For while they encouraged us to insist on some extravagant demands, they at the same time pressed the *Dutch* not to yield to them: And as they put them in hopes, that, if a rupture should follow, they would assist them according to their alliance, so they assured us that they would do us no hurt. *Downing* was then employed in *Holland*, a crafty fawning man, who was ready to turn to every side that was uppermost, and to betray those who by their former friendship and services thought they might depend on him; as he did some of the Regicides, whom he got in his hands under trust, and then delivered them up. He had been *Cromwell's* Ambassadour in *Holland*, where he had offered personal affronts

fronts both to the King and the Duke: Yet he had by some base practices got himself to be so effectually recommended by the Duke of *Albermarle*, that all his former offences were forgiven, and he was sent into *Holland* as the King's Ambassadour, whose behaviour towards the King himself the States had observed. So they had reason to conclude he was sent over with no good intent, and that he was capable of managing a bad design, and very ready to undertake it. There was no visible cause of war. A complaint of a ship taken was ready to have been satisfied. But *Downing* hindered it. So it was plain, the King hated them; and fancied they were so feeble, and the *English* were so much superiour to them, that a war would humble them to an entire submission and dependence on him in all things. The States had treated, and presented the King with great magnificence, and at a vast charge, during the time that he had staid among them, after *England* had declared for him. And, as far as appearances could go, the King seem'd sensible of it: Insomuch that the party for the Prince of *Orange* were not pleased, because their applications to him could not prevail to make him interpose, either in the behalf of himself, or of his friends, to get the resolutions taken against him to be repealed, or his party again put in places of trust and command. The King put that off as not proper to be pressed by him at that time. But neither then nor afterwards did he bestir himself in that matter. Tho', if either gratitude or interest had been of force, and if these had not been overruled by some more prevalent considerations, he must have been inclined to make some returns for the services the late Prince did him: And he must have seen, what a figure he must make by having the Prince of *Orange* tied to him in interest, as much as he was by blood. *France* and Popery were the true springs of all these counsels. It was the interest of the King of *France*, that the Armies of the States might fall under such a feebleness, that they should be in no condition to make a vigorous resistance, when he should be ready either to invade them, or to fall into *Flanders*; which he was resolved to do, whensoever the King of *Spain* should die. The *French* did thus set on the war between the *English* and the *Dutch*, hoping that our Fleets should mutually weaken one another so much, that the naval force of *France*, which was increasing very considerably, should be near an equality to them, when they should be shattered by a war. The States were likewise the greatest strength of the Protestant interest, and were therefore to be humbled. So, in order to make the King more considerable both at home and abroad, the Court resolved to prepare for a war, and to seek for
such

1663.

such colours as might serve to justify it. The Earl of *Clarendon* was not let into the secret of this design, and was always against it. But his interest was now sunk low: And he began to feel the power of an imperious mistress over an amorous King, who was so disgusted at the Queen, that he abandoned himself wholly to amour and luxury.

This was, as far as I could penetrate into it, the state of the Court for the first four years after the Restoration. I was in the Court a great part of the years 1662, 1663, and 1664; and was as inquisitive as I could possibly be, and had more than ordinary occasions to hear and see a great deal.

The affairs
of Scotland.

Midletoun
was accused
by *Lauder-*
dale.

But now I return to the affairs of *Scotland*: The Earl of *Midletoun* after a delay of some months came up to *London*, and was very coldly received by the King. The Earl of *Lauderdale* moved that a *Scottish* Council might be called. The Lord *Clarendon* got this to be delayed a fortnight. When it met, the Lord *Lauderdale* accused the Earl of *Midletoun* of many malversations in the great trust he had been in, which he aggravated severely. The Lord *Midletoun* desired he might have what was objected to him in writing. And when he had it, he sent it to *Scotland*; so that it was six weeks before he had his answer ready; all on design to gain time. He excused some errors in point of form, by saying, that, having served in a military way, he understood not so exactly what belonged to law and form: But insisted on this, that he designed nothing, but that the King's service might go on, and that his friends might be taken care of, and his enemies be humbled, and that so loyal a Parliament might be encouraged, who were full of zeal and affection to his service; that, in complying with them, he had kept every thing so entirely in his Majesty's power, that the King was under no difficulties by any thing they had done. In the mean while *Sheldon* was very earnest with the King to forgive the Lord *Midletoun's* crime, otherwise he concluded the change so newly made in the Church would be so ill supported, that it must fall to the ground. The Duke of *Albermarle*, who knew *Scotland*, and had more credit on that head than on any other, pretended that the Lord *Midletoun's* party was that on which the King could only rely: He magnified both their power and their zeal; and represented the Earl of *Lauderdale's* friends, as cold and hollow in the King's service: And, to support all this, the letters that came from *Scotland* were full of the insolencies of the Presbyterians, and of the dejection the Bishops and their friends were under. *Sharp* was prevailed on to go up. He promised to all the Earl of *Midletoun's* friends, that he would stick firm to him; and that he would lay before the King, that his standing or falling must be

the

the standing or falling of the Church. Of this the Earl of *Lauderdale* had advice sent him. Yet when he came to *London*, and saw that the King was alienated from the Lord *Midletoun*, he resolved to make great submissions to the Lord *Lauderdale*. When he reproached him for his engagements with the Earl of *Midletoun*, he denied all; and said, he had never gone farther than what was decent, considering his post. He also denied, he had writ to the King in his favour. But the King had given the original letter to the Lord *Lauderdale*, who upon that shewed it to *Sharp*; with which he was so struck, that he fell a crying in a most abject manner. He begged pardon for it; and said, what could a company of poor men refuse to the Earl of *Midletoun*, who had done so much for them, and had them so entirely in his power. The Lord *Lauderdale* upon this comforted him; and said, he would forgive them all that was past, and would serve them and the Church at another rate than Lord *Midletoun* was capable of doing. So *Sharp* became wholly his. Of all this Lord *Lauderdale* gave me a full relation the next day; and shewed me the papers that pass'd between Lord *Midletoun* and him. *Sharp* thought he had escaped well. The Earl of *Midletoun* treated the Bishops too much as his creatures, and assumed a great deal to himself, and expressed a sort of authority over them; which *Sharp* was uneasy under, tho' he durst not complain of it, or resist it: Whereas he reckoned, that Lord *Lauderdale*, knowing the suspicions that lay on him, as favouring the Presbyterians, would have less credit and courage in opposing any thing that should be necessary for their support. It proved that in this he judged right: For the Lord *Lauderdale*, that he might maintain himself at Court, and with the Church of *England*, was really more compliant and easy to every proposition that the Bishops made, than he would otherwise have been, if he had been always of the Episcopal party. But all he did that way was against his heart, except when his passions were vehemently stirred, which a very slight occasion would readily do.

When the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Midletoun* had been writing papers and answers for above three months, an accident happened which hastened Lord *Midletoun*'s disgrace. The Earl of *Lauderdale* laid before the King the unjust proceedings in the laying on of the fines. And, to make all that party sure to himself, he procured a letter from the King to the Council in *Scotland*, ordering them to issue out a proclamation, for superseding the execution of the Act of fining till farther order. The Privy Council being then for the greater part composed of Lord *Midletoun*'s friends,

1663. friends, it was pretended by some of them, that, as long as he was the King's Commissioner, they could receive and execute no orders from the King, but thro' his hands. So they writ to him, desiring him to represent to the King, that this would be an affront put on the proceedings of Parliament, and would raise the spirits of a party that ought to be kept down. Lord *Midletoun* writ back, that he had laid the matter before the King; and that he, considering better of it, ordered, that no proceeding should be made upon his former letter. This occasioned a hot debate in Council. It was said, a letter under the King's hand could not be countermanded, but from the same hand. So the Council wrote to know the King's mind in the matter. The King protested he knew nothing of it, and that Lord *Midletoun* had not spoke one word on the subject to him. He upon that sent for him, and chid him so severely, that Lord *Midletoun* concluded from it that he was ruined. Yet he always stood upon it, that he had the King's order by word of mouth for what he had done, tho' he was not so cautious as to procure an instruction under his hand for his warrant. It is very probable, that he spoke of it to the King, when his head was full of somewhat else, so that he did not mind it; and that, to get rid of the Earl of *Midletoun*, he bid him do whatsoever he proposed, without reflecting much on it. For the King was at that time often so distracted in his thoughts, that he was not at all times master of himself. The Queen-mother had brought over from *France* one Mrs. *Steward*, reckoned a very great beauty, who was afterwards married to the Duke of *Richmond*. The King was believed to be deeply in love with her. Yet his former Mistress kept her ground still. And, what with her humours and jealousy, and what with this new amour, the King had very little quiet, between both their passions and his own.

Towards the end of *May* the King called many of the *English* Counsellours together, and did order all the papers that had passed between the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Midletoun* to be read to them. When that was done, many of them who were *Midletoun's* friends said much in excuse of his errors, and of the necessity of continuing him still in that high trust. But the King said, his errors were so great and so many, that the credit of his affairs must suffer, if he continued them any longer in such hands. Yet he promised them, he would be still kind to him; for he looked on him as a very honest man. Few days after that, Secretary *Morrice* was sent to him, with a warrant under the King's hand, requiring him to deliver up his commission, which he did. And so his Ministry came to an end, after a sort of a reign of much violence and injustice: For he was become very imperious. He and

And turned
out of all.

and his company were delivered up to so much excess, and to such a madness of frolick and intemperance, that as *Scotland* had never seen any thing like it; so upon this disgrace there was a general joy over the Kingdom: Tho' that lasted not long; for those that came after him grew worse than ever he was like to be. He had lived in great magnificence, which made him acceptable to many: And he was a firm friend, tho' a violent enemy. The Earl of *Rothes* was declared the King's Commissioner. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not trust him. So he went down with him, and kept him too visibly in a dependence on him, for all his high character.

One of the first things that was done in this session of Parliament, was the execution of my unfortunate uncle, *Warriston*. He was so disordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to a government to proceed against him: His memory was so gone, that he did not know his own children. He was brought before the Parliament, to hear what he had to say, why his execution should not be awarded. He spoke long, but in a broken and disordered strain, which his enemies fancied was put on to create pity. He was sentenced to die. His deportment was unequal, as might be expected from a man in his condition. Yet when the day of his execution came, he was very serene. He was chearful, and seemed fully satisfied with his death. He read a speech twice over on the scaffold, that to my knowledge he composed himself, in which he justified all the proceedings in the Covenant, and asserted his own sincerity; but condemned his joyning with *Cromwell* and the Sectaries, tho' even in that his intentions had been sincere, for the good of his Country, and the security of religion. Lord *Lauderdale* had lived in great friendship with him: But he saw the King was so set against him, that he, who at all times took more care of himself than of his friends, would not in so critical a time seem to favour a man, whom the Presbyterians had set up as a sort of an idol among them, and on whom they did depend more than on any other man then alive.

The business of the Parliament went on as the Lord *Lauderdale* directed. The whole proceeding in the matter of the balloting was laid open. It appeared, that the Parliament had not desired it, but had been led into it by being made believe that the King had a mind to it. And of all the members of Parliament not above twelve could be prevailed on to own, that they had advised the Earl of *Midletoun* to ask leave of the King for it, whose private suggestions he had represented to the King as the desire of the Parliament. This finished his disgrace, as well

1663. well as it occasioned the putting all his party out of employments.

An Act against Conventicles.

While they were going on with their affairs, they understood that an Act had pass'd in the Parliament of *England* against all Conventicles, empowering Justices of Peace to convict offenders without Juries; which was thought a great breach on the security of the *English* constitution, and a raising the power of Justices to a very arbitrary pitch. Any meeting for religious worship, at which five were present more than the family, was declared a Conventicle. And every person above sixteen, that was present at it, was to lye three months in prison, or to pay 5 *l.* for the first offence; six months for the second offence, or to pay 20 *l.* fine; and for the third offence, being convict by a Jury, was to be banished to any plantation, except *New England* or *Virginia*, or to pay an 100 *l.* All people were amazed at this severity. But the Bishops in *Scotland* took heart upon it, and resolved to copy from it. So an Act pass'd there, almost in the same terms. And, at the passing it, Lord *Lauderdale* in a long speech expressed great zeal for the Church. There was some little opposition made to it by the Earl of *Kincardin*, who was an enemy to all persecution. But, tho' some few voted against it, it was carried by a great majority.

The constitution of a National Synod.

Another Act pass'd, declaring the constitution of a National Synod. It was to be composed of the Archbishops and Bishops, of all Deans, and of two to be deputed from every Presbytery; of which the Moderator of the Presbytery named by the Bishop was to be one: All things were to be proposed to this Court by the King or his Commissioner. And whatsoever should be agreed to by the majority and the President, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, was to have the force of an Ecclesiastical law, when it should be confirmed by the King. Great exceptions were taken to this Act. The Church was restrained from meddling with any thing, but as it should be laid before them by the King; which was thought a severe restraint, like that of the *Proponentibus Legatis* so much complained of at *Trent*. The putting the negative, not in the whole bench of the Bishops, but singly in the President, was thought very irregular. But it pass'd with so little observation, that the Lord *Lauderdale* could scarce believe it was penned as he found it to be, when I told him of it. *Primerose* told me, *Sharp* put that clause in with his own hand. The inferiour Clergy complained, that the power was wholly taken from them; since as one of their deputies was to be a person named by the Bishops, so, the Moderators claiming a negative vote in their Presbyteries as the Bishops delegates, the other half were only

to consist of Persons to whom they consented. The Act was indeed so penned, that no body moved for a National Synod, when they saw how it was to be constituted. 1663.

Two other Acts pass'd in favour of the Crown. The Parliament of *England* had laid great impositions on all things imported from *Scotland*: So the Parliament, being speedily to be dissolved, and not having time to regulate such impositions on *English* goods, as might force the *English* to bring that matter to a just balance, they put that confidence in the King, that they left the laying of impositions on all foreign merchandize wholly to him.

Another Act was looked on as a pompous complement: And so it pass'd without observation, or any opposition. In it they made an offer to the King of an Army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, to be ready upon summons to march with forty days provision into any part of his Majesty's dominions, to oppose invasions, to suppress insurrections, or for any other cause in which his authority, power, or greatness was concerned. No body dreamt, that any use was ever to be made of this. Yet the Earl of *Lauderdale* had his end in it, to let the King see what use he might make of *Scotland*, if he should intend to set up arbitrary government in *England*. He told the King, that the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party understood not, what was the greatest service that *Scotland* could do him: They had not much treasure to offer him: The only thing they were capable of doing was, to furnish him with a good Army, when his affairs in *England* should require it. And of this he made great use afterwards to advance himself, tho' it could never have signified any thing to the advancing the King's ends. Yet so easy was it to draw the Parliament of *Scotland* to pass Acts of the greatest consequence in a hurry, without considering the effects they might have. After these Acts were pass'd, the Parliament was dissolved; which gave a general satisfaction to the countrey, for they were a furious set of people. The government was left in the Earl of *Glencairn's* hands, who began, now that he had little favour at Court, to set himself on all occasions to oppose *Sharp's* violent notions. The Earl of *Rothes* stuck firm to *Sharp*; and was recommended by him to the Bishops of *England*, as the only man that supported their interests. The King at this time restored Lord *Lorn* to his Grand-father's honour, of being Earl of *Argile*, passing over his Father; and gave him a great part of his estate, leaving the rest to be sold for the payment of debts, which did not raise in value above a third part of them. This occasioned a great outcry, that continued long to pursue him.

An Act offering an Army to the King.

1664.

*Sharp drove
very violent-
ly.*

*Lauderdale
gave way to
it.*

Sharp went up to *London* to complain of the Lord *Glencairn*, and of the Privy Council; where, he said, there was such a remissness, and so much popularity appeared on all occasions, that, unless some more spirit were put in the administration, it would be impossible to preserve the Church. That was the word always used, as if there had been a charm in it. He moved, that a letter might be writ, giving him the precedence of the Lord Chancellor. This was thought an inexcusable piece of vanity: For in *Scotland*, when there was no Commissioner, all matters pass'd thro' the Lord Chancellor's hands, who by Act of Parliament was to preside in all Courts, and was considered as representing the King's person. He also moved, that the King would grant a special commission to some persons for executing the Laws relating to the Church. All the Privy Counsellours were to be of it. But to these he desired many others might be added, for whom he undertook, that they would execute them with zeal. Lord *Lauderdale* saw that this would prove a High-Commission Court: Yet he gave way to it, tho' much against his own mind. Upon these things I took the liberty, tho' then too young to meddle in things of that kind, to expostulate very freely with him. I thought he was acting the Earl of *Traquair's* part, giving way to all the follies of the Bishops on design to ruine them. He upon that ran into a great deal of freedom with me: He told me many passages of *Sharp's* past life: He was persuaded he would ruine all: But, he said, he was resolved to give him line: For he had not credit enough to stop him; nor would he oppose any thing that he proposed, unless it were very extravagant: He saw the Earl of *Glencairn* and he would be in a perpetual war: And it was indifferent to him, how matters might go between them: Things would run to a height: And then the King would of himself put a stop to their career: For the King said often, he was not Priest-ridden: He would not venture a war, nor travel again for any party. This was all that I could obtain from the Earl of *Lauderdale*. I pressed *Sharp* himself to think of more moderate methods. But he despised my applications: And from that time he was very jealous of me.

*Burnet
Archbishop
of Glasgow.*

Fairfoul, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, died this year: And one *Burnet* succeeded him, who was a near kinsman of the Lord *Rutherford's*, who, from being Governour of *Dunkirk*, when it was sold, was sent to *Tangier*, but soon after in an unhappy encounter, going out to view some grounds, was intercepted, and cut to pieces by the *Moors*. Upon *Rutherford's* recommendation, *Bur-*

net

net, who had lived many years in *England*, and knew nothing of *Scotland*, was sent thither, first to be Bishop of *Aberdeen*: And from thence he was raised to *Glasgow*. He was of himself a soft and good natured man, tolerably learned, and of a blameless life: But was a man of no genius: And tho' he was inclined to peaceable and moderate counsels, yet he was much in the power of others, and took any impresson that was given him very easily. I was much in his favour at first, but could not hold it long: For as I had been bred up by my father to love liberty and moderation, so I spent the greatest part of the year 1664 in *Holland* and *France*, which contributed not a little to root and fix me in those principles.

I saw much peace and quiet in *Holland*, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions among them; which was occasioned by the gentleness of the government, and the toleration that made all people easy and happy. An universal industry was spread thro' the whole countrey. There was little aspiring to preferment in the State, because little was to be got that way. They were then apprehending a war with *England*, and were preparing for it. From thence, where every thing was free, I went to *France*, where nothing was free. The King was beginning to put things in great method, in his revenue, in his troops, in his government at home, but above all in the increasing of trade, and the building of a great fleet. His own deportment was solemn and grave, save only that he kept his Mistresses very avowedly. He was diligent in his own counsels, and regular in the dispatch of his affairs: So that all things about him looked like the preparing of matters for all that we have seen acted since. The King of *Spain* was considered as dying: And the infant his son was like to die as soon as he: So that it was generally believed, the *French* King was designing to set up a new Empire in the *West*. He had carried the quarrel at *Rome* about the *Corfes* so high with the House of *Ghigi*, that the Protestants were beginning to flatter themselves with great hopes. When I was in *France*, Cardinal *Ghigi* came, as Legate, to give the King full satisfaction in that matter. Lord *Hollis* was then Ambassadour at *Paris*. I was so effectually recommended to him, that he used me with great freedom, which he continued to do to the end of his days. He stood upon all the points of an Ambassadour with the stiffness of former ages, which made him very unacceptable to a high-spirited young Prince, who began even then to be flattered, as if he had been somewhat more than a mortal. This established me in my love of law and liberty, and in my hatred of absolute power. When I came back, I stay'd for

A view of
the state of
affairs in
Holland and
France.

1664. for some months at Court, and observed the scene as carefully as I could, and became acquainted with all the men that were employed in *Scottish* affairs. I had more than ordinary opportunities of being well informed about them. This drew a jealousy on me from the Bishops, which was increased from the friendship into which *Leightoun* received me. I pass'd for one, who was no great friend to Church power, nor to persecution. So it was thought, that Lord *Lauderdale* was preparing me, as one who was known to have been always Episcopal, to be set up against *Sharp* and his set of men, who were much hated by one side, and not loved, nor trusted, by the other.

Sharp aspir-
ed to be
Chancellour
of Scotland.

In the mean while the Earl of *Glencairn* died, which set *Sharp* at ease, but put him on new designs. He apprehended, that the Earl of *Tweeddale* might be advanced to that post: For in the settlement of the Duchess of *Buccleugh's* estate, who was married to the Duke of *Monmouth*, the best beloved of all the King's children, by which, in default of issue by her, it was to go to the Duke of *Monmouth* and the issue he might have by any other wife, the Earl of *Tweeddale*, tho' his children were the next heirs, who were by this depriv'd of their right, had yet given way to it in so frank a manner, that the King was enough inclined both to oblige and to trust him. But *Sharp* had great suspicions of him, as cold in their concerns. So he writ to *Sheldon*, that upon the disposal of the seals the very being of the Church did so absolutely depend, that he begged he would press the King very earnestly in the matter, and that he would move that he might be called up before that post should be filled. The King bid *Sheldon* assure him, he should take a special care of that matter, but that there was no occasion for his coming up: For the King by this time had a very ill opinion of him. *Sharp* was so mortified with this, that he resolved to put all to hazard; for he believed all was at stake: And he ventured to come up. The King received him coldly; and asked him, if he had not received the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* letter. He said, he had: But he would choose rather to venture on his Majesty's displeasure, than to see the Church ruined thro' his caution or negligence: He knew the danger they were in in *Scotland*, where they had but few and cold friends, and many violent enemies: His Majesty's protection, and the execution of the law, were the only things they could trust to: And these so much depended on the good choice of a Chancellour, that he could not answer it to God and the Church, if he did not bestir himself in that matter: He knew many thought of himself for that post: But he was so far from that thought, that, if his Majesty had any such intention, he

he would rather choose to be sent to a plantation: He desired, 1664. that he might be a Church-man in heart, but not in habit, that should be raised to that trust. These were his very words, as the King reported them. From him he went to *Sheldon*, and press'd him to move the King for himself, and furnished him with many reasons to support the proposition; a main one being, that the late King had raised his predecessor *Spotswood* to that trust. *Sheldon* upon that did move the King with more than ordinary earnestness in it. The King suspected *Sharp* had set him on, and charged him to tell him the truth. The other did it, tho' not without some uneasiness. Upon that the King told him what he had said to himself. And then it may be easily imagined in what a style they both spoke of him. Yet *Sheldon* prayed the King that, whatsoever he might think of the man, he would consider the Archbishop and the Church; which the King assured him he would do. *Sheldon* told *Sharp*, that he saw the motion for himself did not take; so he must think of somewhat else. *Sharp* proposed, that the seals might be put in the Earl of *Rothes's* hands, till the King should pitch on a proper person. He also proposed, that the King would make him his Commissioner, in order to the preparing matters for a National Synod, that they might settle a book of Common-prayer, and a book of Canons. This, he said, must be carried on slowly, and with great caution; of which the late troubles did demonstrate the necessity.

All this was easily agreed to: For the King loved the Lord *Rothes*: And the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not oppose his advancement: Tho' it was a very extravagant thing to see one man possess so many of the chief places of so poor a Kingdom. The Earl of *Crawford* would not abjure the Covenant: So he had been made Lord Treasurer in his place: He continued to be still, what he was before, Lord President of the Council: And, upon the Earl of *Midletoun's* disgrace, he was made Captain of a troop of guards; And now he was both the King's Commissioner, and upon the matter Lord Chancellour. *Sharp* reckoned this was his master-piece. Lord *Rothes*, being thus advanced by his means, was in all things governed by him. His instructions were such as *Sharp* proposed, to prepare matters for a National Synod, and in the mean while to execute the Laws that related to the Church with a steady firmness. So, when he parted from *White-hall*, *Sharp* said to the King, that he had now done all that could be desired of him for the good of the Church: So that, if all matters went not right in *Scotland*, none must bear the blame, but either the Earl of *Lauderdale* or *Rothes*. And so they came

Rothes had the whole power of *Scotland* put in his hands.

1664. to *Scotland*, where a very furious scene of illegal violence was opened. *Sharp* governed Lord *Rothes*, who abandoned himself to pleasure. And, when some censured this, all the answer that was made was, a severe piece of raillery, that the King's Commissioner ought to represent his person.

1665. The government of *Scotland* as to civil matters was very easy. All were quiet and obedient. But all those Counties that lye towards the *West* became very fierce and intractable: And the whole work of the Council was to deal with them, and to subdue them. It was not easy to prove any thing against any of them, for they did stick firm to one another. The people complained of the new set of Ministers, that was sent among them, as immoral, stupid, and ignorant. Generally they forsook their Churches. And, if any of them went to Church, they said, they were little edified with their sermons. And the whole country was full of strange reports of the weakness of their preaching, and of the indecency of their whole deportment. The people treated them with great contempt, and with an aversion that broke out often into violence and injustice. But their Ministers on their parts were not wanting in their complaints, aggravating matters, and possessing the Bishops with many stories of designs and plottings against the State. So, many were brought before the Council, and the new Ecclesiastical Commission, for pretended riots, and for using their Ministers ill, but chiefly for not coming to Church, and for holding Conventicles. The proofs were often defective, and lay rather in presumptions, than clear evidence: And the punishments proposed were often arbitrary, not warranted by law. So the Judges and other lawyers, that were of those Courts, were careful to keep proceedings according to forms of law: Upon which *Sharp* was often complaining, that favour was shown to the enemies of the Church, under the pretence of law. It was said, that the people of the countrey were in such a combination, that it was not possible to find witnesses to prove things fully: And he often said, must the Church be ruined for punctilio's of law? When he could not carry matters by a vote, as he had a mind, he usually looked to the Earl of *Rothes*; who upon that was ever ready to say, he would take it upon him to order the matter as *Sharp* proposed, and would do it in the King's name. Great numbers were cast in prison, where they were kept long, and ill used: And sometimes they were fined, and the younger sort whipt about the streets. The people grew more sullen on all this ill usage. Many were undone by it, and went over to the *Scots* in *Ulster*, where they were well

Illegal and
severe pro-
ceedings in
Scotland.

well received, and had all manner of liberty as to their way of religion. 1665.

Burnet was sent up to possess the King with the apprehensions of a rebellion in the beginning of the *Dutch* war. He proposed that about twenty of the chief gentlemen of those Counties might be secured: And he undertook for the peace of the countrey, if they were clap'd up. This was plainly illegal. But the Lord *Lauderdale* opposed nothing. So it was done: But with a very ill effect. For those Gentlemen, knowing how obnoxious they were, had kept measures a little better: But they being put in prison, both their friends and tenants laid all to the door of the Clergy, and hated them the more, and used them the worse for it. The Earls of *Argile*, *Tweeddale*, and *Kincardin*, who were considered as the Lord *Lauderdale*'s chief friends, were cold in all those matters. They studied to keep proceedings in a legal channel, and were for moderate censures. Upon which *Sharp* said, they appeared to be the friends and favourers of the enemies of the Church.

Wherever the people had generally forsaken their Churches, the guards were quartered thro' the countrey. Sir *James Turner*, that commanded them, was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk; and that was very often. So he was ordered by the Lord *Rothes* to act according to such directions as *Burnet* should send him. And he went about the countrey, and received such lists, as the Ministers brought him, of those who came not to Church: And, without any other proof or any legal conviction, he set such a fine on them, as he thought they could pay, and sent soldiers to lie on them till it was paid. I knew him well afterwards, when he came to himself, being out of employment. He was a learned man; but had been always in armies, and knew no other rule but to obey orders. He told me, he had no regard to any law, but acted, as he was commanded, in a military way. He confessed, it went often against the grain with him to serve such a debauched and worthless company, as the Clergy generally were; and that sometimes he did not act up to the rigour of his orders; for which he was often chid, both by Lord *Rothes* and *Sharp*, but was never check'd for his illegal and violent proceedings. And, tho' the complaints of him were very high, so that, when he was afterwards seized on by the party, they intended to make a sacrifice of him; yet when they looked into his orders, and found that his proceedings, how fierce soever, fell short of these, they spared him, as a man that had merited by being so gentle among them.

Turner executed the laws in a military way.

The

1665.

The truth is, the whole face of the government looked like the proceedings of an inquisition, than of legal Courts: And yet *Sharp* was never satisfied. So Lord *Rothes* and he went up to Court in the first year of the *Dutch* war. When they waited first on the King, *Sharp* put him in mind of what he had said at his last parting, that if their matters went not well, none must be blamed for it, but either the Earl of *Lauderdale*, or of *Rothes*: And now he came to tell his Majesty, that things were worse than ever: And he must do the Earl of *Rothes* the justice to say, he had done his part. Lord *Lauderdale* was all on fire at this, but durst not give himself vent before the King. So he only desired, that *Sharp* would come to particulars: And then he should know what he had to say. *Sharp* put that off in a general charge; and said, he knew the party so well, that, if they were not supported by secret encouragements, they would have been long ago weary of the opposition they gave the government. The King had no mind to enter farther into their complaints. So Lord *Rothes* and he withdrew; and were observed to look very pleasantly upon one another, as they went away. Lord *Lauderdale* told the King, he was now accused to his face: But he would quickly let him see what a man *Sharp* was. So he obtained a message from the King to him, of which he himself was to be the bearer, requiring him to put his complaints in writing, and to come to particulars. He followed *Sharp* home, who received him with such a gayity, as if he had given him no provocation. But Lord *Lauderdale* was more solemn; and told him, it was the King's pleasure, that he should put the accusation with which he had charged him in writing. *Sharp* pretended, he did not comprehend his meaning. He answered, the matter was plain: He had accused him to the King: And he must either go thorough with it, and make it out, otherwise he would charge him with leasing-making: And spoke in a terrible tone to him. Upon that, as he told me, *Sharp* fell a trembling and weeping: He protested, he meant no harm to him: He was only sorry that his friends were upon all occasions pleading for favour to the *Fanatics*: (That was become the name of reproach.) Lord *Lauderdale* said, that would not serve turn: He was not answerable for his friends, except when they acted by directions from him. *Sharp* offer'd to go with him presently to the King, and to clear the whole matter. Lord *Lauderdale* had no mind to break openly with him. So he accepted of this, and carried him to the King; where he retracted all he had said, in so gross a manner, that the King said afterwards, Lord *Lauderdale*

dale was ill natured to press it so heavily, and to force *Sharp* on 1665. giving himself the lye in such course terms.

This went to *Sharp*'s heart: So he made a proposition to the Earl of *Dunfreis*, who was a great friend of the Lord *Midletoun*'s, to try if a reconciliation could be made between him and the Earl of *Rothes*, and if he would be content to come into the government under Lord *Rothes*. Lord *Dunfreis* went into *Kent*, where the Lord *Midletoun* was then employed in a military command on the account of the war: And he laid *Sharp*'s proposition before him. The Earl of *Midletoun* gave Lord *Dunfreis* power to treat in his name; but said, he knew *Sharp* too well to regard any thing that came from him. Before Lord *Dunfreis* came back, *Sharp* had tried Lord *Rothes*, but found he would not meddle in it: And they both understood, that the Earl of *Clarendon*'s interest was declining, and that the King was like to change his measures. So when Lord *Dunfreis* came back to give *Sharp* an account of his negotiation, he seemed surprised, and denied he had given him any such commission. This enraged the Earl of *Dunfreis* so, that he published the thing in all companies: Among others he told it very particularly to my self.

At that time *Leightoun* was prevailed on to go to Court, and to give the King a true account of the proceedings in *Scotland*; which, he said, were so violent, that he could not concur in the planting the Christian religion it self in such a manner, much less a form of government. He therefore begged leave to quit his Bishoprick, and to retire: For he thought he was in some sort accessory to the violences done by others, since he was one of them, and all was pretended to be done to establish them and their order. There were indeed no violences committed in his diocese. He went round it continually every year, preaching and catechizing from parish to parish. He continued in his private and ascetick course of life, and gave all his income, beyond the small expence of his own person, to the poor. He studied to raise in his Clergy a greater sense of spiritual matters, and of the care of souls; and was in all respects a burning and shining light, highly esteemed by the greater part of his diocese: Even the Presbyterians were much mollified, if not quite overcome, by his mild and heavenly course of life. The King seemed touched with the state that the countrey was in: He spoke very severely of *Sharp*; and assured *Leightoun*, he would quickly come to other measures, and put a stop to those violent methods: But he would by no means suffer him to quit his Bishoprick. So the King gave orders that the Ecclesiastical Commission should be discontinued; and signified his pleasure, that another way of proceeding was necessary for his affairs.

1665.
More forces
rais'd in
Scotland.

He understood by his intelligence from *Holland*, that the exiles at *Rotterdam* were very busy, and that perhaps the *Dutch* might furnish the malecontents of *Scotland* with money and arms: So he thought it was necessary to raise more troops. Two gallant officers, that had served him in the wars, and, when these were over, had gone with his letters to serve in *Muscovy*, where one of them, *Dalziell*, was raised to be a General, and the other, *Drumond*, was advanced to be a Lieutenant General, and Governour of *Smolensko*, were now, not without great difficulty, sent back by the *Czar*. So the King intended they should command some forces that he was to raise. *Sharp* was very apprehensive of this: But the King was positive. A little before this, the Act of fining, that had lain so long asleep that it was thought forgot, was revived. And all who had been fined were required to bring in one moiety of their fines: But the other moiety was forgiven those who took the Declaration renouncing the Covenant. The money was by Act of Parliament to be given among those who had served, and suffered for the King; so that the King had only the trust of distributing it. There was no more *Scottish* Councils called at *White-Hall* after Lord *Midletoun's* fall. But upon particular occasions the King ordered the Privy Counsellours of that Kingdom, that were about the town, to be brought to him: Before whom he now laid out the necessity of raising some more force for securing the quiet of *Scotland*: He only asked their advice, how they should be paid. *Sharp* very readily said, the money raised by the fining was not yet disposed of: So he proposed the applying it to that use. None opposed this: So it was resolved on. And by that means the Cavaliers, who were come up with their pretensions, were disappointed of their last hopes of being recompensed for their sufferings. The blame of all this was cast upon *Sharp*, at which they were out of measure enraged, and charged him with it. He denied it boldly. But the King published it so openly, that he durst not contradict him. Many, to whom he had denied that he knew any thing of the matter, and called that advice diabolical invention, affirmed it to the King. And the Lord *Lauderdale*, to compleat his disgrace with the King, got many of his letters, which he had writ to the Presbyterians after the time in which the King knew that he was negotiating for Episcopacy, in which he had continued to protest with what zeal he was soliciting their concerns, not without dreadful imprecations on himself if he was prevaricating with them, and laid these before the King: So that the King looked on him as one of the worst of men.

Many
6

Many of the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland* were much offend- 1666.
 ed at all these proceedings. They saw the prejudices of the peo-
 ple were increased by them. They hated violent courses, and
 thought they were contrary to the meek spirit of the gospel, and
 that they alienated the Nation more from the Church. They
 set themselves much to read Church-history, and to observe
 the state of the Primitive Church, and the spirit of those times:
 And they could not but observe so great a difference between the
 constitution of the Church under those Bishops and our own,
 that they seemed to agree in nothing but the name. I happen-
 ed to be settled near two of the most eminent of them, who
 were often moved to accept of Bishopricks, but always refused
 them, both out of a true principle of humility and self-denial,
 and also because they could not engage in the methods by which
 things were carried on. One of these, Mr. *Nairn*, was one of
 the politest Clergy-men I ever knew bred in *Scotland*. He had
 formed clear and lively schemes of things, and was the most
 eloquent of all our preachers. He considered the pastoral func-
 tion as a dedication of the whole man to God and his service.
 He read the moral philosophers much; and had wrought him-
 self into their equal temper, as much as could consist with a great
 deal of fire that was in his own: But he turned it all to melting
 devotion. He had a true notion of superstition, as a narrow-
 ness of soul, and a meanness of thought in religion. He studi-
 ed to raise all that conversed with him to great notions of God,
 and to an universal charity. This made him pity the Presbyte-
 rians, as men of low notions and ill tempers. He had indeed
 too much heat of imagination, which carried him to be very
 positive in some things, in which he afterwards changed his mind:
 And that made him pass for an inconstant man. In a word, he
 was the brightest man I ever knew among all our *Scottish* Divines.
 Another of these was Mr. *Charteris*, a man of a composed and
 serene gravity, but without affectation or sourness. He scarce
 ever spoke in company, but was very open and free in private.
 He made true judgments of things, and of men; and had a pe-
 culiar talent in managing such as he thought deserved his pains.
 He had little heat, either in body or mind: For as he had a
 most emaciated body, so he spoke both slow, and in so low a
 voice that he could not easily be heard. He had great tender-
 ness in his temper; and was a very perfect friend, and a most
 sublime Christian. He lived in a constant contempt of the
 world, and a neglect of his person. There was a gravity in his
 conversation that raised an attention, and begot a composedness,
 in

Some emi-
 nent Cler-
 gy-men in
Scotland of-
 fended at
 these pro-
 ceedings.

1665. in all about him, without frightening them; for he made religion appear amiable in his whole deportment. He had read all the lives and the epistles of great men very carefully. He had read the fathers much; and gave me this notion of them, that in speculative points, for which writers of Controversy searched into their works, they were but ordinary men: But their excellency lay in that, which was least sought for, their sense of spiritual things, and of the pastoral care. In these he thought their strength lay. And he often lamented, not without some indignation, that, in the disputes about the government of the Church, much pains was taken to seek out all those passages that shewed what their opinions were; but that due care was not taken to set out the notions that they had of the sacred function, of the preparation of mind, and inward vocation, with which men ought to come to holy orders, or of the strictness of life, the deadness to the world, the heavenly temper, and the constant application to the doing of good, that became them. Of these he did not talk like an angry reformer, that set up in that strain, because he was neglected or provoked; but like a man full of a deep, but humble sense of them. He was a great enemy to large confessions of faith, chiefly when they were imposed in the lump as tests: For he was positive in very few things. He had gone thro' the chief parts of learning: But was then most conversant in history, as the innocentest sort of study, that did not fill the mind with subtilty, but helped to make a man wiser and better. These were both single persons, and men of great sobriety: And they lived in a constant low diet, which they valued more than severer fasting. Yet they both became miserable by the stone. *Nairn* went to *Paris*, where he was cut of a great one, of which he recovered, but lived not many years after. *Charteris* lived to a great age, and died in the end of the year 1700, having in his last years suffered unspeakable torment from the stone, which the operators would not venture to cut. But all that saw what he suffered, and how he bore it, acknowledged that in him they saw a most perfect pattern of patience and submission to the will of God. It was a great happiness for me, after I had broke into the world by such a ramble as I had made, that I fell into such hands, with whom I entered into a close and particular friendship. They both set me right, and kept me right; tho' I made at this time a falley that may be mentioned, since it had some relation to publick affairs. I observed the deportment of our Bishops was in all points so different from what became their function, that I had a more than ordinary zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not only furious against all that stood out

against

against them, but were very remiss in all the parts of their function. Some did not live within their diocese. And those who did seemed to take no care of them: They shewed no zeal against vice: The most eminently wicked in the County were their particular confidants: They took no pains to keep their Clergy strictly to rules, and to their duty: On the contrary there was a levity and a carnal way of living about them, that very much scandalized me. There was indeed one *Scougal*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, that was a man of rare temper, great piety and prudence: But I thought he was too much under *Sharp's* conduct, and was at least too easy to him.

Upon all this I took a resolution of drawing up a memorial of the grievances we lay under by the ill conduct of our Bishops. I resolved, that no other person besides my self should have a share in any trouble it might bring on me: So I communicated it to none. This made it not to be in all the parts of it so well digested, as it otherwise might have been: And I was then but three and twenty. I laid my foundation in the constitution of the primitive Church; and shewed how they had departed from it, by their neglecting their diocese, meddling so much in secular affairs, raising their families out of the revenues of the Church, and above all by their violent prosecuting of those who differ'd from them. Of this I writ out some copies, and signed them, and sent them to all the Bishops of my acquaintance. *Sharp* was much alarmed at it, and fancied I was set on to it by some of the Lord *Lauderdale's* friends. I was called before the Bishops, and treated with great severity. *Sharp* called it a libel. I said, I had set my name to it, so it could not be called a libel. He charged me with the presumption of offering to teach my superiours. I said, such things had been not only done, but justified in all ages. He charged me for reflecting on the King's putting them on his Counsels: I said, I found no fault with the King for calling them to his counsels. But with them for going out of that which was their proper province, and for giving ill counsel. Then he charged me for reflecting on some severities, which, he said, was a reproaching publick Courts, and a censuring the laws. I said, laws might be made *in terrorem*, not always fit to be executed: But I only complained of Clergy-mens pressing the rigorous execution of them, and going often beyond what the law dictated. He broke out into a great vehemence; and proposed to the Bishops, that I should be summarily deprived, and excommunicated: But none of them would agree to that. By this management of his the thing grew publick. What I had ventured on was variously censured: But the greater part

Some of the grievances of the Clergy laid before the Bishops.

1666. approved of it. Lord *Lauderdale* and all his friends were delighted with it: And he gave the King an account of it, who was not ill pleased at it. Great pains was taken to make me ask pardon, but to no purpose: So *Sharp* let the thing fall. But, that it might appear that I had not done it upon any factious design, I entered into a very close state of retirement; and gave my self wholly to my study, and the duties of my function.

1664. Thus I have run over the state of *Scotland* in the years, 1663, 1664, 1665, and till near the end of 1666. I now return to the affairs of *England*; in which I must write more defectively, being then so far from the scene. In winter 1664, the King declared his resolution of entering into a war with the *Dutch*.

Affairs in
England.

The Dutch
war.

The grounds were so slight, that it was visible there was somewhat more at bottom, than was openly owned. A great comet, which appeared that winter, raised the apprehensions of those, who did not enter into just speculations concerning those matters. The House of Commons was so far from examining nicely into the grounds of the war, that without any difficulty they gave the King two millions and a half for carrying it on. A great fleet was set out, which the Duke commanded in person;

1665. as *Opdam* had the command of the *Dutch* fleet. But as soon as the war broke out, a most terrible Plague broke out also in the city of *London*, that scattered all the inhabitants that were able to remove themselves elsewhere. It broke the trade of the Nation, and swept away about an hundred thousand souls; the greatest havock that any Plague had ever made in *England*. This did dishearten all people: And, coming in the very time in which so unjust a war was begun, it had a dreadful appearance. All the King's enemies, and the enemies of Monarchy said, here was a manifest character of God's heavy displeasure upon the Nation; as indeed the ill life the King led, and the viciousness of the whole Court, gave but a melancholy prospect. Yet God's ways are not as our ways. What all had seen in the year 1660 ought to have silenced those, who at this time pretended to comment on providence. But there will be always much discourse of things that are very visible, as well as very extraordinary.

The Plague
broke out at
the same
time.

The victory
at Sea not
followed.

When the two fleets met, it is well known what accidents disordered the *Dutch*, and what advantage the *English* had. If that first success had been followed, as was proposed, it might have been fatal to the *Dutch*, who finding they had suffered so much steered off. The Duke ordered all the sail to be set on to overtake them. There was a Council of war called, to concert the method of action, when they should come up with

with them. In that Council *Pen*, who commanded under the Duke, happened to say, that they must prepare for hotter work in the next engagement. He knew well the courage of the *Dutch* was never so high, as when they were desperate. The Earl of *Montague*, who was then a voluntier, and one of the Duke's Court, said to me, it was very visible that made an impression. And all the Duke's domesticks said, he had got honour enough: Why should he venture a second time? The Duchesse had also given a strict charge to all the Duke's servants, to do all they could to hinder him to engage too far. When matters were settled, they went to sleep: And the Duke ordered a call to be given him, when they should get up to the *Dutch* fleet. It is not known what pass'd between the Duke and *Brounker*, who was of his Bed-chamber, and was then in waiting: But he came to *Pen*, as from the Duke, and said, the Duke ordered the sail to be slackened. *Pen* was struck with the order; but did not go to argue the matter with the Duke himself, as he ought to have done, but obey'd it. When the Duke had slept, he, upon his waking, went out on the quarter-deck, and seemed amazed to see the sails slackened, and that thereby all hope of overtaking the *Dutch* was lost. He questioned *Pen* upon it. *Pen* put it on *Brounker*, who said nothing. The Duke denied, he had given any such order. But he neither punished *Brounker* for carrying it, nor *Pen* for obeying it. He indeed put *Brounker* out of his service: And it was said, that he durst do no more, because he was so much in the King's favour, and in the Mistress's. *Pen* was more in his favour after that, than ever before, which he continued to his son after him, tho' a Quaker: And it was thought, that all that favour was to oblige him to keep the secret. Lord *Montague* did believe, that the Duke was struck, seeing the Earl of *Falmouth*, the King's favourite, and two other persons of quality, killed very near him; and that he had no mind to engage again, and that *Pen* was privately with him. If *Brounker* was so much in fault, as he seemed to be, it was thought, the Duke, in the passion that this must have raised in him, would have proceeded to greater extremities, and not have acted with so much phlegm. This proved the breaking the designs of the King's whole reign: For the *Dutch* themselves believed that, if our fleet had followed them with full sail, we must have come up with them next tide, and have either sunk or taken their whole fleet. *De Wit* was struck with this misfortune: And, imputing some part of it to errors in conduct, he resolved to go on board himself, as soon as their fleet was ready to go to sea again.

Upon

1665.

An account
of the affairs
in Holland.

Upon this occasion I will say a little of him, and of the affairs of *Holland*. His father was the deputy of the town of *Dort* in the States, when the late Prince of *Orange* was so much offended with their proceedings in disbanding a great part of their Army: And he was one of those whom he ordered upon that to be carried to the Castle of *Lovestein*. Soon after that, his design on *Amsterdam* miscarrying, he saw a necessity of making up the best he could with the States. But, before he had quite healed that wound, he died of the small-pox. Upon his death all his party fell in disgrace, and the *Lovesteiners* carried all before them. So *De Wit* got his son *John*, then but twenty five years of age, to be made pensioner of *Dort*. And within a year after, the pensioner of *Holland* dying, he was made pensioner of *Holland*. His breeding was to the civil law, which he understood very well. He was a great mathematician: And, as his *Elementa Curvarum* shew what a man he was that way, so perhaps no man ever applied *Algebra* to all matters of trade so nicely as he did. He made himself so entirely the master of the state of *Holland*, that he understood exactly all the concerns of their revenue, and what sums, and in what manner, could be raised upon any emergent of State: For this he had a pocket-book full of tables, and was ever ready to shew how they could be furnished with money. He was a frank, sincere man, without fraud, or any other artifice but silence: To which he had so accustomed the world, that it was not easy to know, whether he was silent on design, or custom. He had a great clearness of apprehension: And when any thing was proposed to him, how new soever, he heard all patiently, and then asked such questions as occurred to him: And by the time he had done all this, he was as much master of the proposition, as the person was that had made it. He knew nothing of modern history, nor of the state of Courts: And was eminently defective in all points of form. But he laid down this for a maxim, that all Princes and States followed their own interests: So, by observing what their true interests were, he thought, he could without great intelligence calculate what they were about. He did not enough consider how far passions, amours, humours, and opinions wrought on the world; chiefly on Princes. He had the notions of a Common-wealth from the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And from them he came to fancy, that an army commanded by officers of their own country was both more in their own power, and would serve them with the more zeal, since they themselves had such an interest in the success. And so he was against their hiring foreigners, unless it was to

be

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be common soldiers to save their own people. But he did not 1665.
 enough consider the phlegm and covetousness of his country-
 men; of which he felt the ill effects afterwards. This was his
 greatest error, and it turned fatally upon him. But for the ad-
 ministration of justice at home, and for the management of their
 trade, and their forces by sea, he was the ablest Minister they
 ever had. He had an hereditary hatred to the House of *Orange*.
 He thought it was impossible to maintain their liberty, if they
 were still Statholders. Therefore he did all that was possible to
 put an invincible bar in their way, by the perpetual edict. But
 at the same time he took great care of preserving the young
 Prince's fortune; and looked well to his education, and gave
 him, as the Prince himself told me, very just notions of every
 thing relating to their State. For he said, he did not know, but
 that at some time or other he would be set over them: There-
 fore he intended to render him fit to govern well.

The Town of *Amsterdam* became at that time very ungo-
 vernable. It was thought, that the *West-India-Company* had
 been given up chiefly by their means; for it was in value so equal
 to the *East-India-Company*, that the actions of both were often
 exchanged for one another. When the Bishop of *Munster* be-
 gan his pretensions on the City of *Munster*, and on a great part
 of *Westphalia*, they offered themselves up to the States, if they
 would preserve them. But the Town of *Amsterdam* would not
 consent to it, nor submit to the charge. Yet they never seem-
 ed to set up for a superiority over the rest, nor to break the cre-
 dit of the Court at the *Hague*. Only they were backward in eve-
 ry thing that was proposed, that encreased the charge. And they
 were become so weary of *De Wit*, that he felt how much the
 late miscarriage at sea had shaken his credit; since misfortunes
 are always imputed to the errors of those that govern. So he re-
 solved to go on board. *De Ruyter* often said, that he was
 amazed to see how soon he came to a perfect understanding of
 all the sea affairs. The winds were so long backward, that it was
 not easy to get their great ships thro' the *Zuyder* sea. So he went
 out in boats himself, and plummed it all so carefully, that he
 found many more ways to get out by different winds, than was
 thought formerly practicable. He got out in time to be master
 of the sea, before the end of the season: And so recovered the
 affront of the former losses, by keeping at sea after the *English*
 fleet was forced to put in. The Earl of *Sandwich* was sent to
 the North with a great part of the fleet, to lie for the *East-India*
 ships. But he was thought too remiss. They got, before he
 was aware of it, into *Berghen* in *Norway*. If he had followed

1665. them quick, he would have forced the port, and taken them all. But he observed forms, and sent to the Viceroy of *Norway* demanding entrance. That was denied him. But, while these messages went backward and forward, the *Dutch* had so fortified the entrance into the port, that, tho' it was attempted with great courage, yet *Tiddiman*, and those who composed that squadron, were beat off with great loss, and forced to let go a very rich fleet: For which Lord *Sandwich* was much blamed, tho' he was sent Ambassadour into *Spain*, that his disgrace might be a little softened by that employment. The Duke's conduct was also much blamed: And it was said, he was most in fault, but that the Earl of *Sandwich* was made the sacrifice.

An account
of the affairs
of *Berghen*.

Here I will add a particular relation of a transaction relating to that affair, taken from the account given of it by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, then the King's Envoy at the Court of *Denmark*, in a MS. that I have in my hands. That King did in *June* 1665 open himself very freely to *Talbot*, complaining of the States, who, as he said, had drawn the *Swedish* war on him, on design that he might be forced to depend on them for supplies of money and shipping, and so to get the customs of *Norway* and the *Sound* into their hands for their security. *Talbot* upon that told him, that the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet was now in *Berghen*, besides many rich *West-India* ships; and that they staid there in expectation of a double *East-India* fleet, and of *De Ruyter*, who was returning with the spoils of the coast of *Guinea*. So he said, the King of *Denmark* might seize those ships before the convoy came, which they expected. The King of *Denmark* said, he had not strength to execute that. *Talbot* said, the King his master would send a force to effect it: But it was reasonable he should have half of the spoil. To which the King of *Denmark* readily agreed, and ordered him to propose it to his master. So he immediately transmitted it to the King, who approved of it, and promised to send a fleet to put it in execution. The Ministers of *Denmark* were appointed to concert the matter with *Talbot*. But nothing was put in writing; for the King of *Denmark* was ashamed to treat of such an affair, otherwise than by word of mouth. Before the end of *July*, news came, that *De Ruyter* with the *East-India* Fleet was on the coast of *Norway*. Soon after he came into *Berghen*. The riches then in that port were reckoned at many millions.

The Earl of *Sandwich* was then in those seas. So *Talbot* sent a vessel express to him with the news. But that vessel fell into the hands of the *Dutch* Fleet, and was sent to *Holland*. The King of *Denmark* writ to the Viceroy of *Norway*, and to the Governour

nour of *Berghen*, ordering them to use all fair means to keep ^{1665.} the *Dutch* still in their harbour, promising to send particular instructions in a few days to them how to proceed. *Talbot* sent letters with these, to be delivered secretly to the Commanders of the *English* frigats, to let them know that they might boldly assault the *Dutch* in port; for the *Danes* would make no resistance, pretending a fear that the *English* might destroy their Town: But that an account was to be kept of their prizes, that the King of *Denmark* might have a just half of all: They were not to be surprized, if the *Danes* seemed at first to talk high: That was to be done for shew: But they would grow calmer, when they came to engage. The Earl of *Sandwich* sent his Secretary to *Talbot*, to know the particulars of the agreement with the King of *Denmark*. But the vessel that brought him was ordered, upon landing the Secretary, to come back to the fleet. So that it was impossible to send by that vessel what was desired. And no other ships could be got to carry back the Secretary. And thus the Earl of *Sandwich* went to attack the *Dutch* Fleet without staying for an answer from *Talbot*, or knowing what orders the Governour of *Berghen* had yet received: For tho' the orders were sent, yet it was so great a way, ten or twelve days journey, that they could not reach the place, but after the *English* fleet had made the attack. The Viceroy of *Norway*, who resided at *Christiana*, had his orders sooner, and sent out two gallies to communicate the agreement to the Earl of *Sandwich*; but missed him, for he was then before *Berghen*. The Governour of *Berghen*, not having yet the orders that the former express promised him, sent a Gentleman to the *English* fleet, desiring they would make no attack for two or three days; for by that time he expected his orders. *Clifford* was sent to the Governour, who insisted that till he had orders he must defend the port, but that he expected them in a very little time. Upon *Clifford's* going back to the fleet, a Council of war was called, in which the officers, animated with the hope of a rich booty, resolved without farther delay to attack the port, either doubting the sincerity of the *Danish* Court, or unwilling to give them so large a share of that, on which they reckoned as already their prize. Upon this *Tiddiman* began the attack, which ended fatally. Diverse frigats were disabled, and many officers and seamen were killed. The squadron was thus ruined, and *Tiddiman* was ready to sink: So he was forced to slip his cables, and retire to the fleet, which lay without the rocks. This action was on the third of *August*: And on the fourth the Governour received his orders. So he sent for *Clifford*, and shewed him his orders. But, as the *English* fleet

1665. fleet had by their precipitation forced him to do what he had done, so he could not, upon what had happened the day before, execute those orders, till he sent an account of what had pass'd to the Court of *Denmark*, and had the King's second orders upon it. And, if the whole *English* fleet would not stay in those seas so long, he desired they would leave six frigats before the harbour; and he would engage, the *Dutch* should not in the mean while go out to sea. But the *English* were sullen upon their disappointment, and sail'd away. The King of *Denmark* was unspeakably troubled at the loss of the greatest treasure he was ever like to have in his hands. This was a design well laid, that would have been as fatal to the *Dutch*, as ignominious to the King of *Denmark*, and was by the impatient ravenousness of the *English* lost, without possibility of recovering it. And indeed there was not one good step made after this in the whole progress of the war.

The Parliament at Oxford.

England was at this time in a dismal state. The plague continued for the most part of the summer in and about *London*, and began to spread over the country. The Earl of *Clarendon* moved the King to go to *Salisbury*. But the Plague broke out there. So the Court went to *Oxford*, where another session of Parliament was held. And tho' the conduct at sea was severely reflected on, yet all that was necessary for carrying on the war another year was given. The House of Commons kept up the ill humour they were in against the Non-conformists very high. A great many of the Ministers of *London* were driven away by the Plague; tho' some few staid. Many Churches being shut up, when the inhabitants were in a more than ordinary disposition to profit by good sermons, some of the Non-conformists upon that went into the empty pulpits, and preached; and, it was given out, with very good success: And in many other places they began to preach openly, not without reflecting on the sins of the Court, and on the ill usage that they themselves had met with. This was represented very odiously at *Oxford*. So a severe bill was brought in, requiring all the silenced Ministers to take an oath, declaring it was not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of the Church or State. Such as refused this were not to come within five miles of any City, or Parliament Borough, or of the Church where they had served. This was much opposed in both Houses, but more faintly in the House of Commons. The Earl of *Southampton* spoke vehemently against it in the House of Lords. He said, he could take no such oath

oath himself: For how firm soever he had always been to the Church, yet; as things were managed, he did not know but he himself might see cause to endeavour an alteration. Doctor *Earl*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, died at that time. But, before his death, he declared himself much against this Act. He was the man of all the Clergy for whom the King had the greatest esteem. He had been his subtutor, and had followed him in all his exile with so clear a character, that the King could never see or hear of any one thing amiss in him. So he, who had a secret pleasure in finding out any thing that lessened a man esteemed eminent for piety, yet had a value for him beyond all the men of his order. *Sheldon* and *Ward* were the Bishops that acted and argued most for this Act, which came to be called the Five Mile Act. All that were the secret favourers of Popery promoted it: Their constant maxim being, to bring all the Sectaries into so desperate a state, that they should be at mercy, and forced to desire a toleration on such terms, as the King should think fit to grant it on. *Clifford* began to make a great figure in the House of Commons. He was the son of a Clergy-man, born to a small fortune: But was a man of great vivacity. He was reconciled to the Church of *Rome* before the Restoration. The Lord *Clarendon* had many spies among the Priests: And the news of this was brought him among other things. So, when *Clifford* began first to appear in the House, he got one to recommend him to the Lord *Clarendon's* favour. The Lord *Clarendon* looked into the advice that was brought him: And by comparing things together, he perceived that he must be that man: And upon that he excused himself the best he could. So *Clifford* struck in with his enemies; and tied himself particularly to *Bennet*, made Lord, and afterwards Earl of *Arlington*. While the Act was before the House of Commons, *Vaughan*, afterwards made Chief Justice of the Common-pleas, moved that the word *legally* might be added to the word *commissioned by the King*: But *Finch*, then Attorney General, said, that was needless; since unless the commission was legal it was no commission, and, to make it legal, it must be issued out for a lawful occasion, and to persons capable of it, and must pass in the due form of law. The other insisted that the addition would clear all scruples, and procure an universal compliance. But that could not be obtained; for it was intended to lay difficulties in the way of those against whom the Act was levelled. When the bill came up to the Lords, the Earl of *Southampton* moved for the same addition; but was answered by the Earl of *Anglesey*, upon the same grounds on which *Finch* went. Yet this gave great satisfaction

1665. to many who heard of it, this being the avowed sense of the legislators. The whole matter was so explained by *Bridgman*, when *Bates* with a great many more came into the Court of Common-pleas to take the oath. The Act pass'd: And the Non-conformists were put to great straits. They had no mind to take the oath. And they scarce knew how to dispose of themselves according to the terms of the Act. Some moderate men took pains to persuade them to take the oath. It was said by *endeavour* was only meant an unlawful endeavour; and that it was so declared in the debates in both Houses. Some Judges did on the bench expound it in that sense. Yet few of them took it. Many more refused it, who were put to hard shifts to live, being so far separated from the places from which they drew their chief subsistence. Yet as all this severity in a time of war, and of such a publick calamity, drew very hard censures on the promoters of it, so it raised the compassions of their party so much, that I have been told they were supplied more plentifully at that time than ever. There was better reason, than perhaps those of *Oxford* knew, to suspect practices against the State.

The designs
of the Com-
mon-wealth
party.

Algernoon Sidney, and some others of the Common-wealth party, came to *De Wit*, and press'd him to think of an invasion of *England* and *Scotland*, and gave him great assurances of a strong party: And they were bringing many officers to *Holland* to join in the undertaking. They dealt also with some in *Amsterdam*, who were particularly sharpened against the King, and were for turning *England* again into a Common-wealth. The matter was for some time in agitation at the *Hague*. But *De Wit* was against it, and got it to be laid aside. He said, their going into such a design would provoke *France* to turn against them: It might engage them in a long war, the consequences of which could not be foreseen: And, as there was no reason to think, that, while the Parliament was so firm to the King, any discontents could be carried so far as to a general rising, which these men undertook for; so, he said, what would the effect be of turning *England* into a Common-wealth, if it could possibly be brought about, but the ruine of *Holland*? It would naturally draw many of the *Dutch* to leave their country, that could not be kept and maintained but at a vast charge, and to exchange that for the plenty and security that *England* afforded. Therefore all that he would engage in was, to weaken the trade of *England*, and to destroy their fleet; in which he succeeded the following year beyond all expectation. The busy men in *Scotland*, being encouraged from *Rotterdam*, went about the country, to try if any men of weight would set themselves

selves at the head of their designs for an insurrection. The Earl ^{1665.} of *Cassilis* and *Lockhart* were the two persons they resolved to try. But they did it at so great a distance, that, from the proposition made to them, there was no danger of misprision of treason. Lord *Cassilis* had given his word to the King, that he would never engage in any plots: And he had got under the King's hand a promise, that he and his family should not be disturbed, let him serve God in what way he pleased. So he did not suffer them to come so far as to make him any propositions. *Lockhart* did the same. They seeing no other person that had credit enough in the countrey to bring the people about him, gave over all the projects for that year. But, upon the informations that the King had of their caballing at *Rotterdam*, he raised those troops of which mention was formerly made.

An accident happened this winter at *Oxford*, too inconsiderable, and too tender to be mentioned, if it were not that great effects were believed to have followed on it. The Duke had always one private amour after another, in the managing of which he seemed to stand more in awe of the Duchess, than, considering the inequality of their rank, could have been imagined. *Talbot* was looked on as the chief manager of those intrigues. The Duchess's deportment was unexceptionable, which made her authority the greater. At *Oxford* there was then a very graceful young man of quality that belonged to her Court, whose services were so acceptable, that she was thought to look at him in a particular manner. This was so represented to the Duke, that he, being resolved to emancipate himself into more open practices, took up a jealousy; and put the person out of his Court with so much precipitation, that the thing became very publick by this means. The Duchess lost the power she had over him so entirely, that no method she could think on was like to recover it, except one. She began to discover what his religion was, tho' he still came not only to Church, but to Sacrament. And upon that she, to regain what she had lost, entered into private discourses with his Priests; but in so secret a manner, that there was not for some years after this the least suspicion given. She began by degrees to slacken in her constant coming to Prayers and to Sacrament, in which she had been before that regular, almost to superstition. She put that on her ill health: For she fell into an ill habit of body, which some imputed to the effect of some of the Duke's distempers communicated to her. A story was set about, and generally believed, that the Earl of *Southesk*, that had married a daughter of Duke *Hamilton's*, suspecting some familiarities between the Duke and his wife, ^{His amours.} had

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1665. had taken a sure method to procure a disease to himself, which he communicated to his wife, and was by that means set round till it came to the Duchess, who was so tainted with it that it was the occasion of the death of all her children, except the two daughters, our two Queens; and was believed the cause of an illness under which she languished long, and died so corrupted, that in dressing her body after her death, one of her breasts burst, being a mass of corruption. Lord *Southesk* was for some years not ill pleased to have this believed. It looked like a peculiar strain of revenge, with which he seemed much delighted. But I know he has to some of his friends denied the whole of the story very solemnly. Another acted a better part. He did not like a commerce that he observed between the Duke and his wife. He went and expostulated with him upon it. The Duke fell a commending his wife much. He told him, he came not to seek his wife's character from him: The most effectual way of commending her, was to have nothing to do with her. He added, that if Princes would do those wrongs to subjects, who could not demand such reparations of honour as they could from their equals, it would put them on secreter methods of revenge: For some injuries were such, that men of honour could not bear them. And, upon a new observation he made of the Duke's designs upon his wife, he quitted a very good post, and went with her into the country, where he kept her till she died. Upon the whole matter the Duke was often ill. The children were born with ulcers, or they broke out upon them soon after: And all his sons died young, and unhealthy. This has, as far as any thing that could not be brought in the way of proof, prevailed to create a suspicion, that so healthy a child as the pretended Prince of *Wales* could neither be his, nor be born of any wife with whom he had lived long. The violent pain that his eldest daughter had in her eyes, and the gout which has early seized our present Queen, are thought the dregs of a tainted original. *Willis*, the great physician, being called to consult for one of his sons, gave his opinion in those words, *Mala Stamina Vitæ*; which gave such offence, that he was never called for afterwards.

1666. I know nothing of the counsels of the year 1666, nor whose advices prevailed. It was resolved on, that the Duke should not go to sea; but that *Monk* should command the great fleet of between fifty and sixty ships of the line, and that Prince *Rupert* should be sent with a squadron of about twenty five ships to meet the *French* fleet, and to hinder their conjunction with the *Dutch*:

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For the *French* had promised a fleet to join the *Dutch*, but never sent it. *Monk* went out so certain of victory, that he seemed only concerned for fear the *Dutch* should not come out. The Court flattered themselves with the hopes of a very happy year: But it proved a fatal one. The *Dutch* fleet came out, *De Wit* and some of the States being on board. They engaged the *English* fleet for two days, in which they had a manifest superiority. But it cost them dear; for the *English* fought well. But the *Dutch* were superiour in number, and were so well furnished with chained shot, (a peculiar contrivance of which *De Wit* had the honour to be thought the inventor, that the *English* fleet was quite unrigged.) And they were in no condition to work themselves off. So they must have all been taken, sunk, or burnt, if Prince *Rupert*, being yet in the channel, and hearing that they were engaged by the continued roaring of guns, had not made all possible haste to get to them. He came in good time. And the *Dutch*, who had suffered much, seeing so great a force come up, steered off. He was in no condition to pursue them; but brought off our fleet, which saved us a great loss that seemed otherwise unavoidable. The Court gave out that it was a victory: And publick thanksgivings were ordered, which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had in one respect reason to thank God, that we had not lost our whole fleet. But to compleat the miseries of this year: The Plague was so sunk in *London*, that the inhabitants began to return to it, and brought with them a great deal of manufacture, which was lying on the hands of the clothiers and others, now in the second year of the war, in which trade and all other consumptions were very low. It was reckoned, that a peace must come next winter. The merchants were upon that preparing to go to market as soon as possible. The summer had been the dryest that was known of some years. And *London* being for the most part built of timber filled up with plaister, all was extream dry. On the second of *September* a fire broke out, that raged for three days, as if it had a commission to devour every thing that was in its way. On the fourth day it stopt in the midst of very combustible matter.

1666.

The fleet was almost quite lost and happily saved by Prince Rupert.

The fire of London.

I will not enlarge on the extent nor the destruction made by the fire: Many books are full of it. That which is still a great secret is, whether it was casual, or raised on design. The *English* fleet had landed on the *Vly*, an island lying near the *Texel*, and had burnt it: Upon which some came to *De Wit*, and offered a revenge, that, if they were assisted, they would set *London* on fire. He rejected the proposition: For he said, he would not make the breach wider, nor the quarrel irreconcilable. He said,

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1666. it was brought him by one of the *Labadists*, as sent to them by some others. He made no farther reflections on the matter till the City was burnt. Then he began to suspect there had been a design, and that they had intended to draw him into it, and to lay the odium of it upon the *Dutch*. But he could hear no news of those who had sent that proposition to him. In the *April* before, some Common-wealths-men were found in a plot, and hanged; who at their execution confessed, they had been spoken to, to assist in a design of burning *London* on the second of *September*. This was printed in the gazette of that week, which I my self read. Now the fire breaking out on the second made all people conclude, that there was a design some time before on foot for doing it.

It was
charged on
the Papists.

The Papists were generally charged with it. One *Hubert*, a *French* Papist, was seized on in *Essex*, as he was getting out of the way in great confusion. He confessed, he had begun the fire, and persisted in his confession to his death; for he was hanged upon no other evidence but that of his own confession. It is true, he gave so broken an account of the whole matter, that he was thought mad. Yet he was blindfolded, and carried to several places of the City: And then, his eyes being opened, he was asked, if that was the place: And he being carried to wrong places, after he looked round about for some time, he said, that was not the place: But when he was brought to the place where it first broke out, he affirmed that was the true place. And *Tillotson* told me, that *Howell*, then the recorder of *London*, was with him, and had much discourse with him; and that he concluded, it was impossible that it could be a melancholy dream: The horror of the fact, and the terrour of death, and perhaps some engagements in confession, might put him in such disorder, that it was not possible to draw a clear account of any thing from him, but of what related to himself. *Tillotson*, who believed that the City was burnt on design, told me a circumstance that made the Papists employing such a crazed man in such a service more credible. *Langborn*, the Popish counsellor at law, who for many years pass'd for a Protestant, was dispatching a half-witted man to manage elections in *Kent* before the Restoration. *Tillotson*, being present, and observing what a sort of man he was, asked *Langborn*, how he could employ him in such services. *Langborn* answered, it was a maxim with him in dangerous services to employ none but half-witted men, if they could be but secret and obey orders: For if they should change their minds, and turn informers instead of agents, it would be easy to discredit them, and to carry off the weight of any discoveries they could make,

by shewing they were mad-men, and so not like to be trusted in critical things. 1666.

The most extraordinary passage, tho' it is but a presumption, was told me by Doctor *Lloyd* and the Countess of *Clarendon*. The latter had a great estate in the new river that is brought from *Ware* to *London*, which is brought together at *Islington*, where there is a great room full of pipes that convey it thro' all the streets of *London*. The constant order of that matter was, to set all the pipes a running on *Saturday* night, that so the cisterns might be all full by *Sunday* morning, there being a more than ordinary consumption of water on that day. There was one *Grant*, a Papist, under whose name Sir *William Petty* published his observations on the bills of mortality: He had some time before applied himself to *Lloyd*, who had great credit with the Countess of *Clarendon*; and said, he could raise that estate considerably, if she would make him a trustee for her. His schemes were probable: And he was made one of the board that governed that matter: And by that he had a right to come, as oft as he pleased, to view their works at *Islington*. He went thither the *Saturday* before the fire broke out, and called for the key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, and turned all the cocks that were then open, and stopt the water, and went away, and carried the keys with him. So when the fire broke out next morning, they opened the pipes in the streets to find water, but there was none. And some hours were lost in sending to *Islington*, where the door was to be broke open, and the cocks turned. And it was long before the water got to *London*. *Grant* indeed denied that he had turned the cocks. But the officer of the works affirmed, that he had, according to order, set them all a running, and that no person had got the keys from him, besides *Grant*; who confessed he had carried away the keys, but pretended he did it without design. There were many other stories set about, as that the Papists in several places had asked, if there was no news of the burning of *London*, and that it was talked of in many parts beyond sea, long before the news could get thither from *London*. In this matter I was much determined by what Sir *Thomas Littleton*, the father, told me. He was a man of a strong head, and sound judgment. He had just as much knowledge in trade, history, the disposition of *Europe*, and the constitution of *England*, as served to feed and direct his own thoughts, and no more. He lived all the summer long in *London*, where I was his next neighbour, and had for seven years a constant and daily conversation with him. He was Treasurer of the Navy in conjunction with *Osborn*, who

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1666. was afterwards Lord Treasurer, who supplanted him in that post, and got it all into his own hands. He had a very bad opinion of the King; and thought, that he had worse intentions than his brother, but that he had a more dextrous way of covering and managing them; only his laziness made him less earnest in prosecuting them. He had generally the character of the ablest Parliament man in his time. His chief estate lay in the City, not far from the place where the fire broke out, tho' it did not turn that way. He was one of the Committee of the House of Commons, that examined all the presumptions of the City's being burnt on design: And he often assured me, that there was no clear presumption made out about it, and that many stories, which were published with good assurance, came to nothing upon a strict examination. He was at that time, that the inquiry was made, in employment at Court. So, whether that biased him, or not, I cannot tell. There was so great a diversity of opinions in the matter, that I must leave it under the same uncertainty in which I found it. If the *French* and *Dutch* had been at that time designing an impression elsewhere, it might have been more reasonable to suppose it was done on design to distract our affairs. But it fell out at a dead time, when no advantage could be made of it. And it did not seem probable, that the Papists had engaged in the design, merely to impoverish and ruine the Nation; for they had nothing ready then to graft upon the confusion that this put all the people in. Above twelve thousand houses were burnt down, with the greatest part of the furniture and merchandize that was in them. All means used to stop it proved ineffectual; tho' the blowing up of houses was the most effectual of any. But the wind was so high, that fleaks of fire and burning matter were carried in the air cross several streets. So that the fire spread not only in the next neighbourhood, but at a great distance. The King and the Duke were almost all the day long on horseback with the guards, seeing to all that could be done, either for quenching the fire, or for carrying off persons and goods to the fields all about *London*. The most astonishing circumstance of that dreadful conflagration was, that, notwithstanding the great destruction that was made, and the great confusion in the streets, I could never hear of any one person that was either burnt, or trodden to death. The King was never observed to be so much struck with any thing in his whole life, as with this. But the citizens were not so well satisfied with the Duke's behaviour. They thought he looked too gay, and too little concerned. A jealousy of his being concerned in it was spread about with great industry,

industry, but with very little appearance of truth. Yet it grew 1666. to be generally believed, chiefly after he owned he was a Papist.

In *Scotland* the fermentation went very high. *Turner* was sent Disorders in *Scotland*. again into the West in *October* this year: And he began to treat the country at the old rate. The people were alarmed, and saw they were to be undone. They met together, and talked with some fiery Ministers. *Semple*, *Maxwell*, *Welsh*, and *Guthry* were the chief incendiaries. Two Gentlemen that had served in the wars, one a Lieutenant Colonel, *Wallace*, and the other that had been a Major, *Learmoth*, were the best officers they had to rely on. The chief Gentlemen of those Counties were all clapt up in prison, as was formerly told. So that preserved them: Otherwise they must either have engaged with the people, or have lost their interest among them. The people were told, that the fire of *London* had put things in that confusion at Court, that any vigorous attempt would disorder all the King's affairs. If the new levied troops had not stood in their way, they would have been able to have carried all things against them: For the two troops of guards with the regiment of foot guards would not have been able to have kept their ground before them. The people, as some of them told me afterwards, were made to believe that the whole Nation was in the same disposition. So on the thirteenth of *November* they ran together: And two hundred of them went to *Dunfreis*, where *Turner* then lay with a few soldiers about him; the greatest part of his men being then out in parties for the levying of fines. So they surpris'd him before he could get to his arms: Otherwise, he told me, he would have been killed rather than taken, since he expected no mercy from them. With himself they seized his papers and instructions, by which it appeared he had been gentler than his orders were. So they resolved to keep him, and exchange him as occasion should be offered. But they did not tell him what they intended to do with him; So he thought, they were keeping him, till they might hang him up with the more solemnity. There was a considerable cash in his hands, partly for the pay of his men, partly of the fines which he had raised in the country, that was seized: But he, to whom they trusted the keeping of it, ran away with it. They spread a report, which they have since printed, and it passed for some time current, that this rising was the effect of a sudden heat, that the country was put in by seeing one of their neighbours tied on a horse hand and foot, and carried away, only because he could not pay a high fine that was set upon him; and that upon this provocation the neighbours, who did not know how soon such usage would fall to their own turn, ran together,

1666. urther, and rescued him; and that, fearing some severe usage for that, they kept together, and that, others coming into them, they went on, and seized *Turner*. But this was a story made only to beget compassion: For, after the insurrection was quash'd, the Privy Council sent some round the country, to examine the violences that had been committed, particularly in the parish where it was given out that this was done. I read the report they made to the Council, and all the depositions that the people of the country made before them: But this was not mentioned in any one of them.

A rebellion
in the West.

The news of this rising was brought to *Edenburgh*, fame encreasing their numbers to some thousands. And this happening to be near *Carlisle*, the Governour of that place sent an express to Court, in which the strength of the party was magnified much beyond the truth. The Earl of *Rothes* was then at Court, who had assured the King, that all things were so well managed in *Scotland*, that they were in perfect quiet. There were, he said, some stubborn Fanaticks still left, that would be soon subdued: But there was no danger from any thing that they or their party could do. He gave no credit to the express from *Carlisle*: But, two days after, the news was confirmed by an express from *Scotland*. *Sharp* was then at the head of the government: So he managed this little war, and gave all the orders and directions in it. *Dalziel* was commanded to draw all the force they had together, which lay then dispersed in quarters. When that was done, he marched Westward. A great many ran to the rebels, who came to be called Whiggs. At *Lanerick* in *Cliddisdale* they had a solemn fast day, in which after much praying they renewed the Covenant, and set out their manifesto: In which they denied, that they rose against the King; they complained of the oppression under which they had groaned; they desired that Episcopacy might be put down, and that Presbytery, and the Covenant, might be set up, and their Ministers restored again to them; and then they promised, that they would be in all other things the King's most obedient subjects. The Earl of *Argile* raised fifteen hundred men, and wrote to the Council that he was ready to march upon order. *Sharp* thought, that if he came into the country, either he or his men would certainly join with the rebels: So he sent him no order at all. But he was at the charge of keeping his men together to no purpose. *Sharp* was all the while in a dreadful consternation, and wrote dismal letters to Court, praying that the forces which lay in the North of *England* might be ordered down: For, he wrote, they were surrounded with the rebels, and did not know what was become

of

of the King's forces. He also moved, that the Council would 1666.
go, and shut themselves up in the Castle of *Edenburgh*. But that
was opposed by the rest of the board, as an abandoning of the
Town, and the betraying an unbecoming fear, which might
very much encourage the rebels, and such as intended to go
over to them. Orders were given out for raising the country:
But there was no militia yet formed. In the mean while *Dalziel*
followed the rebels as close as he could. He published a pro-
clamation of pardon, as he was ordered, to all that should in
twenty four hours time return to their houses, and declared all
that continued any longer in arms rebels. He found the coun-
try was so well affected towards them, that he could get no sort
of intelligence, but what his own parties brought in to him.
The Whiggs marched towards *Edenburgh*, and came within two
miles of the Town. But, finding neither Town nor Country de-
clare for them, and that all the hopes their leaders had given
them proved false, they lost heart. From being once above two
thousand they were now come to be not above eight or nine hun-
dred. So they resolved to return back to the West, where they
knew the people were of their side; and where they could more
easily disperse themselves, and get either into *England* or *Ireland*.
The Ministers were very busy in all those Counties, plying peo-
ple of rank not to forsake their brethren in this extremity. And
they had got a company of about three or fourscore Gentlemen
together, who were marching towards them, when they heard of
their defeat: And upon that they dispersed themselves. The
rebels thought to have marched back by the way of *Pentland*
Hill. They were not much concerned for the few horses they
had. And they knew that *Dalziel*, whose horse was fatigued with
a fortnight's constant march, could not follow them. And if
they had gained but one night more in their march, they had
got out of his reach. But on the twenty eighth of *November*,
about an hour before sun set, he came up to them. They were
posted on the top of a hill: So he engaged with a great disad-
vantage. They, finding they could not get off, stopt their march.
Their Ministers did all they could by preaching and praying to
infuse courage into them: And they sung the seventy fourth
and the seventy eighth Psalms. And so they turned on the King's
forces. They received the first charge that was given by the
troop of guards very resolutely, and put them in disorder. But
that was all the action; for immediately they lost all order, and
ran for their lives. It was now dark: About forty were killed
on the spot, and a hundred and thirty were taken. The rest were
favoured by the darkness of the night, and the weariness of the
King's

The defeat
given the re-
bels at *Pent-*
land Hill.

1666. King's troops, that were not in case to pursue them, and had no great heart to it: For they were a poor harmless company of men, become mad by oppression: And they had taken nothing during all the time they had been together, but what had been freely given them by the country people. The rebellion was broken with the loss of only five on the King's side. The General came next day into *Edenburgh* with his prisoners.

Severe proceedings against the prisoners.

The two Archbishops were now delivered out of all their fears: And the common observation, that cruelty and cowardise go together, was too visibly verified on this occasion. Lord *Rothes* came down full of rage: And, that being inflamed by the two Archbishops, he resolved to proceed with the utmost severity against the prisoners. *Burnet* advised the hanging of all those who would not renounce the Covenant, and promise to conform to the laws for the future: But that was thought too severe. Yet he was sent up to *London*, to procure of the King an instruction, that they should tender the Declaration renouncing the Covenant to all who were thought disaffected; and proceed against those who refused that, as against seditious persons. The best of the Episcopal Clergy set upon the Bishops, to lay hold on this opportunity for regaining the affections of the country, by becoming intercessours for the prisoners, and for the country, that was like to be quartered on and eat up for the favour they had expressed to them. Many of the Bishops went into this, and particularly *Wishart* of *Edenburgh*, tho' a rough man, and sharpened by ill usage. Yet upon this occasion he expressed a very Christian temper, such as became one who had felt what the rigours of a prison had been; for he sent every day very liberal supplies to the prisoners: Which was indeed done by the whole Town, in so bountiful a manner, that many of them, who being shut up had neither air nor exercise, were in greater danger by their plenty, than they had been by all their unhappy campaign. But *Sharp* could not be mollified. On the contrary he encouraged the Ministers in the disaffected Counties to bring in all the informations they could gather, both against the prisoners, and against all those who had been among them, that they might be sought for, and proceeded against. Most of those got over to *Ireland*. But the Ministers in those parts acted so ill a part, so unbecoming their characters, that the aversion of the country to them was increased to all possible degrees: They looked on them now as wolves, and not as shepherds. It was a moving sight, to see ten of the prisoners hanged upon one gibbet at *Edenburgh*: Thirty five more were sent to their countries, and hanged up before their own doors; their Ministers all the

the while using them hardly, and declaring them damned for 1666. their rebellion. They might all have saved their lives, if they would have renounced the Covenant: So they were really a sort of martyrs for it. They did all at their death give their testimony, according to their phrase, to the Covenant, and to all that had been done pursuant to it: And they expressed great joy in their sufferings. Most of them were but mean and inconsiderable men in all respects: Yet even these were firm and inflexible in their persuasions. Many of them escaped, notwithstanding the great search was made for them. *Guthry* the chief of their preachers was hid in my mother's house, who was bred to her brother *Wariston's* principles, and could never be moved from them: He died next spring. One *Maccaill*, that was only a probationer preacher, and who had been chaplain in Sir *James Steward's* house, had gone from *Edenburgh* to them. It was believed, he was sent by the party in town, and that he knew their correspondents. So he was put to the torture, which in *Scotland* they call the boots; for they put a pair of iron boots close on the leg, and drive wedges between these and the leg. The common torture was only to drive these in the calf of the leg: But I have been told they were sometimes driven upon the shin bone. He bore the torture with great constancy: And either he could say nothing, or he had the firmness not to discover those who had trusted him. Every man of them could have saved his own life, if he would accuse any other: But they were all true to their friends. *Maccaill*, for all the pains of the torture, died in a rapture of joy: His last words were, farewell sun, moon and stars, farewell kindred and friends, farewell world and time, farewell weak and frail body, welcome eternity, welcome Angels and Saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God the Judge of all; which he spoke with a voice and manner that struck all that heard it.

His death was the more cried out on, because it came to be 1667. known afterwards, that *Burnet*, who had come down before his execution, had brought with him a letter from the King, in which he approved of all that they had done; but added, that he thought there was blood enough shed, and therefore he ordered that such of the prisoners as should promise to obey the laws for the future should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be sent to Plantations. *Burnet* let the execution go on, before he produced his letter, pretending there was no Council-day between. But he, who knew the contents of it, ought to have moved the Lord *Rothes* to call an extraordinary

The King is more gentle than the Bishops.

1667. Council to prevent the execution. So that blood was laid on him. He was, contrary to his natural temper, very violent at that time, much inflamed by his family, and by all about him. Thus this rebellion, that might have been so turned in the conclusion of it, that the Clergy might have gained reputation and honour by a wise and merciful conduct, did now exasperate the country more than ever against the Church. The forces were ordered to lye in the West, where *Dalziel* acted the *Muscovite* too grossly. He threatened to spit men, and to roast them: And he killed some in cold blood, or rather in hot blood; for he was then drunk, when he ordered one to be hanged, because he would not tell where his father was, for whom he was in search. When he heard of any that did not go to Church, he did not trouble himself to set a fine upon him: But he set as many soldiers upon him, as should eat him up in a night. By this means all people were struck with such a terrour, that they came regularly to Church. And the Clergy were so delighted with it, that they used to speak of that time, as the poets do of the golden age. They never interceded for any compassion to their people; nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully. They looked on the soldiery as their patrons: They were ever in their company, complying with them in their excesses: And, if they were not much wronged, they rather led them into them, than check'd them for them. *Dalziel* himself and his officers were so disgusted with them, that they encreased the complaints, that had now more credit from them, than from those of the country, who were looked on as their enemies. Things of so strange a pitch in vice were told of them, that they seemed scarce credible. The person, whom I believed the best as to all such things, was one Sir *John Cunningham*, an eminent lawyer, who had an estate in the country, and was the most extraordinary man of his profession in that Kingdom. He was Episcopal beyond most men in *Scotland*, who for the far greatest part thought that forms of government were in their own nature indifferent, and might be either good or bad according to the hands in which they fell; whereas he thought Episcopacy was of a divine right, settled by *Christ*. He was not only very learned in the civil and canon law, and in the philosophical learning, but was very universal in all other learning: He was a great divine, and well read in the Fathers, and in ecclesiastical history. He was above all, a man of eminent probity, and of a sweet temper, and indeed one of the piousst men of the Nation. The state of the Church in those parts went to his heart: For it was not easy to know how to keep an even hand between

the perverseness of the people on the one side, and the vices of the Clergy on the other. They looked on all those that were sensible of their miscarriages, as enemies of the Church. It was after all hard to believe all that was set about against them. 1667.

The King's affairs in *England* forced him to soften his government every where. So at this time the Earls of *Tweeddale* and *Kincardin* went to Court, and laid before the King the ill state the country was in. Sir *Robert Murray* talked often with him about it. Lord *Lauderdale* was more cautious by reason of the jealousy of his being a Presbyterian. Upon all which the King resolved to put *Scotland* into other hands. A Convention of Estates had been called the year before, to raise money for maintaining the troops. This was a very ancient practice in the *Scottish* constitution: A Convention was summoned to meet within twenty days: They could only levy money, and petition for the redress of grievances; but could make no new laws; and meddled only with that for which they were brought together. In the former Convention *Sharp* had presided, being named by the Earl of *Rothies* as the King's Commissioner. In the winter 1666, or rather in the spring 1667, there was another Convention called, in which the King by a special letter appointed Duke *Hamilton* to preside. And the King in a letter to Lord *Rothies* ordered him to write to *Sharp* to stay within his diocese, and to come no more to *Edinburgh*. He upon this was struck with so deep a melancholy, that he shewed as great an abjectness under this slight disgrace, as he had shewed insolence before, when he had more favour. A change of counsel and more moderation in the Government.

The Convention continued the assessment for another year at 6000 pounds a month. *Sharp*, finding he was now under a cloud, studied to make himself popular by looking after the education of the Marquis of *Huntley*, now the Duke of *Gordon*. He had an order long before from the King to look to his education, that he might be bred a Protestant; for the strength of Popery within that Kingdom lay in his family. But, tho' this was ordered during the Earl of *Middletoun's* ministry, *Sharp* had not all this while looked after it. The Earl of *Rothies's* mistress was a Papist, and nearly related to the Marquis of *Huntly*. So *Sharp*, either to make his court the better, or at the Lord *Rothies's* desire, had neglected it these four years: But now he called for him. He was then above 15, well hardened in his prejudices by the loss of so much time. What pains was taken on him, I know not. But, after a trial of some months, *Sharp* said, he saw he was not to be wrought on, and sent him back to his mother. So the interest that popery had in *Scotland* was believed to be chiefly owing to *Sharp's* compliance with the Earl of *Rothies's* amours. The neglect

1667. neglect of his duty in so important a matter was much blamed: But the doing it upon such a motive was reckoned yet more infamous. After the convention was over, Lord *Rothes* sent up *Drumond* to represent to the King the ill affections of the western parts. And, to touch the King in a sensible point, he said, the Covenant stuck so deep in their hearts, that no good could be done till that was rooted out. So he proposed, as an expedient, that the King would give the Council a power to require all whom they suspected to renounce the Covenant, and to proceed against such as refused it as traitors. *Drumond* had yet too much of the air of *Russia* about him, tho' not with *Dalziel's* fierceness: He had a great measure of knowledge and learning, and some true impressions of religion: But he thought, that upon such powers granted there would be great dealing in bribes and confiscations. A slight accident happened, which raised a jest that spoiled his errand. The King flung the cover of the letter from *Scotland* into the fire, which was carried up all in a flame, and set the chimney on fire: Upon which it was said, that the *Scotish* letter had fired *Whitehall*: And it was answered, the cover had almost set *Whitehall* on fire, but the contents of it would certainly set *Scotland* all in a flame. It was said, that the law for renouncing the Covenant inferring only a forfeiture of employments to those who refused it, the stretching it so far as was now proposed would be liable to great exception. Yet in compliance with a publick message the instruction was sent down, as it was desired: But by a private letter Lord *Rothes* was ordered to make no use of it, except upon a special command; since the King had only given way to what was desired, to strike terrour in the ill affected. The secret of it broke out: So it had no effect, but to make the Lord *Rothes* and his party more odious. *Burnet*, upon *Sharp's* disgrace, grew to be more considered. So he was sent up with a proposition of a very extraordinary nature, that the western Counties should be cantoned under a special government, and peculiar taxes, together with the quartering of souldiers upon them. It was said, that those Counties put the nation to the charge of keeping up such a force: And therefore it seemed reasonable that the charge should lye wholly on them. He also proposed, that a special Council should be appointed to sit at *Glasgow*: And, among other reasons to enforce that motion, he said to the King, and afterwards to Lord *Lauderdale*, that some at the Council board were ill affected to the Church, and favoured her enemies, and that traitors had been pleaded for at that board. Lord *Lauderdale* writ down presently to know what ground there was for this; since, if it was not true, he had *Bur-*

net at mercy for leasing making, which was more criminal when 1667. the whole Council was concerned in the lie that was made. The only ground for this was, that one of the rebels, excepted in the indemnity that was proclaimed some time before, being taken, and, it being evident that his brain was turned, it was debated in Council, whether he should be proceeded against, or not: Some argued against that, and said, it would be a reproach to the Government to hang a madman. This could in no sort justify such a charge: So Lord *Lauderdale* resolved to make use of it in due time. The proposition itself was rejected, as that which the King could not do by law. *Burnet* upon this went to the Lord *Clarendon*, and laid before him the said estate of their affairs in *Scotland*. He spoke to the King of it: And he took care to set the *English* Bishops on the King, with whom *Burnet* had more credit, as more entirely theirs, than ever *Sharp* had. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s credit was then declining: And it was a clear sign of it, when the King told Lord *Lauderdale* all that he had said to him on *Scotish* affairs, which provoked him extreamly. *Burnet* was sent down with good words: But the King was resolved to put the affairs of *Scotland* under another management. Lord *Kincardin* came down in *April*, and told me, that Lord *Rothes* was to be stript of all his places, and to be only Lord Chancellor. The Earl of *Tweeddale* and Sir *Robert Murray* were to have the secret in their hands. He told me, the peace was as good as made: And when that was done, the Army would be disbanded; and things would be managed with more temper, both in Church and State. This was then so great a secret, that neither the Lord *Rothes*, nor the two Archbishops, had the least hint of it. Some time after this Lord *Rothes* went to the North: Upon which an accident happened that hastened his fall.

The *Scots* had during the war set out many privateers; and these had brought in many rich prizes. The *Dutch*, being provoked with this, sent *Van Gheudt* with a good fleet into the *Frith*, to burn the coast, and to recover such ships as were in that part. He came into the *Frith* on the first of *May*. If he had at first hung out *English* colours, and attacked *Leith* harbour immediately, which was then full of ships, he might have done what mischief he pleased: For all were secure, and were looking for Sir *Jeremy Smith* with some frigats for the defence of the coast, since the King had set out no fleet this year. There had been such a dissipation of treasure, that, for all the money that was given, there was not enough left to set out a fleet. But the Court covered this by saying, the peace was as good as concluded at *Breda*, where the Lord *Hollis* and Sir *William Coventry* were

1667. were treating about it as Plenipotentiaries: And, tho' no cessation was agreed on, yet they reckoned on it as sure. Upon this, a saying of the Earl of *Northumberland's* was much repeated: When it was said, that the Kings mistress was like to ruine the Nation, he said, it was she that saved the Nation. While we had a House of Commons that gave all the money that was asked, it was better to have the money squandred away in luxury and prodigality, than to have it saved for worse purposes. *Van Gheudt* did nothing in the *Fritb* for some hours: He shot against *Bruntsland* without doing any mischief. The country people ran down to the coast, and made a great show. But this was only a faint, to divert the King from that which was chiefly intended: For he sailed out, and joined *de Ruyter*: And so the shameful attack was made upon the river of *Medway*: The chain at the mouth of it, which was then all its security, was broke: And the *Dutch* fleet sailed up to *Chatbam*: Of which I will say no more in this place, but go on with the affairs of *Scotland*.

And went to
Chatbam,
and burnt
our Fleet.

Lord *Rothes's* being out of the way when the country was in such danger, was severely aggravated by the Lord *Lauderdale*, and did bring on the change somewhat the sooner. In June Sir *Robert Murray* came down with a letter from the King, superseding Lord *Rothes's* commission, putting the Treasury in commission, and making Lord *Rothes* Lord *Chancellor*. He excused himself from being raised to that post all he could; and desired to continue Lord Treasurer: But he struggled in vain, and was forced to submit at last. Now all was turned to a more sober, and more moderate management. Even *Skarp* grew meek and humble: And said to my self, it was a great happiness to have to deal with sober and serious men; for Lord *Rothes* and his crew were perpetually drunk. When the peace of *Breda* was concluded, the King wrote to the *Scotish* Council, and communicated that to them; and with that signified, that it was his pleasure that the Army should be disbanded. The Earl of *Rothes*, *Burnet*, and all the officers opposed this much. The rebellious disposition of the western Counties was much aggravated: It seemed necessary to govern them by a military power. Several expedients were proposed on the other hand. Instead of renouncing the Covenant, in which they pretended there were many points of religion concerned, a bond was proposed for keeping the peace, and against rising in arms. This seemed the better test; since it secured the publick quiet, and the peace of the Country, which was at present the most necessary: The religious part was to be left to time, and good management. So an indemnity of a more comprehensive nature was proclaimed: And the bond was all the security

security that was demanded. Many came into the bond: Tho' 1667. there were some among them that pretended scruples: For, it was said, peace was a word of a large extent: It might be pretended, that obeying all the laws was implied in it. Yet the far greater number submitted to this. Those who were disturbed with scruples were a few melancholy inconsiderable persons.

In Order to the disbanding the Army with more security it was proposed, that a County militia should be raised, and trained for securing the publick peace. The two Archbishops did not like this: They said, the Commons, of whom the militia must be composed, being generally ill affected to the Church, this would be a prejudice rather than a security. But, to content them, it was concluded, that in Counties that were ill affected there should be no foot raised, and only some troops of horse. *Burnet* complained openly, that he saw Episcopacy was to be pulled down, and that in such an extremity he could not look on, and be silent. He writ upon these matters a long and sorrowful letter to *Sheldon*: And upon that *Sheldon* writ a very long one to Sir *R. Murray*; which I read, and found more temper and moderation in it, than I could have expected from him. *Murray* had got so far into his confidence, and he seemed to depend so entirely on his sincerity, that no informations against him could work upon *Sheldon*. Upon *Burnet's* carrying things so high, *Sharp* was better used, and was brought again to the Council board, where he began to talk of moderation: And in the debate concerning the disbanding the Army, he said, it was better to expose the Bishops to whatsoever might happen, than to have the Kingdom governed for their sakes by a military power. Yet in private he studied to possess all people with prejudices against the persons then employed, as the enemies of the Church. At that time Lord *Lauderdale* got the King to write to the Privy Council, letting them know that he had been informed, traitors had been pleaded for at that board. This was levelled at *Burnet*. The Council in their answer, as they denied the imputation, so they desired to know, who it was that had so aspersed them. *Burnet*, when the letter was offered to him to be signed by him, said, he could not say traitors had never been pleaded for at that board, since he himself had once pleaded for one, and put them in mind of the particular case. After this he saw how much he had exposed himself, and grew tamer. The Army was disbanded: So Lord *Rothes's* authority as General, as well as his commission, was now at an end, after it had lasted three years. The pretence of his commission was the preparing matters for a National Synod: Yet in all that time there

1667. there was not one step made towards one: For the Bishops seem-
 ed concerned only for their authority, and their revenues, and
 took no care of regulating, either the worship, or the disci-
 pline. The Earls of *Rothes* and *Tweeddale* went to Court. The
 former tried, what he could do by the Duke of *Monmouth's*
 means, who had married his niece: But he was then young,
 and was engaged in a mad-ramble after pleasure, and minded no
 business. So Lord *Rothes* saw the necessity of applying himself
 to Lord *Lauderdale*: And he did dissemble his discontent so dex-
 trously, that he seemed well pleased to be freed from the load of
 business, that lay so heavy upon him. He moved to have his ac-
 counts of the Treasury pass'd, to which great exceptions might have
 been made; and to have an approbation pass'd under the Great
 Seal of all he had done while he was the King's Commissioner.
 Lord *Tweeddale* was against both; and moved, that, he should be
 for some time kept under the lash: He knew, that, how humble
 soever he was at that time, he would be no sooner secured from
 being called to an account for what was pass'd, than he would
 set up a cabal in opposition to every thing; whereas they were
 sure of his good behaviour, as long as he continued to be so ob-
 noxious. The King loved Lord *Rothes*: So the Earl of *Lau-
 derdale* consented to all he asked. But they quickly saw good
 cause to repent of their forwardness.

A great
 change in
Lauderdale's
 temper.

At this time a great change happened in the course of the
 Earl of *Lauderdale's* life, which made the latter part of it very
 different from what the former had been. Mr. *Murray* of the
 bedchamber had been page and whipping boy to King *Charles I*;
 and had great credit with him, not only in procuring private
 favours, but in all his counsels. He was well turned for a Court,
 very insinuating, but very false; and of so revengeful a temper,
 that rather than any of the counsels given by his enemies
 should succeed, he would have revealed them, and betrayed both
 the King and them. It was generally believed, that he had dis-
 covered the most important of all his secrets to his enemies.
 He had one particular quality, that when he was drunk, which
 was very often, he was upon a most exact reserve, tho' he was
 pretty open at all other times. He got a warrant to be an
 Earl, which was signed at *New-Castle*. Yet he got the King to
 antedate it, as if it had been signed at *Oxford*, to get the pre-
 cedence of some whom he hated: But he did not pass it under
 the Great Seal during the King's life; but did it after his death,
 tho' his warrant, not being pass'd, died with the King. His eldest
 daughter, to whom his honour, such as it was, descended, mar-
 ried Sir *Lionel Tallmash* of *Suffolk*, a man of a noble family. Af-

ter

ter her father's death, she took the title of Countess of *Dysert*. 1667. She was a woman of great beauty, but of far greater parts. She had a wonderful quickness of apprehension, and an amazing vivacity in conversation. She had studied not only divinity and history, but mathematicks and philosophy. She was violent in every thing she set about, a violent friend, but a much more violent enemy. She had a restless ambition, lived at a vast expence, and was ravenously covetous; and would have stuck at nothing by which she might compass her ends. She had been early in a correspondence with Lord *Lauderdale*, that had given occasion to censure. When he was prisoner after *Worcester* fight, she made him believe he was in great danger of his life, and that she saved it by her intrigues with *Cromwell*: Which was not a little taken notice of. *Cromwell* was certainly fond of her, and she took care to entertain him in it; till he, finding what was said upon it, broke it off. Upon the King's Restoration, she thought that Lord *Lauderdale* made not those returns that she expected. They lived for some years at a distance. But upon her husband's death she made up all quarrels: So that Lord *Lauderdale* and she lived so much together, that his Lady was offended at it, and went to *Paris*, where she died about three years after. The Lady *Dysert* came to have so much power over the Lord *Lauderdale*, that it lessened him much in esteem of all the world; for he delivered himself up to all her humours and passions. All applications were made to her: She took upon her to determine every thing: She sold all places, and was wanting in no methods that could bring her money, which she lavished out in a most profuse vanity. As the conceit took her, she made him fall out with all his friends, one after another: With the Earls of *Argile*, *Tweeddale*, and *Kincardin*, with Duke *Hamilton*, the Marquis of *Atbol*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, who all had their turns in her displeasure, which very quickly drew Lord *Lauderdale's* after it. If after such names it is not a presumption to name my self, I had my share likewise. From that time to the end of his days he became quite another sort of man than he had been in all the former parts of his life. Sir *Robert Murray* had been designed by her father to be her husband, and was long her true friend. She knew his integrity was proof against all attempts. He had been hitherto the Lord *Lauderdale's* chief friend, and main support. He had great esteem paid him, both by the King, and by the whole Court: And he employed it all for the Earl of *Lauderdale's* service. He used great freedom with him at proper times; and was a faithful adviser, and reprover as much as the other could bear it. Lady *Dysert* laid hold on

1667. his absence in *Scotland* to make a breach between them. She made Lord *Lauderdale* believe, that *Murray* assumed to himself the praise of all that was done, and was not ill pleased to pass as his Governour. Lord *Lauderdale*'s pride was soon fired with those ill impressions.

Scotland was
very well
governed.

The government of *Scotland* had now another face. All payments were regularly made: There was an overplus of 10000 *l.* of the revenue saved every year: A magazine of Arms was bought with it: And there were several projects set on foot for the encouragement of trade and manufactures. Lord *Tweedale* and Sir *Robert Murray* were so entirely united, that, as they never disagreed, so all plied before them. Lord *Tweedale* was made a Privy Counsellour in *England*: And, his son having married the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s only child, they seemed to be inseparably united. When he came down from *London*, he brought a letter from the King to the Council, recommending the concerns of the Church to their care: In particular, he charged them to suppress Conventicles, which began to spread generally thro' the western Counties: For upon the disbanding the Army, the country, being delivered from that terror, did now forsake their Churches, and got their old Ministers to come among them; and they were not wanting in holding Conventicles from place to place. The King wrote also by him a letter to *Sharp* with his own pen, in which he assured him of his zeal for the Church, and of his favour to himself. Lord *Tweedale* hoped this would have gained him to his side: But he was deceived in it. *Sharp* quickly returned to his former insolence. Upon the Earl of *Tweedale*'s return, there was a great application to publick business: No vice was in reputation: Justice was impartially administered: And a commission was sent to the western Counties to examine into all the complaints of unjust and illegal oppressions by *Turner*, *Dalziel*, and others. *Turner*'s warrants had been seized with himself: And, tho' upon the defeat given the Whiggs he was left by them, so that, beyond all men's expectations, he escaped out of their hands, yet he had nothing to justify himself by. The truth is, this enquiry was chiefly levelled at Lord *Rothes* and *Burnet*, to cast the odium of the late rebellion on their injustice and ill conduct. And it was intended that *Turner* should accuse them: But he had no vouchers to shew. These were believed to be withdrawn by an artifice of the Lord *Rothes*. But, before the matter was quite ended, those in whose hands his papers were left, sent them sealed up to his lodgings. But he was by that time broken: So, since the government had used him hardly, he, who was a man of spirit, would not shew his vouchers,

nor expose his friends. So that matter was carried no farther. 1667. And the people of the country cried out against those censures. It was said, that when by such violent proceedings men had been inflamed to a rebellion, upon which so much blood was shed, all the reparation given was, that an officer or two were broken; and a great man was taken down a little upon it, without making any publick examples for the deterring others.

Sir Robert Murray went thro' the west of Scotland. When he came back, he told me, the Clergy were such a set of men, so ignorant, and so scandalous, that it was not possible to support them, unless the greatest part of them could be turned out, and better men found to be put in their places. But it was not easy to know how this could be done. Burnet had placed them all: And he thought himself in some sort bound to support them. The Clergy were so linked together, that none of them could be got to concur in getting proofs of crimes brought against their brethren. And the people of the country pretended scruples. They said, to accuse a Minister before a Bishop was an acknowledging his jurisdiction over his Clergy, or, to use a hard word much in use among them, it was homologating his power. So Murray proposed, that a Court should be constituted by a special commission from the King, made up of some of the Layity as well as the Clergy, to try the truth of these scandalous reports that went upon the Clergy: And he writ about it to Sheldon, who approved of it. Sharp also seemed well pleased with it, tho' he abhorred it in his heart: For he thought it struck at the root of their authority, and was Erastianism in the highest degree. Burnet said, it was a turning him out of his Bishoprick, and the declaring him either incapable of judging his Clergy, or unworthy of that trust. His Clergy cried out upon it; and said, it was a delivering them up to the rage of their enemies, who hated them only for the sake of their functions, and for their obedience to the laws; and that, if irregular methods were taken to encourage them, they would get any thing, true or false, to be sworn against them. The difficulties that arose upon this put a stop to it. And the Earl of Lauderdale's aversion to Sir Robert Murray began a disjointing of all the counsels of Scotland. Lord Tweeddale had the chief confidence: And next him Lord Kincardin was most trusted. The Presbyterians, seeing a softening in the execution of the law, and observing that the Archbishops were jealous of Lord Tweeddale, fancied he was theirs in his heart. Upon that they grew very insolent. The Clergy was in many places ill used by them. They despaired of any farther protection from the Government. They saw designs were forming to turn

Great complaints made of the Clergy.

in a trial
England.

in a trial
England.

1667. turn them all out: And, hearing that they might be better provided in *Ireland*, they were in many places bought out, and prevailed on to desert their cures. The people of the country hoped, that, upon their leaving them, they might have their old Ministers again; and upon that were willing enough to enter into those bargains with them: And so in a very little time there were many vacancies made all over those Counties. The Lord *Tweeddale* took great pains to engage *Leightoun* into the same counsels with him. He had magnified him highly to the King, as much the greatest man of the *Scotish* Clergy. And the Lord *Tweeddale*'s chief aim, with relation to Church matters, was to set him at the head of them: For he often said to me, that more than two parts in three of the whole business of the government related to the Church. So he studied to bring in a set of Episcopal men of another stamp, and to set *Leightoun* at their head. He studied to draw in Mr. *Charteris*. But he had such sad thoughts of mankind, and such humble ones of himself, that he thought little good could be done, and that as to that little he was not a proper instrument. *Leightoun* was prevailed on to go to *London*, where, as he told me, he had two audiences of the King. He laid before him the madness of the former administration of Church affairs, and the necessity of turning to more moderate counsels: In particular, he proposed a comprehension of the Presbyterian party, by altering the terms of the laws a little, and by such abatements as might preserve the whole for the future, by granting somewhat for the present. But he entered into no expedients: Only he studied to fix the King in the design that the course of his affairs led him to, tho' contrary to his own inclinations, both in *England* and *Scotland*. In order to the opening this I must change the scene.

Affairs in
England.

Clarendon's
disgrace.

The *Dutch* war had turned so fatally on the King, that it made it necessary for him to try how to recover the affections and esteem of his people. He found a slackening the execution of the law went a great way in the city of *London*, and with the trading part of the Nation. The House of Commons continued still in their fierceness, and aversion to all moderate propositions: But in the intervals of Parliament the execution was softened. The Earl of *Clarendon* found his credit was declining, that all the secrets of State were trusted to *Bennet*, and that he had no other share in them than his post required. The Lady *Castlemain* set her self most violently against him. And the Duke of *Buckingham*, as often as he was admitted to any familiarities with the King, studied with all his wit and humour to make Lord *Clarendon* and all his counsels appear ridiculous. Lively
jests

jesters were at all times apt to take with the King. The Earl of 1667.
Clarendon fell under two other misfortunes before the war broke out. The King had granted him a large piece of ground near *St. James's* to build a house on: He intended a good ordinary house: But, not understanding those matters himself, he put the managing of that into the hands of others; who run him into a vast charge, of about 50000 *l*, three times as much as he had designed to lay out upon it. During the war, and in the plague year, he had about three hundred men at work, which he thought would have been an acceptable thing, when so many men were kept at work, and so much money, as was duly paid, circulated about. But it had a contrary effect. It raised a great outcry against him. Some called it *Dunkirk* house, intimating that it was built by his share of the price of *Dunkirk*. Others called it *Holland* house, because he was believed to be no friend to the war: So it was given out, that he had the money from the *Dutch*. It was visible, that in a time of publick calamity he was building a very noble palace. Another accident was, that before the war there were some designs on foot for the repairing of *St. Pauls*: And many stones were brought thither. That project was laid aside during the war. He upon that bought the stones, and made use of them in building his own house. This, how slight soever it may seem to be, yet had a great effect by the management of his enemies.

Another misfortune was, that he lost his chief friend, to whom *Southamp-*
he trusted most, and who was his greatest support, the Earl of *ton's death*
Southampton. The pain of the stone grew upon him to such a degree, that he had resolved to be cut: But a woman came to him, who pretended she had an infallible secret for dissolving the stone, and brought such vouchers to him, that he put himself into her hands. The medicine had a great operation, tho' it ended fatally: For he passed great quantities of gravel, that looked like the coats of a stone sliced off. This encouraged him to go on, till his pains encreased so, that no man was ever seen to die in such torments; which made him oft tremble all over, so that the bed shook with it: Yet he bore it with an astonishing patience. He not only kept himself from saying any indecent thing, but endured all that misery with the firmness of a great man, and the submission of a good christian. The cause of all appeared when he was opened after his death: For the medicine had strip'd the stone of its outward slimy coats, which made it lye soft and easy upon the muscles of the bladder; whereas when these were dissolved, the inner and harder parts of the stone, that were all ragged by the dissolution that was begun,
S f f lay

1667. lay upon the neck of the bladder, which raised those violent pains of which he died. The Court was now delivered of a great man, whom they did not much love, and who they knew did not love them. The Treasury was put in commission: And the Earl of *Clarendon* had no interest there. He saw the war, tho' managed by other counsels, yet was like to end in his ruine: For all errors were cast on him. The business of *Chatham* was a terrible blow: And tho' the loss was great, the infamy was greater. The Parliament had given above five millions towards the war: But, thro' the luxury and waste of the Court, this money was so squandred away, that the King could neither set out a fleet, nor defend his coasts. Upon the news of the *Dutch* fleet's being in the river, the King did not ride down himself, nor appear at the head of his people, who were then in such imminent danger. He only sent the Duke of *Albemarle* down, and was intending to retire to *Windsor*. But that looked so like a flying from danger, that he was prevailed on to stay. And it was given out, that he was very chearful that night at supper with his Mistresses, which drew many libels upon him, that were writ with as much wit as malice, and brought him under a general contempt. He was compared to *Nero*, who sung while *Rome* was burning. A day or two after that he rode thro' *London*, accompanied with the most popular men of his Court, and assured the citizens he would live and die with his people, upon which there were some acclamations: But the matter went heavily. The City was yet in ashes: And the jealousy of burning it on design had got so among them, that the King himself was not free from suspicion. If the *Dutch* had pursued their advantage in the first consternation, they might have done more mischief, and have come a great way up the *Thames*, and burnt many merchant ships: But they thought they had done enough, and so they sailed away. The Court was at a stand what to do: For the *French* had assured them the treaty was as good as finished. Whether the *French* set this on, as that which would both weaken the fleet of *England*, and alienate the King so entirely from the *Dutch* that he would be easily engaged into new alliances to revenge this affront, as many believed, I cannot pretend to determine.

The Earl of *Essex* was at that time in *Paris*, on his way home from the waters of *Bourbon*: And he told me, the Queen-mother of *England* sent for him, as being one of her son's Privy Council; and told him, the *Irish* had sent over some to the Court of *France*, desiring money and arms with some officers, and undertook to put that island into the hands of the *French*. He told me, he found the Queen was in her inclinations and advices

true

The *Irish*
fought the
protection
of *France*.

true to her son's interest: But he was amazed to see, that a woman, who in a drawing room was the liveliest woman of the age, and had a vivacity of imagination that surprized all who came near her, yet after all her practice in affairs had so little either of judgment or conduct: And he did not wonder at the miscarriage of the late King's counsels, since she had such a share in them. But the *French* had then greater things in view. The King of *Spain* was dead. And now after the *French* had managed the war so, that they had been at no part of the expence of it, nor brought a ship to the assistance of the *Dutch* in any engagement, and that both *England* and *Holland* had made a great loss both in ships and treasure; they resolved to manage the peace so, as to oblige the King by giving him a peace, when he was in no condition to carry on a war. I enter not into our negotiation with the Bishop of *Munster*, nor his treacherous departing from his engagements, since I know nothing of that matter, but what is in print.

As soon as the peace was made, the King saw with what disadvantage he was like to meet his Parliament. So he thought, the disgracing a publick Minister, who by his being long in so high a post had drawn upon himself much envy, and many enemies, would cover himself and the rest of his Court. Other things concurred to set this forward. The King was grown very weary of the Queen: And it was believed, he had a great mind to be rid of her. The load of that marriage was cast on the Lord *Clarendon*, as made on design to raise his own grandchildren. Many members of the House of Commons, such as *Clifford*, *Osborn*, *Ker*, *Littleton*, and *Seimour*, were brought to the King; who all assured him, that upon his Restoration they intended both to have raised his authority, and to have encreased his revenue; but that the Earl of *Clarendon* had discouraged it, and that all his creatures had possessed the House with such jealousies of the King, that they thought it was not fit to trust him too much, nor too far. This made a deep impression on the King, who was weary of Lord *Clarendon's* imposing way, and had a mind to be freed from the authority, to which he had been so long accustomed that it was not easy to keep him within bounds.

Yet the King was so afraid to engage himself too deep in his own affairs, that it was a doubt whether he would dismiss him or not, if a concern of one of his amours had not sharpened his resentment; so that what other considerations could not do, was brought about by an ill grounded jealousy. Mistress *Steward* had gained so much on the King, and yet had kept her ground with

The Duke
of Rich-
mond's mar-
riage.

1667. so much firmness, that the King seemed to design if possible to legitimate his addresses to her, when he saw no hope of succeeding any other way. The Duke of *Richmond*, being a widower, courted her. The King seemed to give way to it; and pretended to take such care of her, that he would have good settlements made for her. He hoped by that means to have broke the matter decently; for he knew the Duke of *Richmond's* affairs were in disorder. So the King ordered Lord *Clarendon* to examine the estate he pretended to settle. But he was told, whether true or false I cannot tell, that Lord *Clarendon* told her, that the Duke of *Richmond's* affairs, it was true, were not very clear; but that a family so near related to the King could never be left in distress, and that such a match would not come in her way every day; so she had best consider well, before she rejected it. This was carried to the King, as a design he had that the Crown might descend to his own grandchildren; and that he was afraid, lest strange methods should be taken to get rid of the Queen, and to make way for her. When the King saw that she had a mind to marry the Duke of *Richmond*, he offered to make her a Duchess, and to settle an estate on her. Upon this she said, she saw she must either marry him, or suffer much in the opinion of the world. And she was prevailed on by the Duke of *Richmond*, who was passionately in love with her, to go privately from *Whitehall*, and marry him without giving the King notice. The Earl of *Clarendon's* son, the Lord *Cornbury*, was going to her lodgings, upon some assignation that she had given him about her affairs, knowing nothing of her intentions. He met the King in the door coming out full of fury. And he, suspecting that Lord *Cornbury* was in the design, spoke to him as one in a rage that forgot all decency, and for some time would not hear Lord *Cornbury* speak in his own defence. In the afternoon he heard him with more temper, as he himself told me. Yet this made so deep an impression, that he resolved to take the seals from his father. The King said to the Lord *Lauderdale*, that he had talked of the matter with *Sheldon*; and that he convinced him, that it was necessary to remove Lord *Clarendon* from his post. And, as soon as it was done, the King sent for *Sheldon*, and told him what he had done. But he answered nothing. When the King insisted to oblige him to declare himself, he said, *Sir, I wish you would put away this woman that you keep.* The King upon that replied sharply, why had he never talked to him of that sooner, but took this occasion now to speak of it. *Lauderdale* told me, he had all this from the King: And that the King and *Sheldon* had gone in-

to such expostulations upon it, that from that day forward *Sheldon* could never recover the King's confidence. 1667.

The seals were given to Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, then in great esteem, which he did not maintain long after his advancement. His study and practice lay so intirely in the Common law, that he never seemed to apprehend what equity was: Nor had he a head made for business, or for such a Court. He was a man of great integrity, and had very serious impressions of religion on his mind. He had been always on the side of the Church: Yet he had great tenderness for the Non-conformists: And, the Bishops having all declared for Lord *Clarendon*, except one or two, he and the new scene of the Ministry were inclined to favour them. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been in high disgrace before Lord *Clarendon's* fall, came upon that into high favour, and set up for a patron of liberty of conscience, and of all the sects. The See of *Chester* happened to fall vacant soon after: And Doctor *Wilkins* was by his means promoted to that See. It was no small prejudice to him, that he was recommended by so bad a man. *Wilkins* had a courage in him that could stand against a current, and against all the reproaches with which ill natured Clergy-men studied to load him. He said, he was called for by the King, without any motion of his own, to a publick station, in which he would endeavour to do all the good he could, without considering the ill effects that it might have on himself. The King had such a command of himself, that when his interest led him to serve any end, or to court any sort of men, he did it so dextrously, and with such an air of sincerity, that till men were well practised in him, he was apt to impose on them. He seemed now to go into moderation and comprehension with so much heartiness, that both *Bridgman* and *Wilkins* believed he was in earnest in it: Tho' there was nothing that the Popish counsels were more fixed in, than to oppose all motions of that kind. But the King saw, it was necessary to recover the affections of his people. And, since the Church of *England* was now gone off from him, upon Lord *Clarendon's* disgrace, he resolved to shew some favour to the sects, both to soften them, and to force the others to come back to their dependence upon him.

He began also to express his concerns in the affairs of *Europe*: And he brought about the peace between *Castile* and *Portugal*. The *French* King pretended, that by the law of *Brabant* his Queen, as the heir of the late King of *Spain's* first marriage, tho' a daughter, was to be preferred to the young King of *Spain*, the heir of the second venter, without any regard to the re-

The *French* King's pretensions to *Flanders*.

1667. nunciation of any succession to his Queen stipulated by the peace of the *Pyrenees*; and was upon that pretension like to over-run the *Netherlands*. *Temple* was sent over to enter into an alliance with the *Dutch*, by which some parts of *Flanders* were yielded up to *France*, but a barrier was preserved for the security of *Holland*. Into this the King of *Sweden*, then a child, was engaged: So it was called the Triple Alliance. I will say no more of that since so particular an account is given of it by him who could do it best, *Temple* himself. It was certainly the masterpiece of King *Charles's* life: And, if he had stuck to it, it would have been both the strength and the glory of his reign. This disposed his people to forgive all that was pass'd, and to renew their confidence in him, which was much shaken by the whole conduct of the *Dutch* war.

Clarendon's
integrity.

The Parliament were upon their first opening set on to destroy Lord *Clarendon*. Some of his friends went to him a few days before the Parliament met; and told him, many were at work to find out matter of accusation against him. He best knew, what could be brought against him with any truth; for falsehood was infinite, and could not be guessed at. They desired, he would trust some of them with what might break out, since probably nothing could lye concealed against so strict a search. And the method in which his friends must manage for him, if there was any mixture or allay in him, was to be very different from that they could use, if he was sure that nothing could be brought out against him. The Lord *Burlington* and Bishop *Morley* both told me, they talked to this purpose to him. Lord *Clarendon* upon that told them, that, if either in matters of justice, or in any negotiations abroad, he had ever received a farthing, he gave them leave to disown all friendship to him. The *French* King, hearing he had sent for all the books of the *Louvre* impression, had sent these to him, which he took, as thinking it a trifle, as indeed it was: And this was the only present he ever had from any foreign Prince: He had never taken any thing by virtue of his office, but that which his predecessors had claimed as a right. But now hue and cry were sent out against him: And all persons, who had heard him say any thing that could bear an ill construction, were examined. Some thought, they had matters of great weight against him: And, when they were told these would not amount to high treason, they desired to know what would amount to it.

He was im-
peached in
the House of
Commons.

When twenty three articles were brought into the House against him, the next day he desired his second son, the now Earl of *Rocheſter*, to acquaint the House, that he, hearing what articles were brought against him, did in order to the dispatch

1667.

dispatch of the business, desire that those, who knew best what their evidence was, would single out any one of the articles, that they thought could be best proved; and, if they could prove that, he would submit to the censure due upon them all. But those, who had the secret of this in their hands, and knew they could make nothing of it, resolved to put the matter upon a preliminary, in which they hoped to find cause to hang up the whole affair, and fix upon the Lords the denial of justice. So, according to some few and late precedents, they sent up a general impeachment to the Lords bar of high treason, without any special matter; and demanded, that upon that he might be committed to prison. They had reason to believe the Lords would not grant this: And therefore they resolved to insist on it; and reckoned, that, when so much money was to be given, the King would prevail with the Lords. Upon this occasion it appeared, that the private animosities of a Court could carry them to establish the most destructive precedent that could have been thought on. For if this had pass'd, then every Minister upon a general impeachment was to be ruined, tho' no special matter was laid against him. Yet the King himself pressed this vehemently. It was said, the very suspicions of a House of Commons, especially such a one as this was, was enough to blast a man, and to secure him: For there was reason to think, that every person so charged would run away, if at liberty. Lord *Clarendon's* enemies had now gone far: They thought, they were not safe till his head was off: And they apprehended, that, if he were once in prison, it would be easy either to find, or at least to bring witnesses against him. This matter is all in print: So I will go no farther in the particulars. The Duke was at this time taken with the small-pox: So he was out of the whole debate. The Peers thought, that a general accusation was only a clamour, and that their dignities signified little, if a clamour was enough to send them to prison. All the Earl of *Clarendon's* friends pressed the King much on his behalf, that he might be suffered to go off gently, and without censure, since he had served both his father and himself so long, so faithfully, and with such success. But the King was now so sharpened against him, that, tho' he named no particulars, he expressed a violent and irreconcilable aversion to him; which did the King much hurt in the opinion of all that were not engaged in the party. The affair of the King's marriage was the most talked of, as that which indeed was the only thing that could in any sort justify such a severity. Lord *Clarendon* did protest, as some that had it from himself told me, that he had no other hand

1667.

The King
desired he
would go
beyond sea.

hand in that matter, than as a Counsellour: And in that he appealed to the King himself. After many debates, and conferences, and protestations, in which the whole Court went in visibly to that which was plainly destructive both to the King and to the Ministry, the majority of the House stood firm, and adhered to their first resolution against commitment. The Commons were upon that like to carry the matter far against the Peers, as denying justice. The King seeing this spoke to the Duke, to persuade Lord *Clarendon* to go beyond sea, as the only expedient that was left to make up the breach between the two Houses: And he let fall some words of kindness, in case he should comply with this. The Earl of *Clarendon* was all obedience and submission; and was charmed with those tender words, that the King had said of him. So, partly to serve the King, and save himself and his family, but chiefly that he might not be the occasion of any difference between the King and the Duke, who had heartily espoused his interest, he went privately beyond sea; and writ a letter from *Calais* to the House of Lords, protesting his innocence in all the points objected to him, and that he had not gone out of the Kingdom for fear, or out of any consciousness of guilt, but only that he might not be the unhappy occasion of any difference between the two Houses, or of obstructing publick business. This put an end to the dispute. But his enemies called it a confession of guilt, and a flying from justice: Such colours will people give to the most innocent actions.

He was banished by
Act of Parliament.

A Bill was brought in, banishing him the King's dominions under pain of treason if he should return: And it was made treason to correspond with him, without leave from the King. This Act did not pass without much opposition. It was said, there was a known course of law when any man fled from justice: And it seemed against the common course of justice, to make all corresponding with him treason, when he himself was not attainted of treason: Nor could it be just to banish him, unless a day were given him to come in: And then, if he did not come in, he might incur the punishment upon contempt. The Duke, whom the King had employed to prevail with him to withdraw himself, thought he was bound in honour to press the matter home on the King; which he did so warmly, that for some time a coldness between them was very visible. The part the King had acted on this matter came to be known; and was much censured, as there was just cause for it. The vehemence that he shewed in this whole matter was imputed by many to very different causes. Those who knew him best, but esteemed him least, said to me on this occasion,

that

that all the indignation, that appeared in him on this head, was founded on no reason at all; but was an effect of that easiness, or rather laziness of nature, that made him comply with every person that had the greatest credit with him. The Mistriss, and the whole Bedchamber, were perpetually railing at him. This by a sort of infection possessed the King, who, without giving himself the trouble of much thinking, did commonly go into any thing that was at the present time the easiest, without considering what might at any other time follow on it. Thus the Lord *Clarendon* fell under the common fate of great Ministers; whose employment exposes them to envy, and draws upon them the indignation of all who are disappointed in their pretensions. Their friends do generally shew, that they are only the friends of their fortunes: And upon the change of favour they not only forsake them in their extremity, but, that they may secure to themselves the protection of a new favourite, they will labour to redeem all that is pass'd by turning as violently against them, as they formerly fawned abjectly upon them: And Princes are so little sensible of merit or great services, that they sacrifice their best servants, not only when their affairs seem to require it, but to gratify the humour of a mistriss, or the passion of a rising favourite.

I will end this relation of Lord *Clarendon's* fall with an account of his two sons. The eldest, now the Earl of *Clarendon*, is a man naturally sincere: He is a friendly and good natured man. He keeps an exact journal of all that passes, and is punctual to tediousness in all that he relates. He was very early engaged in great secrets: For his father, apprehending of what fatal consequence it would have been to the King's affairs if his correspondence had been discovered by unfaithful Secretaries, engaged him when very young to write all his letters to *England* in cypher; so that he was generally half the day writing in cypher, or decyphering, and was so discreet, as well as faithful, that nothing was ever discovered by him. He continued to be still the person whom his father trusted most: And was the most beloved of all the family; for he was humble and obliging, tho' sometimes peevish. His judgment was not to be much depended on; for he was much carried by vulgar prejudices, and false notions. He was much in the Queen's favour, and was her Chamberlain long. His father's being so violently prosecuted on the account of her marriage, made that she thought herself bound to protect him in a particular manner. He was so provoked at the ill usage his father met with, that he struck in violently with the party that opposed the Court: And the King spoke always

The character of his two sons.

1667. of him with great sharpness, and much scorn. His brother, now Earl of *Rocheſter*, is a man of far greater parts. He has a very good pen, but ſpeaks not gracefully. He was thought the ſmoothest man in the Court: And during all the diſpute concerning his father he made his Court ſo dextrouſly, that no reſentments ever appeared on that head. When he came into buſineſs, and roſe to high poſts, he grew violent: But was thought an incorrupt man. He has high notions of Government, and thinks it muſt be maintained with great ſeverity. He delivers up his own notions to his party, that he may lead them. He paſſes for a ſincere man, and ſeems to have too much heat to be falſe. *Morley* was long Dean of the Chapel: But he ſtuck ſo to the Lord *Clarendon*, that he was ſent into his diocēſe: And *Crofts* Biſhop of *Hereford* was made Dean in his room. *Crofts* was a warm devout man, but of no diſcretion in his conduct: So he loſt ground quickly. He uſed much freedom with the King; but it was in the wrong place, not in private, but in the pulpit.

The King
was much
offended
with the Bi-
ſhops.

The King was highly offended at the behaviour of moſt of the Biſhops: And he took occaſion to vent it at the Council-board. Upon the complaints that were made of ſome diſorders, and of ſome Conventicles, he ſaid, the Clergy were chiefly to blame for theſe diſorders; for if they had lived well, and had gone about their pariſhes, and taken pains to convince the Non-conformiſts, the Nation might have been by that time well ſettled. But they thought of nothing, but to get good benefices, and to keep a good table. This I read in a letter that Sir *Robert Murray* writ down to *Scotland*: And it agrees with a converſation that the King was pleaſed to have with my ſelf once, when I was alone with him in his cloſet. While we were talking of the ill ſtate the Church was in, I was ſtruck to hear a Prince of his courſe of life ſo much diſgusted at the ambition, covetouſneſs, and the ſcandals of the Clergy. He ſaid, if the Clergy had done their part, it had been an eaſy thing to run down the Non-conformiſts: But he added, they will do nothing, and will have me do every thing: And moſt of them do worſe than if they did nothing. He told me, he had a Chaplain, that was a very honeſt man, but a very great blockhead, to whom he had given a living in *Suffolk*, that was full of that ſort of people: He had gone about among them from houſe to houſe; tho' he could not imagine what he could ſay to them; for he ſaid he was a very ſilly fellow: But that, he believed, his nonſenſe ſuited their nonſenſe, for he had brought them all to Church:

Church: And, in reward of his diligence, he had given him a Bishoprick in *Ireland*. 1667.

Bridgman and *Wilkins* set on foot a treaty, for a comprehension of such of the Dissenters as could be brought into the communion of the Church, and a toleration of the rest. *Hale*, the Chief Justice, concurred with them in the design. *Tillotson*, *Stillington*, and *Burton* joined also in it. *Bates*, *Manton*, and *Baxter* were called for on the side of the Presbyterians. And a project was prepared, consisting chiefly of those things that the King had promised by his declaration in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination this temper was proposed, that those who had Presbyterian ordination should be received to serve in the Church by an imposition of hands, accompanied with words which imported, that the person so ordained was received to serve as a Minister in the Church of *England*. This treaty became a common subject of discourse. All Lord *Clarendon*'s friends cried out, that the Church was undermined and betrayed: It was said, the cause of the Church was given up, if we yielded any of those points, about which there had been so much disputing: If the Sectaries were humble and modest, and would tell what would satisfy them, there might be some colour for granting some concessions: But it was unworthy of the Church to go and court, or treat with enemies; when there was no reason to think, that after we had departed from our grounds, which was to confess we had been in the wrong, that we should gain much by it, unless it was to bring scorn and contempt on our selves. On the other hand it was said, the Non-conformists could not legally meet together to offer any schemes in the name of their party: It was well enough known, what they had always excepted to, and what would probably bring over most of the Presbyterians: Such a yielding in some lesser matters would be no reproach, but an honour to the Church; that, how much soever she might be superiour both in point of argument and of power, she would yet of her own accord, and for peace sake, yield a great deal in matters indifferent: The Apostles complying with many of the observances of the *Jews*, and the offers that the Church of *Africk* made to the *Donatists*, were much insisted on: The fears of Popery, and the progress that Atheism was making, did alarm good and wise men: And they thought, every thing that could be done without sin ought to be done towards the healing our divisions. Many books were upon that account writ, to expose the Presbyterians, as men of false notions in religion, which led to Antinomianism, and which would soon

1668.

A treaty for a comprehension of the Presbyterians.

1668. soon carry them into a dissolution of morals, under a pretence of being justified by faith only, without works. The three volumes of the Friendly Debate, tho' writ by a very good man, and with a good intent, had an ill effect in sharpening peoples spirits too much against them. But the most virulent of all that writ against the sects was *Parker*, afterwards made Bishop of *Oxford* by King *James*; who was full of satyrical vivacity, and was considerably learned; but was a man of no judgment, and of as little vertue, and as to religion rather impious. After he had for some years entertained the Nation with several virulent books, writ with much life, he was attacked by the liveliest droll of the age, who writ in a burlesque strain, but with so peculiar and so entertaining a conduct, that, from the King down to the tradesman, his books were read with great pleasure. That not only humbled *Parker*, but the whole party: For the author of the Rehearsal Transposed had all the men of wit (or, as the *French* phrase it, all the *Laughs*) on his side. But what advantages soever the men of comprehension might have in any other respect, the majority of the House of Commons was so possessed against them, that when it was known in a succeeding session, that a bill was ready to be offered to the House for that end, a very extraordinary vote pass'd, that no bill to that purpose should be received.

The City of
London re-
built.

An Act pass'd in this session for rebuilding the City of *London*, which gave Lord Chief Justice *Hale* a great reputation: For it was drawn with so true a judgment, and so great foresight, that the whole City was raised out of its ashes without any suits of law; which, if that bill had not prevented them, would have brought a second charge on the City, not much less than the fire it self had been. And upon that, to the amazement of all *Europe*, *London* was in four years time rebuilt, with so much beauty and magnificence, that we who saw it in both states, before and after the fire, cannot reflect on it without wondring where the wealth could be found to bear so vast a loss as was made by the fire, and so prodigious an expence as was laid out in the rebuilding it. This did demonstrate, that the intrinsick wealth of the Nation was very high, when it could answer such a dead charge.

Designs for
putting a-
way the
Queen.

I return to the intrigues of the Court. Lord *Clarendon's* enemies thought they were not safe, as long as the Duke had so much credit with the King, and the Duchess had so much power over him: So they fell on propositions of a strange nature to ruine them. The Duke of *Buckingham* pressed the King to own a marriage with the Duke of *Monmouth's* mother: And he

he undertook to get witnesses to attest it. The Duke of York 1668. told me, in general, that there was much talk about it: But he did not descend to particulars. The Earl of *Carlisle* offered to begin the matter in the House of Lords. The King would not consent to this: Yet he put it by in such a manner, as made them all conclude, he wished it might be done, but did not know how to bring it about. These discourses were all carried to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and got fatally into his head. When the Duke talked of this matter to me in the year seventy three, I asked him, if he thought the King had still the same inclinations? He said he believed not: He thought, the Duke of *Monmouth* had not spirit enough to think of it: And he commended the Duchess of *Monmouth* so highly as to say to me, that the hopes of a Crown could not work on her to do an unjust thing. I thought he gave that matter too much countenance, by calling the Duke of *Monmouth* nephew: But he said, it pleased the King. When the party saw they could make nothing of the business of the Duke of *Monmouth*, they tried next by what methods they could get rid of the Queen; that so the King might marry another wife: For the King had children by so many different creatures, that they hoped for issue, if he had a wife capable of any. Some thought, the Queen and he were not legally married: But the avowing a marriage, and the living many years in that state, did certainly supply any defect in point of form. Others pretended, she was barren from a natural cause, and that seemed equivalent to impotence in men. But the King often said, he was sure she had once miscarried. This, tho' not overthrown by such an evidence, could never be proved; unless the having no children was to be concluded a barrenness: And the dissolving a marriage on such an account could neither be justified in law nor conscience. Other stories were given out of the Queen's person, which were false: For I saw in a letter under the King's own hand that the marriage was consummated. Others talked of polygamy: And officious persons were ready to thrust themselves into any thing that could contribute to their advancement. Lord *Lauderdale* and Sir *Robert Murray* asked my opinion of these things. I said, I knew speculative people could say a great deal in the way of argument for polygamy, and divorce: Yet these things were so decried, that they were rejected by all Christian societies: So that all such propositions would throw us into great convulsions; and entail war upon us, if any issue came from a marriage so grounded.

1668.

A divorce
enacted for
adultery.

An accident happened at that time, that made the discoursing of those matters the common subject of conversation. The Lord *Roos*, afterwards Earl of *Rutland*, brought proofs of adultery against his wife; and obtained a sentence of divorce in the Spiritual Court: Which amounting only to a separation from bed and board, he moved for a bill dissolving the bond, and enabling him to marry another wife. The *Duke* and all his party apprehended the consequences of a Parliamentary divorce: So they opposed this with great heat: And almost all the Bishops were of that side: Only *Cosins* and *Wilkins*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Chester*, were for it. And the King was as earnest in the setting it on, as the Duke was in opposing it. The zeal which the two brothers expressed on that occasion made all people conclude, that they had a particular concern in the matter. The bill pass'd: And upon that precedent some moved the King, that he would order a bill to be brought in to divorce him from the Queen. This went so far, that a day was agreed on for making the motion in the House of Commons, as Mr. *May* of the privy purse told me; (who had the greatest and longest share in the King's secret confidence of any man in that time; for it was never broke off, tho' often shaken, he being in his notions against every thing that the King was for, both *France*, Popery, and arbitrary government; but a particular sympathy of temper, and his serving the King in his vices, created a confidence much envied, and often attempted to be broke, but never with any success beyond a short coldness:) But he added, when he told me of this design, that three days before the motion was to be made, the King called for him, and told him, that matter must be let alone, for it would not do. This disturbed him much; for he had engaged himself far in laying the thing, and in managing those who were to undertake the debate.

A great dissolution of
morals in
Court.

At this time the Court fell into much extravagance in masquerading, both King and Queen, and all the Court, went about masked, and came into houses unknown, and danced there with a great deal of wild frolick. In all this people were so disguised, that without being on the secret none could distinguish them. They were carried about in hackney chairs. Once the Queen's chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her: So she was alone, and was much disturbed, and came to *Whitehall* in a hackney coach: Some say it was in a cart. The Duke of *Buckingham* proposed to the King, that he would give him leave to steal her away, and send her to a plantation, where she should be well and carefully looked to, but never heard of any more: So it should be given out, that she had deserted: And upon that

it

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it would fall in with some principles to carry an act for a divorce, 1668. grounded upon the pretence of a wilful desertion. Sir Robert Murray told me, that the King himself rejected this with horror. He said, it was a wicked thing to make a poor lady miserable, only because she was his wife, and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers. The hints of this broke out: For the Duke of *Buckingham* could conceal nothing. And upon that the Earl of *Manchester*, then Lord *Chamberlain*, told the Queen, it was neither decent, nor safe for her to go about in such a manner as she had done of late: So she gave it over. But at last all these schemes settled in a proposition, into which the King went; which was to deal with the Queen's confessor, that he might persuade her to leave the world, and to turn religious: Upon which the Parliament would have been easily prevailed on to pass a divorce. This came to be known: But what steps were made in it were never known. It was believed, that upon this the Duchess of *York* sent an express to *Rome* with the notice of her conversion; and that orders were sent from *Rome* to all about the Queen to persuade her against such a proposition, if any should suggest it to her. She herself had no mind to be a Nun: And the Duchess was afraid of seeing another Queen: And the mistress created at that time Duchess of *Cleveland*, knew that she must be the first sacrifice to a beloved Queen: And she reconciled herself upon this to the Duchess of *York*. The Duke of *Buckingham* upon that broke with her, and studied to take the King from her by new amours: And because he thought a gaiety of humour would take much with the King, he engaged him to entertain two players one after another, *Davies* and *Guin*. The first did not keep her hold long: But *Guin*, the indiscreetest and wildest creature that ever was in a Court, continued to the end of the King's life in great favour, and was maintained at a vast expence. The Duke of *Buckingham* told me, that when she was first brought to the King, she asked only five hundred pounds a year: And the King refused it. But when he told me this, about four years after, he said, she had got of the King above sixty thousand pounds. She acted all persons in so lively a manner, and was such a constant diversion to the King, that even a new mistress could not drive her away. But after all he never treated her with the decencies of a mistress. The King had another mistress, that was managed by Lord *Shaftesbury*, who was the daughter of a Clergyman, *Roberts*; in whom her first education had so deep a root, that, tho' she fell into many scandalous disorders, with very dismal adventures in them all, yet a principle of religion was so deep laid in her, that, tho' it did not

1668. not restrain her, yet it kept alive in her such a constant horreur at sin, that she was never easy in an ill course, and died with a great sense of her former ill life. I was often with her the last three months of her life. The Duchess of *Cleveland*, finding that she had lost the King, abandoned her self to great disorders: One of which, by the artifice of the Duke of *Buckingham*, was discovered by the King in person, the party concerned leaping out of the window. She also spoke of the King to all people in such a manner, as brought him under much contempt. But he seemed insensible: And tho' libels of all sorts had then a very free course, yet he was never disturbed at it.

Many libels
writ by the
best wits of
that time.

The three most eminent wits of that time, on whom all the lively libels were fastened, were the Earls of *Dorset*, and *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Charles Sidley*. Lord *Dorset* was a generous good natured Man. He was so oppressed with phlegm, that till he was a little heated with wine he scarce ever spoke: But he was upon that exaltation a very lively man. Never was so much ill nature in a pen as in his, joined with so much good nature as was in himself, even to excess; for he was against all punishing, even of malefactors. He was bountiful, even to run himself into difficulties: And charitable to a fault; for he commonly gave all he had about him, when he met an object that moved him. But he was so lazy, that, tho' the King seemed to court him to be a favourite, he would not give himself the trouble that belonged to that post. He hated the Court, and despised the King, when he saw he was neither generous, nor tender hearted. *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, was naturally modest, till the Court corrupted him. His wit had in it a peculiar brightness, to which none could ever arrive. He gave himself up to all sorts of extravagance, and to the wildest frolicks that a wanton wit could devise. He would have gone about the streets as a beggar, and made love as a porter. He set up a stage as an *Italian* mountebanck. He was for some years always drunk, and was ever doing some mischief. The King loved his company for the diversion it afforded, better than his person: And there was no love lost between them. He took his revenges in many libels. He found out a footman that knew all the Court, and he furnished him with a red coat and a musket as a centinel, and kept him all the winter long every night at the doors of such ladies, as he believed might be in intrigues. In the Court a centinel is little minded, and is believed to be posted by a captain of the Guards to hinder a combat: So this man saw who walked about, and visited at forbidden hours. By this means Lord *Rocheſter* made many discoveries. And when he was well furnished with materials, he used to retire

retire into the country for a month or two to write libels: Once 1668. being drunk he intended to give the King a libel that he had writ on some ladies: But by a mistake he gave him one written on himself. He fell into an ill habit of body: And in several fits of sickness he had deep remorse; for he was guilty both of much impiety, and of great immoralities. But as he recovered he threw these off, and turned again to his former ill courses. In the last year of his life I was much with him, and have writ a book of what pass'd between him and me. I do verily believe, he was then so entirely changed, that, if he had recovered, he would have made good all his resolutions. *Sidly* had a more sudden and copious wit, which furnished a perpetual run of discourse: But he was not so correct as Lord *Dorset*, nor so sparkling as Lord *Rocheſter*. The Duke of *Buckingham* loved to have these much about him: And he gave himself up to a monstrous course of studied immoralities of the worst kinds: He was so full of mercury, that he could not fix long in any friendship, or to any design. *Bennet*, now made Lord *Arlington*, and he fell out: *Bennet* was all cunning and artifice, and so could not hold long with him, who was so open that he disclosed every thing. Lord *Arlington* was engaged in a great intimacy with *Clifford*, *Littleton*, and *Duncomb*. I have already given some account of the two first. *Duncomb* was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raise enemies against himself: He was an able Parliament man: But could not go into all the designs of the Court; for he had a sense of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s chief friends were the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Lauderdale*, but above all Sir *Thomas Osborn*, raised afterwards to be Lord Treasurer, and Earl of *Danby*, and since made Duke of *Leeds* by the late King.

The King took Sir *William Coventry* from the Duke, and put him in the Treasury. He was in a fair way to be the chief Minister, and deserved it more than all the rest did. But he was too honest to engage in the designs into which the Court was resolved to go, as soon as it had recovered a little reputation; which was sunk very low by the ill management of the *Dutch* war, and the squandering away of the money given for it. He was a man of the finest and the best temper that belonged to the Court. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and he fell out, I know not for what reason: And a challenge pass'd between them, upon which *Coventry* was forbid the Court. And he upon that seemed to retire very willingly: And he was become a very religious man when I knew him. He was offered after that the best posts in the Court, oftner than once: But he would never engage again. He saw

Sir William
Coventry's
character.

1668. what was at bottom, and was resolved not to go through with it; and so continued to his death in a retired course of life.

The Government of Ireland changed.

The Duke of *Ormond* continued still in the Government of *Ireland*, tho' several interests joined together against him. The Earls of *Orrery* and *Ranelagh* on the one hand, and *Talbot* on the other. Lord *Orrery* loved to appear in business; but dealt so much underhand, that he had not much credit with any side. Lord *Ranelagh* was a young man of great parts, and as great vices: He had a pleasantness in his conversation that took much with the King, and had a great dexterity in business. Many complaints were secretly brought against the Duke of *Ormond*. The King loved him: And he accommodated himself much to the King's humour. Yet the King was, with much difficulty, prevailed on to put an end to his government of *Ireland*, and to put Lord *Roberts*, afterwards made Earl of *Radnor*, in his place; who was a morose man, believed to be severely just, and as wise as a cynical humour could allow him to be. The manner of removing the Duke of *Ormond* will give a particular character of the King's temper. He sent Lord *Arlington* to him for his commission. The Duke of *Ormond* said, he had received it from the King's own hands, and he would go and deliver it to him. When he carried it to the King, the King denied he had sent him any such message. Two days after that Lord *Arlington* was sent again with the same message: And he had the same answer: And the King disowned it again to the Duke. So the King declared in the Privy Council the change of the Government of *Ireland*, and made *Roberts* Lord Lieutenant. And it flew abroad as a piece of news. The Duke of *Ormond* hearing that, came to the King in great wrath, to expostulate upon it. But the King denied the whole thing, and sent him away: But he sent for *Fitzpatrick*, who had married his sister, and who told me the whole story, and sent him to the Duke of *Ormond*, to tell him, the King had denied the matter tho' it was true, for he observed he was in such a heat, that he was afraid he might have said indecent things: And he was resolved not to fall out with him: For, tho' his affairs made it necessary to change the Government of *Ireland*, yet he would still be kind to him, and continue him Lord *Steward*. Lord *Radnor* did not continue long in *Ireland*: He was cynical in his whole administration, and uneasy to the King in every thing: And in one of his peevish humours he writ to the King, that he had but one thing to ask of him, which if it might be granted, he would never ask another, and that was to be discharged of his employment. The Lord *Berkley* succeeded him, who was brother to the Lord *Fitzharding*, and from

from small beginnings had risen up to the greatest post a subject 1668. was capable of. In the war he was Governour of *Exeter* for the King, and one of his Generals. He was named by him Governour to the Duke of *York*. He was now made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and afterwards sent Ambassadour to *France*, and Plenipotentiary to *Nimeguen*. He was a man in whom it appeared with how little true judgment Courts distribute favours and honours. He had a positive way of undertaking and determining in every thing, but was a very weak man, and not incorrupt.

The Court delivered it self up to vice. And the House of Commons lost all respect in the Nation; for they gave still all the money that was asked. Yet those who opposed the Court carried one great point, that a Committee should be named to examine the accounts of the money that was given during the *Dutch* war. It was carried, that they should be all men out of the House. Lord *Brereton* was the chief of them, and had the chair. He was a philosophical man, and was all his life long in search of the philosophers stone, by which he neglected his own affairs; but was a man of great integrity, and was not to be gained by the flatteries, hopes, or threatnings of the Court. Sir *William Turner* was another of the Committee, who had been Lord Major of *London* the former year, under whose wise and just administration the rebuilding of the City advanced so fast, that he would have been chosen Lord Major for the ensuing year, if he had not declined it. *Pierpoint* was likewise of this Committee: So was Sir *James Langham*, a very weak man, famed only for his readiness of speaking florid *Latin*, which he had attained to a degree beyond any man of the age; but his style was too poetical, and full of Epithets and Figures.

I name Sir *George Saville* last, because he deserves a more copious character. He rose afterwards to be Viscount, Earl, and Marquis of *Halifax*. He was a man of a great and ready wit; full of life, and very pleasant; much turned to satyr. He let his wit run much on matters of religion: So that he passed for a bold and determined Atheist; tho' he often protested to me, he was not one; and said, he believed there was not one in the world: He confessed, he could not swallow down every thing that divines imposed on the world: He was a Christian in submission: He believed as much as he could, and he hoped that God would not lay it to his charge, if he could not digest iron, as an ostrich did, nor take into his belief things that must burst him: If he had any scruples, they were not sought for, nor cherished by him; for he never read an atheistical book. In a fit of sickness, I knew him very much touched with a sense of religion.

I was

1668. I was then often with him. He seemed full of good purposes: But they went off with his sickness. He was always talking of morality and friendship. He was punctual in all payments, and just in all his private dealings. But, with relation to the publick, he went backwards and forwards, and changed sides so often, that in conclusion no side trusted him. He seemed full of Common-wealth notions: Yet he went into the worst part of King *Charles's* reign. The liveliness of his imagination was always too hard for his judgment. A severe jest was preferred by him to all arguments whatsoever. And he was endless in consultations: For when after much discourse a point was settled, if he could find a new jest, to make even that which was suggested by himself seem ridiculous, he could not hold, but would study to raise the credit of his wit, tho' it made others call his judgment in question. When he talked to me as a philosopher of his contempt of the world, I asked him, what he meant by getting so many new titles, which I call'd the hanging himself about with bells and tinsel. He had no other excuse for it, but this, that, since the world were such fools as to value those matters, a man must be a fool for company: He considered them but as rattles: Yet rattles please children: So these might be of use to his family. His heart was much set on raising his family. But, tho' he made a vast estate for them, he buried two of his sons himself, and almost all his grandchildren. The son that survived was an honest man, but far inferior to him. I do not remember who besides these were of that Committee, which because it sat in *Brook-house*, was called by the name of that house.

1669. The Court was much troubled to see an enquiry of this kind set on foot. It was said, the King was basely treated, when all his expence was to be looked into. On the other hand it was answered, that the Parliament did not look into his revenue, but only to the distribution of that treasure that was trusted to him for carrying on the war. I was told, that, after all the most shameful items that could be put into an account, there was none offered for about 800000 *l.* But I was not then in *England*: So I was very imperfectly informed as to this matter. The chief men that promoted this were taken off, (as the word then was for corrupting members,) in which the Court made so great a progress, that it was thought the King could never have been prevailed on to part with a Parliament so much practised on, and where every man's price was known; for as a man rose in his credit in the House, he raised his price, and expected to be treated accordingly. In all this enquiry the carelessness and luxury of the Court came to be so much exposed, that

Many Parliament men gained by the Court.

that the King's spirit was much sharpened upon it. All the 1669. flatterers about him magnified foreign governments, where the Princes were absolute, that in *France* more particularly. Many to please him said, it was a very easy thing to shake off the restraints of law, if the King would but set about it. The Crown of *Denmark* was elective, and subject to a Senate, and yet was in one day, without any visible force, changed to be both hereditary and absolute, no rebellion nor convulsion of state following on it. The King loved the project in general; but would not give himself the trouble of laying or managing it. And therefore, till his affairs were made easier, and the project grew clearer, he resolved to keep all things close within himself; and went on in the common maxim, to balance party against party, and by doing popular things to get money of his Parliament, under the pretence of supporting the Triple Alliance. So money-bills passed easily in the House of Commons: Which by a strange reverse came to be opposed in the House of Lords; who began to complain, that the money-bills came up so thick, that it was said, there was no end of their giving. *End* signifying purpose, as well as a measure, this pass'd as a severe jest at that time. Sir *John Coventry* made a gross reflection on the King's amours. He was one of those who struggled much against the giving money. The common method is: After those who oppose such bills fail in the main vote, the next thing they endeavour is, to lay the money on funds that will be unacceptable, and will prove deficient. So these men proposed the laying a tax on the Play-houses, which in so dissolute a time were become nests of prostitution. And the stage was defiled beyond all example, *Dryden*, the great master of Dramatick Poesy, being a monster of immodesty, and of impurity of all sorts. This was opposed by the Court: It was said, the Players were the King's servants, and a part of his pleasure. *Coventry* asked, whether did the King's pleasure lie among the men, or the women that acted? This was carried with great indignation to the Court. It was said, this was the first time that the King was personally reflected on: If it was passed over, more of the same kind would follow; and it would grow a fashion to talk so: It was therefore fit to take such severe notice of this, that no body should dare to talk at that rate for the future. The Duke of *York* told me, he said all he could to the King to divert him from the resolution he took; which was to send some of the Guards, and watch in the streets where Sir *John* lodged, and leave a mark upon him. *Sands* and *Obrian*, and some others, went thither: And as *Coventry* was going home, they drew about

1669. him. He stood up to the wall, and snatched the flambeau out of his servant's hands: And with that in the one hand, and his sword in the other, he defended himself so well, that he got more credit by it than by all the actions of his life. He wounded some of them; but was soon disarmed: And then they cut his nose to the bone, to teach him to remember what respect he owed to the King: And so they left him, and went back to the Duke of *Monmouth's*, where *Obrian's* arm was dressed. That matter was executed by orders from the Duke of *Monmouth*: For which he was severely censured, because he lived then in professions of friendship with *Coventry*; so that his subjection to the King was not thought an excuse for directing so vile an attempt on his friend, without sending him secret notice of what was designed. *Coventry* had his nose so well needled up, that the scar was scarce to be discerned. This put the House of Commons in a furious uproar. They passed a bill of banishment against the actors of it; and put a clause in it, that it should not be in the King's power to pardon them. This gave great advantages to all those that opposed the Court: And was often remembred, and much improved, by all the angry men of this time. The names of the Court and Country party, which till now had seemed to be forgotten, were again revived.

Coventry's
nose was
cut.

A new pro-
secution of
Conventi-
cles.

1669.
Many Reg-
iment men
gained by
the Court.

When the City was pretty well rebuilt, they began to take care of the Churches, which had lain in ashes some years. And in that time Conventicles abounded in all the parts of the City. It was thought hard to hinder men from worshipping God any way as they could, when there were no Churches, nor Ministers to look after them. But they began to raise Churches of boards, till the publick allowance should be raised towards the building the Churches. These they called Tabernacles: And they fitted them up with pews and galleries as Churches. So now an Act was proposed, reviving the former Act against Conventicles, with some new clauses in it. One was very extraordinary, that if any doubt should arise concerning the meaning of any part of this Act, it was to be determined in the sense that was the most contrary to Conventicles, it being the intention of the House to repress them in the most effectual manner possible. The other was, the laying a heavy fine on such Justices of the Peace, as should not execute the law, when informations were brought them. Upon this many, who would not be the instruments of such severities, left the bench, and would sit there no longer. This Act was executed in the City very severely in *Starling's* Majoralty; and put things in such disorder, that many of the trading men of the City began to talk of removing with their stocks

over

over to *Holland*. But the King ordered a stop to be put to farther severities. Many of the sects either discontinued their meetings, or held them very secretly with small numbers, and not in hours of publick worship. Yet informers were encouraged, and were every where at work. The behaviour of the Quakers was more particular, and had something in it that looked bold. They met at the same place, and at the same hour as before. And when they were seized, none of them would go out of the way: They went all together to prison: They staid there till they were dismiss'd; for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor would they pay their fines set on them, nor so much as the jayl fees, calling these the wages of unrighteousness. And as soon as they were let out, they went to their meeting houses again: And, when they found these were shut up by order, they held their meetings on the streets, before the doors of those houses. They said, they would not disown, or be ashamed of their meeting together to worship God: But in imitation of *Daniel* they would do it the more publickly, because they were forbidden the doing it. Some called this obstinacy, while others called it firmness. But by it they carried their point: For the Government grew weary of dealing with so much perverseness, and so began with letting them alone.

The King had by this time got all the money that he expected from the House of Commons, and that after great practice on both Lords and Commons. Many bones of contention were thrown in, to create differences between the two Houses, to try if by both Houses insisting on them the money bills might fall. But, to prevent all trouble from the Lords, the King was advised to go, and be present at all their debates. Lord *Lauderdale* valued himself to me on this advice, which he said he gave. At first the King sat decently on the throne, tho' even that was a great restraint on the freedom of debate; which had some effect for a while: Tho' afterwards many of the Lords seemed to speak with the more boldness, because, they said, one heard it to whom they had no other access but in that place; and they took the more liberty, because what they had said could not be reported wrong. The King, who was often weary of time, and did not know how to get round the day, liked the going to the House, as a pleasant diversion. So he went constantly. And he quickly left the throne, and stood by the fire; which drew a croud about him, that broke all the decency of that House: For before that time every Lord sat regularly in his place: But the King's coming broke the order of their sitting as became Senators. The King's going thither had a much worse

1669.

The King went commonly to the House of Lords.

1669. worſe effect: For he became a common ſolicitor, not only in publick affairs, but even in private matters of juſtice. He would in a very little time have gone round the Houſe, and ſpoke to every man that he thought worth ſpeaking to. And he was apt to do that upon the ſolicitation of any of the Ladies in favour, or of any that had credit with them. He knew well on whom he could prevail: So being once in a matter of juſtice deſired to ſpeak to the Earl of *Effex*, and the Lord *Hollis*, he ſaid, they were ſtiff and ſullen men: But when he was next deſired to ſolicit two others, he undertook to do it; and ſaid, they are men of no conſcience, ſo I will take the government of their conſcience into my own hands. Yet when any of the Lords told him plainly, that they could not vote as he deſired, he ſeemed to take it well from them. When the Act againſt Conventicles was debated in that Houſe, *Wilkins* argued long againſt it. The King was much for having it paſs, not that he intended to execute it, but he was glad to have that body of men at mercy, and to force them to concur in the deſign for a general toleration. He ſpoke to *Wilkins* not to oppoſe it. He answered, he thought it an ill thing both in conſcience and policy: Therefore, both as he was an *English* man, and a Biſhop, he was bound to oppoſe it. The King then deſired him not to come to the Houſe while it depended. He ſaid, by the law and conſtitution of *England*, and by his Maſteſty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote: And he was neither afraid nor aſhamed to own his opinion in that matter, and to act purſuant to it. So he went on: And the King was not offended with his freedom. But tho' he bore with ſuch a frank refuſing to comply with his deſire, yet if any had made him ſuch general answers, as led him to believe they intended to be compliant, and had not in all things done as he expected, he called that a juggling with him; and he was apt to ſpeak hardly of them on that account. No ſooner was the King at eaſe, and had his fleet put in good caſe, and his ſtores and magazines well furniſhed, than he immediately fell to negotiating with *France*, both to ruine *Holland*, and to ſubvert the government of *England*. The *Brook-houſe* buſineſs, as well as the burning his fleet, ſtuck as deep as any thing could do in his heart. He reſolved to revenge the one, and to free himſelf from the apprehenſions of the others returning upon him: Tho' the Houſe of Commons were ſo far practiſed on, that the report of *Brook-houſe* was let fall; and that matter was no more inſiſted on. Yet he abhorred the precedent, and the diſcoveries that had been made upon it.

The Prince of *Orange* came over to him in the winter 1669. 1669. He was then in the twentieth year of his age: So he came over, both to see how the King intended to pay the great debt that he owed him, which had been contracted by his father on his account, and likewise to try what offices the King would do in order to his advancement to the Stadtholdership. The King treated him civilly. He assured him he would pay the debt: But did not lay down any method of doing it: So these were only good words. He tryed the Prince, as the Prince himself told me in point of religion: He spoke of all the Protestants as a factious body, broken among themselves ever since they had broken off from the main body; and wished, that he would take more pains, and look into these things better, and not to be led by his *Dutch* blockheads. The Prince told all this to *Zwylesteyn* his natural uncle. They were both amazed at it; and wondered, how the King could trust so great a secret, as his being a Papist, to so young a person. The Prince told me, that he never spoke of this to any other person, till after his death: But he carried it always in his own mind, and could not hinder himself from judging of all the King's intentions after that from the discovery he had then made of his own sentiments. Nor did he, upon his not complying with that proposition, expect any real assistance of the King, but general intercessions, which signified nothing: And that was all he obtained.

The Prince of *Orange* came to the King.

So far have I carried on the thread of the affairs of *England*, down from the peace of *Breda* to the year 1670, in which the negotiation with the Court of *France* was set on foot. I am not sure, that every thing is told in just order; because I was all the while very much retired from the world and from company. But I am confident, I have given a true representation of things; since I had most of these matters from persons who knew them well, and who were not like to deceive me. But now I return to my own country, where the same spirit appeared in the administration.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

The King was now upon measures of moderation and comprehension: So these were also pursued in *Scotland*. *Leightoun* was the only person among the Bishops who declared for these methods: And he made no step without talking it over to me. A great many Churches were already vacant. The people fell off entirely from all the Episcopal Clergy in the western Counties: And a set of hot, fiery, young teachers went about among them, inflaming them more and more: So it was necessary to find a remedy for this. *Leightoun* proposed, that a treaty should be set on foot in order to the accommodating our differences, and for changing the laws that had carried the Epis-

A treaty for an accommodation with the Presbyterians in *Scotland*.

1669. copal authority much higher than any of the Bishops themselves put in practice. He saw both Church and State were rent: Religion was like to be lost: Popery, or rather barbarity, was like to come in upon us: And therefore he proposed such a scheme, as he thought might have taken in the soberest men of Presbyterian principles; reckoning that, if the schism could be once healed, and order be once restored, it might be easy to bring things into such management, that the concessions then to be offered should do no great hurt in present, and should die with that generation. He observed the extraordinary concessions made by the *African* Church to the *Donatists*, who were every whit as wild and extravagant as our people were: Therefore he went indeed very far in the extenuating the Episcopal authority: But he thought, it would be easy afterwards to recover what seemed necessary to be yielded at present.

He proposed, that the Church should be governed by the Bishops and their Clergy, mixing together in the Church Judicatories; in which the Bishop should act only as a president, and be determined by the majority of his Presbyters, both in matters of jurisdiction and ordination: And that the Presbyterians should be allowed, when they sat down first in these Judicatories, to declare, that their sitting under a Bishop was submitted to by them only for peace sake, with a reservation of their opinion with relation to any such presidency: And that no negative vote should be claimed by the Bishop: That Bishops should go to the Churches, in which such as were to be ordained were to serve, and hear and discuss any exceptions that were made to them, and ordain them with the concurrence of the Presbytery: That such as were to be ordained should have leave to declare their opinion, if they thought the Bishop was only the head of the Presbyters. And he also proposed, that there should be provincial Synods, to sit in course every third year, or oftner, if the King should summon them; in which complaints of the Bishops should be received; and they should be censured accordingly. The laws that settled Episcopacy, and the authority of a National Synod, were to be altered according to this scheme. To justify, or rather to excuse these concessions, which left little more than the name of a Bishop, he said, as for their protestation, it would be little minded, and soon forgotten: The world would see the union that would be again settled among us, and the protestation would lie dead in the books, and die with those that made it: As for the negative vote, Bishops generally managed matters so, that they had no occasion for it: But, if it should be found necessary, it might be lodged in the King's

King's name with some secular person, who should interpose 1669.
as often as the Bishop saw it was expedient to use it: And if
the present race could be but laid in their graves in peace, all
those heats would abate, if not quite fall off. He also thought,
it was a much decenter thing, for Bishops to go upon the place
where the Minister was to serve, and to ordain after solemn
fasting and prayer, than to huddle it up at their Cathedrals,
with no solemnity, and scarce with common decency. It seem-
ed also reasonable, that Bishops should be liable to censure, as
well as other people: And that in a fixed Court, which was to
consist of Bishops, and Deans, and two chosen from every
Presbytery. The liberty offered to such as were to be ordained,
to declare their opinion, was the hardest part of the whole. It
looked like the perpetuating a factious and irregular humour.
But few would make use of it. All the Churches in the gift of
the King, or of the Bishops, would go to men of other princi-
ples. But tho' some things of an ill digestion were at such a
time admitted, yet, if by these means the schism could be once
healed, and the Nation again settled in a peaceable state, the ad-
vantage of that would balance all that was lost by those abate-
ments that were to be made in the Episcopal authority; which
had been raised too high, and to correct that was now to be let fall
too low, if it were not for the good that was to be hoped for
from this Accommodation: For this came to be the word as
Comprehension was in *England*. He proposed farther, that a
treaty might be set on foot, for bringing the Presbyterians to
accept of these concessions. The Earl of *Kincardin* was against
all treating with them: They were a trifling sort of disputatious
people: They would fall into much wrangling, and would sub-
divide among themselves: And the young and ignorant men
among them, that were accustomed to popular declamations,
would say, here was a bargain made to sell *Christ's* Kingdom,
and his prerogative. He therefore proposed, that since we knew
both their principles and their tempers, we ought to carry the
concessions as far as it was either reasonable or expedient, and
pass these into laws: And then they would submit to a settle-
ment that was made, and that could not be helped, more easi-
ly than give a consent before hand to any thing that seemed to
entrench on that which they called the liberty of the Church.
Leightoun did fully agree with him in this. But Lord *Lauder-*
dale would never consent to that. He said, a law that did so
entirely change the constitution of the Church, when it came to
be pass'd and printed, would be construed in *England* as a pulling
down of Episcopacy; unless he could have this to say in excuse
for

1669. for it, that the Presbyterians were willing to come under that model. So he said, since the load of what was to be done in *Scotland* would fall heaviest on him, he would not expose himself so much, as the passing any such act must certainly do, till he knew what effects would follow on it. So we were forced to try how to deal with them in a treaty.

I was sent to propose this scheme to *Hutchinson*, who was esteemed the learnedest man among them. But I was only to try him, and to talk of it as a notion of my own. He had married my cousin german; and I had been long acquainted with him. He look'd on it as a project that would never take effect: So he would not give his opinion about it. He said, when these concessions were pass'd into laws, he would know what he should think of them: But he was one of many, so he avoided to declare himself. The next thing under consideration was, how to dispose of the many vacancies, and how to put a stop to Conventicles. *Leightoun* proposed, that they should be kept still vacant, while the treaty was on foot; and that the Presbyterians should see how much the Government was in earnest in the design of bringing them to serve in the Church, when so many places were kept open for them.

An indulgence proposed.

The Earl of *Tweeddale* thought the treaty would run into a great length, and to many niceties, and would perhaps come to nothing in conclusion. So he proposed the granting some of the outed Ministers leave to go and serve in those parishes by an Act of the King's indulgence, from whence it came to be called the Indulgence. *Leightoun* was against this. He thought, nothing would bring on the Presbyterians to a treaty, so much as the hopes of being again suffered to return to their benefices: Whereas, if they were once admitted to them, they would reckon they had gained their point, and would grow more backward. I was desired to go into the western parts, and to give a true account of matters, as I found them there. So I went, as in a visit to the Duke of *Hamilton*; whose Duchess was a woman of great piety, and great parts. She had much credit among them; for she pass'd for a zealous Presbyterian, tho she protested to me, she never entred into the points of controversy, and had no settled opinion about forms of Government; only she thought their Ministers were good men, who kept the country in great quiet and order: They were, she said, blameless in their lives, devout in their way, and diligent in their labours. The people were all in a phrenzy, and were in no disposition to any treaty. The furiouslest men among them were busy in Conventicles, inflaming them against all agreements: So she thought,

thought, that, if the more moderate Presbyterians were put in 1669. vacant Churches, the people would grow tamer, and be taken out of the hands of the mad preachers, that were then most in vogue: This would likewise create a confidence in them: For they were now so possessed with prejudices, as to believe that all that was proposed was only an artifice to make them fall out among themselves, and deceive them at last. This seemed reasonable: And she got many of the more moderate of them to come to me: And they all talked in the same strain.

A strange accident happened to *Sharp* in July 1668, as he was going into his coach in full daylight, the Bishop of *Orkney* being with him. A man came up to the coach, and discharged a pistol at him with a brace of bullets in it, as the Bishop of *Orkney* was going up into the coach. He intended to shoot through his cloak at *Sharp*, as he was mounting up: But the bullet stuck in the Bishop of *Orkney*'s arm, and shattered it so, that, tho' he lived some years after that, they were forced to open it every year for an exfoliation. *Sharp* was so universally hated, that, tho' this was done in full day light, and on the high street, yet no body offered to seize the assassin. So he walked off, and went home, and shifted himself of an odd wig, which he was not accustomed to wear, and came out, and walked on the streets immediately. But *Sharp* had viewed him so narrowly, that he discovered him afterwards, as shall be mentioned in its proper place. I lived then much out of the world: Yet I thought it decent to go and congratulate on this occasion. He was much touched with it, and put on a shew of devotion upon it. He said with a very serious look, my times are wholly in thy hand, O thou God of my life. This was the single expression favouring of piety, that ever fell from him in all the conversation that passed between him and me. Proclamations were issued out with great rewards for discovering the actor: But nothing followed on them. On this occasion it was thought proper, that he should be called to Court, and have some marks of the King's favour put on him. He promised to make many good motions: And he talked for a while like a changed man: And went out of his way, as he was going to Court, to visit me at my parsonage house, and seemed resolved to turn to other methods. The King, as he had a particular talent that way, when he had a mind to it, treated him with special characters of favour and respect. But he made no proposition to the King: Only in general terms he approved of the methods of gentleness and moderation then in vogue.

1669.

Sharp proposed the indulging some Ministers that did not conform.

When he came back to *Scotland*, he moved in Council that an indulgence might be granted to some of the Publick Resolutioners, with some rules and restraints; such as, that they should not speak, or preach, against Episcopacy, and that they should not admit to either of the Sacraments any of the neighbouring parishes without a desire from their own Ministers; and that they should engage themselves to observe these rules. He knew that his proposition, for all the shew of moderation that was in it, could have no effect: For the Resolutioners and the Protestors had laid down their old disputes, and were resolved to come under no discrimination on that account; nor would they engage to observe any limitations that should be laid on them. They said, the Government might lay restraints on them, and punish them, if they broke thro' them: And they would obey them, or not, at their peril. But they laid down this for a maxim, that they had received a compleat Ministry from *Christ*, and that the judicatories of the Church had only power to govern them in the exercise of their function. If the King should lay any limitations on them, they might obey these, as prudence should direct: But they would not bind themselves up by any engagement of their own. *Burnet*, and his Clergy, (for the diocese of *Glasgow* is above the fourth part of all *Scotland*;) came to *Edinburgh* full of high complaints, that the Churches were universally forsaken, and that Conventicles abounded in every corner of the country. A proclamation was upon that issued out, in imitation of the *English* Act, setting a fine of 50 *l.* upon every landlord, on whose grounds any Conventicle was held, which he might recover, as he could, of those who were at any such Conventicle. This was plainly against law; for the Council had no power by their authority to set arbitrary fines. It was pretended on the other hand, that the Act of Parliament that had restored Episcopacy had a clause in it, recommending the execution of that Act to the Privy Council by all the best ways they could think of. But the lawyers of the Council-board said, that in matters of property their power was certainly tied up to the direction of the law: And the clause mentioned related only to particular methods, but could not be construed so far, as this proclamation carried the matter. The proclamation went out, but was never executed. It was sent up to *London*, and had a shew of zeal; and so was made use of by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to bear down the clamour, that was raised against him and his party in *Scotland*, as if they designed to pull down Episcopacy. The model of the county militia was now executed: And above two thousand horse, and sixteen thousand foot were armed,

armed, and trained, and cast into independent regiments and troops, who were all to be under such orders as the Council issued out. All this was against law: For the King had only a power upon an extraordinary occasion to raise, and march such a body of men, as he should summon together; and that at his own charge: But the converting this into a standing militia, which carried with it a standing charge, was thought a great stretch of prerogative. Yet it was resolved on; tho' great exceptions were made to it by the lawyers, chiefly by Sir *John Nisbit*, the King's advocate, a man of great learning, both in law and in many other things, chiefly in the *Greek* learning: He was a person of great integrity, and always stood firm to the law. The true secret of this design was, that Lord *Lauderdale* was now pressing to get into the management of the affairs of *England*. And he saw what the Court was aiming at. And he had a mind to make himself considerable by this, that he had in his hand a great army, with a magazine of arms, and a stock of money laid up in *Scotland* for any accident that might happen. So all his creatures, and Lady *Dysert* more than all the rest, had this up in all companies, that none before him ever dreamt how to make *Scotland* considerable to the King: But now it began to make a great figure. An Army, a Magazine, and a Treasure, were words of a high sound; chiefly now that the House of Commons was like to grow so intractable, that the Duke of *Buckingham* despaired of being able to manage them. He moved the dissolving the Parliament, and calling a new one: And thought the Nation would choose men less zealous for the Church; for these were all against him. But the King would not venture on it. He knew the House of Commons was either firm to him by their own principles: Or by his management they could be made so: And therefore he would not run the risk of any new election. He had the Dissenters much in his power, by the severe laws under which they lay at his mercy: But he did not know what influence they might have in elections, and in a new Parliament: These he knew were in their hearts enemies to prerogative; which he believed they would shew, as soon as they got themselves to be delivered from the laws, that then put them in the King's power.

Lord *Tweedale* was then at *London*: And he set on foot a proposition, that came to nothing, but made so much noise, and was of such importance, that it deserves to be enlarged on. It was for the union of both Kingdoms. The King liked it; because he reckoned, that, at least for his time, he should be

Propositions
for the union
of the two
Kingdoms.

sure

1669. sure of all the members that should be sent up from *Scotland*. The Duke of *Buckingham* went in easily to a new thing: And Lord Keeper *Bridgman* was much for it. The Lord *Lauderdale* pressed it vehemently: It made it necessary to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, where he intended to be the King's Commissioner. The Earl of *Tweeddale* was for it on other accounts, both to settle the establishment of the militia, and to get some alterations made in the laws that related to the Church: And he really drove at the union, as a thing which he thought might be brought about. *Scotland*, he said, was even then under great uneasiness, tho' the King knew the state of that Kingdom: But when another King should reign that knew not *Joseph*, (so he expressed it,) the Nation would be delivered up to favourites, and be devoured by them: Rich provinces, like those that belonged to *Spain*, could hold out long under oppression: But a poor country would be soon dispeopled, if much oppressed: And if a King of deep designs against publick liberty should care for the *Scots*, he might easily engagethem; since a poor country may be supposed willing to change their seats, and to break in on a richer one: There was indeed no fear of that at present; for the dotage of the Nation on Presbytery, and the firmness with which the Government supported Episcopacy, set them so far from one another, that no engagement of that sort could be attempted: But if a King should take a dextrous method for putting that out of the way, he might carry *Scotland* to any design he thought fit to engage in. Lord *Tweeddale* blamed Sir *Francis Bacon* much for laying it down as a maxim, that *Scotland* was to be reckoned as the third part of the Island, and to be treated accordingly: Whereas he assured me, *Scotland* for numbers of people was not above a tenth part, and for wealth not above a fortieth part of the Island.

The discourse of the union was kept up, till it was resolved to summon a new Parliament in *Scotland*. Then Lord *Lauderdale* made the King reflect on the old scheme he had laid before him at the Restoration: And he undertook to manage the Parliament so, as to make it answer that end more effectually than any before him had ever done. This was resolved on in the summer 1669. I being then at *Hamilton*, and having got the best information of the state of the country that I could, wrote a long account of all I had heard to the Lord *Tweeddale*, and concluded it with an advice to put some of the more moderate of the Presbyterians into the vacant Churches. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, the letter was so well liked, that it was read to the King. Such a letter would have signified nothing,

if Lord *Tweedale* had not been fixed in the same notion. He 1669. had now a pausable thing to support it. So my principles, and zeal for the Church, and I know not what besides were raised to make my advice signify somewhat. And it was said, I was the man that went most entirely into *Leightoun's* maxims. So this indiscreet letter of mine, sent without communicating it to *Leightoun*, gave the deciding stroke. And, as may be easily believed, it drew much hatred on me from all that either knew it, or did suspect it.

The King wrote a letter to the Privy Council, ordering them to indulge such of the Presbyterians as were peaceable and loyal, so far as to suffer them to serve in vacant Churches, tho' they did not submit to the present establishment: And he required them to set them such rules as might preserve order and peace, and to look well to the execution of them: And as for such as could not be provided to Churches at that time, he ordered a pension of 20 *l. ster.* a year to be paid every one of them, as long as they lived orderly. Nothing followed on the second article of this letter: The Presbyterians look'd on this, as the King's hire to be silent, and not to do their duty: And none of them would accept of it. But, as to the first part of the letter, on the first Council day after it was read, twelve of the Ministers were indulged: They had parishes assigned them: And about thirty more were afterwards indulged in the same manner: And then a stop was put to it for some time. With the warrants that they had for their Churches, there was a paper of rules likewise put in their hands. *Hutcheson* in all their names made a speech to the Council: He began with decent expressions of thanks to the King, and their Lordships: He said, they should at all times give such obedience to laws, and orders, as could stand with a good conscience. And so they were dismissed. As for those of them that were allowed to go to the Churches where they had served before, no difficulty could be made: But those of them that were named to other Churches would not enter on the serving them, till the Church sessions, and the inhabitants of the parish met, and made choice of them for their pastors, and gave them a call (as they worded it) to serve among them. But upon this, scruples arose among some, who said the peoples choice ought to be free; whereas now they were limited to the person named by the Council, which looked like an election upon a *Conge d'elire* with a letter naming the person, with which they had often diverted themselves. But scruples are mighty things, when they concur with inclination or interest: And when they are not supported by these, men learn dis-

The King gave orders for the Indulgence.

1669. tinctiōns to get free from them. So it happened in this case: For tho' some few were startled at these things, yet they lay in no man's way; for every man went, and was possessed of the Church marked out for him. And at first the people of the country ran to them with a sort of transport of joy. Yet this was soon cooled. It was hoped, that they would have begun their ministry with a publick testimony against all that had been done in opposition to what they were accustomed to call the work of God. But they were silent at that time, and preached only the doctrines of Christianity. This disgusted all those who loved to hear their Ministers preach to the times, as they call'd it. The stop put to the Indulgence made many conclude, that those, who had obtained the favour, had entred into secret engagements. So they came to call them the King's Curates, as they had called the Clergy in derision the Bishop's Curates. Their caution brought them under a worse character of *dumb dogs*, that could not bark. Those, who by their fierce behaviour had shut themselves out from a share in the Indulgence, began to call this Erastianism, and the Civil Magistrates assuming the power of sacred matters. They said, this was visibly an artifice to lay things asleep with the present generation; and was one of the depths of *Satan*, to give a present quiet, in order to the certain destruction of Presbytery. And it was also said, that there was a visible departing of the divine assistance from those preachers: They preached no more with the power and authority that had accompanied them at Conventicles. So many began to fall off from them, and to go again to Conventicles. Many of the preachers confessed to me, that they found an ignorance and a deadness among those who had been the hottest upon their meetings, beyond what could have been imagined. They that could have argued about the intrinsick power of the Church, and Episcopacy, and Presbytery, upon which all their sermons had chiefly run for several years, knew very little of the essentials of religion. But the indulged preachers, instead of setting themselves with the zeal and courage that became them against the follies of the people, of which they confessed to my self they were very sensible, took a different method; and studied by mean compliances to gain upon their affections, and to take them out of the hands of some fiery men, that were going up and down among them. The tempers of some brought them under this servile popularity, into which others went out of a desire to live easy.

The Indulgence was settled in a hurry. But when it came to be descanted on, it appeared to be plainly against law: For by the Act restoring Episcopacy none were capable of benefices, but such as should own the authority of Bishops, and be instituted by them. So now the Episcopal party, that were wont to put all authority in the King, as long as he was for them, began to talk of law. They said, the King's power was bounded by the law; and that these proceedings were the trampling of law under foot. For all parties, as they need the shelter of law, or the stretches of the prerogative, are apt by turns to magnify the one, or the other. *Burnet* and his Clergy were out of measure enraged at the indulgence. They were not only abandoned, but ill used by the people, who were beginning to threaten, or to buy them out of their Churches, that they also might have the benefit of the Indulgence. The Synod of the Clergy was held at *Glasgow* in *October*: And they moved, that an address might be drawn up, representing to the King the miseries they were under, occasioned by the Indulgence: They complained of it as illegal, and as like to be fatal to the Church. This was, according to the words in some of their Acts of Parliament, a misrepresenting the King's proceedings, in order to the alienating the hearts of his subjects from him; which was made capital, as may appear by the account given in the former book of the proceedings against the Lord *Balmerinock*. He that drew this address was one *Ross*, afterwards Archbishop, first of *Glasgow*, and then of *St. Andrews*; who was an ignorant man, and violent out of measure. So it was drawn full of acrimony. Yet they resolved to keep it secret, till advice should be taken upon it, and accordingly to present it to the Privy Council, or not. A Copy of this was procured by indirect methods: And it was sent up to Court, after the Earl of *Lauderdale* was come off, and was in his way to hold the Parliament in *Scotland*. Lord *Lauderdale* had left all his concerns at Court with Sir *Robert Murray*: For, tho', at his Mistress's instigation, he had used him very unworthily, yet he had so great an opinion of his vertue and candor, that he left all his affairs to his care. As soon as the King saw the Clergy's address, he said, it was a new western remonstrance: And he ordered, that *Burnet* should not be suffered to come to the Parliament, and that he should be proceeded against as far as the law could carry the matter. It was not easy to stretch this so far, as to make it criminal. But *Burnet* being obnoxious on other accounts, they intended to frighten him to submit, and to resign his Bishoprick.

This complained of as against law.

The

1669.

A Parlia-
ment in
Scotland.

The Parliament was opened in *November*. Lord *Lauderdale's* speech ran upon two heads. The one was, the recommending to their care the preservation of the Church, as established by law: Upon which he took occasion to express great zeal for Episcopacy. The other head related to the union of both Kingdoms. All that was done relating to that was, that an Act pass'd for a treaty about it: And in the following summer, in a subsequent session, Commissioners were named, who went up to treat about it. But they made no progress: And the thing fell so soon, that it was very visible it was never intended in good earnest.

The Supre-
macy carri-
ed very high.

The two first Acts that pass'd in Parliament were of more importance, and had a deeper design. The first explained, and asserted the King's Supremacy; but carried it in such general words, that it might have been stretched to every thing. It was declared, that the settling all things relating to the external government of the Church was a right of the Crown: And that all things relating to Ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and persons, were to be ordered according to such directions as the King should send to his Privy Council: And that these should be published by them, and should have the force of laws. Lord *Lauderdale* very probably knew the secret of the Duke's religion, and had got into his favour. So it was very likely, that he intended to establish himself in it, by putting the Church of *Scotland* wholly in his power. But that was yet a secret to us all in *Scotland*. The method he took to get it pass'd was this: He told all those who loved Presbytery, or that did not much favour the Bishops, that it was necessary to keep them under, by making them depend absolutely on the King: This was indeed a transferring the whole legislature, as to the matters of the Church, from the Parliament, and vesting it singly in the King: Yet, he told them, if this were done, as the circumstances might happen to be favourable, the King might be prevailed on, if a dash of a pen would do it, to change all on the sudden: Whereas that could never be hoped for, if it could not be brought about, but by the pomp and ceremony of a Parliament. He made the Nobility see, they needed fear no more the insolence of Bishops, if they were at mercy, as this would make them. *Sharp* did not like it, but durst not oppose it. He made a long dark speech, copied out of Doctor *Taylor*, distinguishing between the Civil and Ecclesiastical authority; and then voted for it: So did all the Bishops that were present: Some absented themselves. *Leighton* was against any such Act, and got some words to be altered in it. He thought, it might be stretched to ill ends: And so he was very averse to it. Yet he gave his vote for it, not hav-

ing

ing sufficiently considered the extent of the words, and the consequences that might follow on such an Act; for which he was very sorry, as long as he lived. But at that time there was no apprehensions in *Scotland* of the danger of Popery. Many of the best of the Episcopal Clergy, *Nairn*, and *Charteris* in particular, were highly offended at the Act. They thought it plainly made the King our Pope. The Presbyterians said, it put him in *Christ's* stead. They said, the King had already too much power in the matters of the Church: And nothing ruined the Clergy more, than their being brought into servile compliances, and a base dependance upon Courts. I had no share in the counsels about this Act. I only thought it was designed by Lord *Tweeddale* to justify the Indulgence, which he protested to me was his chief end in it. And no body could ever tell me how the word *Ecclesiastical matters* was put in the Act. *Leightoun* thought, he was sure it was put in after the draught and form of the Act was agreed on. It was generally charged on Lord *Lauderdale*. And when the Duke's religion came to be known, then all people saw, how much the legal settlement of our religion was put in his power by this means. Yet the preamble of the Act being only concerning the external government of the Church, it was thought, that the words *Ecclesiastical matters* were to be confined to the sense that was limited by the preamble.

The next Act that pass'd was concerning the Militia: All that had been done in raising it was approved: And it was enacted, that it should still be kept up, and be ready to march into any of the King's dominions, for any cause in which his Majesty's authority, power, or greatness should be concerned; and that the orders should be transmitted to them from the Council board, without any mention of orders from the King. Upon this great reflections were made. Some said, that by this the Army was taken out of the King's power and command, and put under the power of the Council: So that if the greater part of the Council should again rebel, as they did in the year 1638, the Army was by the words of this Act bound to follow their orders. But, when jealousies broke out in *England* of the ill designs that lay hid under this matter, it was thought that the intent of this clause was, that, if the King should call in the *Scotish* Army, it should not be necessary that he himself should send any orders for it; but that, upon a secret intimation, the Council might do it without order, and then, if the design should miscarry, it should not lie on the King, but only on the Council, whom in that case the King might disown; and so none about him

1669. him should be blameable for it. The Earl of *Lauderdale* valued himself upon these Acts, as if he had conquered Kingdoms by them. He wrote a letter to the King upon it, in which he said, all *Scotland* was now in his power: The Church of *Scotland* was now more subject to him than the Church of *England* was: This Militia was now an Army ready upon call: And that every man in *Scotland* was ready to march, whensoever he should order it, with several very ill insinuations in it. But so dangerous thing it is a to write such letters to Princes: This letter fell into Duke *Hamilton's* hands some years after: And I had it in my hands for some days. It was intended to found an impeachment on it. But that happened at the time when the business of the exclusion of the Duke from the succession of the Crown was so hotly pursued, that, this, which at another time would have made great noise, was not so much considered as the importance of of it might seem to deserve. The way how it came into such hands was this: The King, after he had read the letter, gave it to Sir *Robert Murray*: And when he died it was found among his papers. He had been much trusted in the King's laboratory, and had several of his chymical processes in his hands. So the King after his death did order one to look over all his papers for chymical matters: But all the papers of State were let alone. So this, with many other papers, fell into the hands of his executors. And thus this letter came into Duke *Hamilton's* hands; who would have made use of it, if greater matters had not been then in agitation. This is not the single instance, that I have known, of papers of great consequence falling into the hands of the executors of great Ministers, that might have been turned to very bad uses, if they had fallen into ill hands. It seems of great concern, that when a Minister, or an Ambassador, dies, or is recalled, or is disgraced, all papers relating to the secrets of his employment should be of right in the power of the Government. But I of all men should complain the least of this, since by this remissness many papers of a high nature have fallen in my way.

Burnet turned out, and *Leighton* made Archbishop of *Glasgow*.

By the Act of Supremacy the King was now master, and could turn out Bishops at pleasure. This had its first effect on *Burnet*; who was offered a pension, if he would submit and resign, and was threatened to be treated more severely, if he stood out. He complied, and retired to a private state of life, and bore his disgrace better than he had done his honours. He lived four years in the shade, and was generally much pitied: He was of himself good natured, and sincere; but was much in the power of others: He meddled too much in that which did not belong to

to him, and he did not understand; for he was not cut out for 1669.
a Court, or for the Ministry: And he was too remiss in that
which was properly his business, and which he understood to a
good degree; for he took no manner of care of the spiritual part
of his function.

At this time the University of *Glasgow*, to whom the choice
of the Professor of divinity does belong, chose me, tho' un-
known to them all, to be Professor there. There was no sort
of artifice or management to bring this about: It came of them-
selves: And they did it without any recommendation of any per-
son whatsoever. So I was advised by all my friends to change
my post, and go thither. This engaged me both into much
study, and in a great deal of business. The Clergy came all to
me, thinking I had some credit with those that governed, and
laid their grievances and complaints before me. They were
very ill used, and were so entirely forsaken by their people, that
in most places they shut up their Churches: They were also
threatened and affronted on all occasions. On the other hand
the Gentlemen of the country came much to me, and told me
such strange things of the vices of some, the follies of others,
and the indiscretions of them all, that, tho' it was not reason-
able to believe all that they said, yet it was impossible not to be-
lieve a great deal of it. And so I soon saw, what a hard pro-
vince I was like to have of it. Accounts of the state of those
parts were expected from me, and were like to be believed. And
it was not easy to know, what ought to be believed, nor how
matters were to be represented: For I found calumny was so equally
practised on both sides, that I came to mistrust every thing that
I heard. One thing was visible, that Conventicles abounded,
and strange doctrine was vented in them. The King's Supre-
macy was now the chief subject of declamation: It was said,
Bishops were indeed enemies to the liberties of the Church, but
the King's little finger would be heavier than their loins had
been. After I had been for some months among them, and had
heard so much, that I believed very little, I wrote to Lord *Tweed-*
dale, that disorders did certainly increase; but, as for any parti-
culars, I did not know what to believe, much less could I sug-
gest what remedies seemed proper: I therefore proposed, that a
Committee of Council might be sent round the country to exa-
mine matters, and to give such orders as were at present neces-
sary for the publick quiet; and that they might prepare a report
against the next session of Parliament, that then proper remedies
might be found out.

The state I
found things
in at *Glas-*
cow.

1669.

A Committee of Council sent round the West.

Duke *Hamilton*, Lord *Kincardin*, *Primerose*, and *Drumond*, were sent to these parts. They met first at *Hamilton*, next at *Glasgow*: Then they went to other parts; and came back, and ended their circuit at *Glasgow*. They punished some disorders, and threatened both the indulged Ministers, and the countries, with greater severities, if they should still grow more and more insolent upon the favour that had been shewed them. I was blamed by the Presbyterians for all they did, and by the Episcopal party for all they did not; since these thought they did too little, as the others thought they did too much. They consulted much with me; and suffered me to intercede so effectually for those whom they had put in prison, that they were all set at liberty. The Episcopal party thought I intended to make my self popular at their cost: So they began that strain of fury and calumny that has pursued me ever since from that sort of people, as a secret enemy to their interest, and an underminer of it. But I was, and still am, an enemy to all force and violence in matters of conscience: And there is no principle that is more hated by bad, ill natured Clergymen, than that.

The Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Tweeddale* pressed *Leightoun* much to accept of the See of *Glasgow*. He declined it with so much aversion, that we were all uneasy at it. Nothing moved him to hearken to it, but the hopes of bringing about the accommodation that was proposed; in which he had all assistance promised him from the Government. The King ordered him to be sent for to Court. He sent for me on his way; where he stopt a day, to know from me what prospect there was of doing any good. I could not much encourage him: Yet I gave him all the hopes that I could raise my self to: And I was then inclined to think, that the accommodation was not impracticable. Upon his coming to *London*, he found Lord *Lauderdale*'s temper was much inflamed: He was become fierce and intractable. But Lord *Tweeddale* made every thing as easy to him as was possible. They had turned out an Archbishop: So it concerned them to put an eminent man in his room, who should order matters with such moderation, that the Government should not be under perpetual disturbance by reason of complaints from those parts.

1670.

But now the Court was entring into new designs, into which Lord *Lauderdale* was thrusting himself, with an obsequious, or rather an officious zeal. I will dwell no longer at present on that, than just to name the Duchess of *Orleans*'s coming to *Dover*, of which a more particular account shall be given, after that

that I have laid together all that relates to *Scotland* in the year 1670. 1670, and the whole business of the Accommodation. *Leightoun* proposed to the King his scheme of the Accommodation, and the great advantages that his Majesty's affairs would have, if that country could be brought into temper. The King was at this time gone off from the design of a comprehension in *England*. Toleration was now thought the best way. Yet the Earl of *Lauderdale* possessed him with the necessity of doing somewhat to soften the *Scots*, in order to the great design he was then engaging in. Upon that the King, who seldom gave himself the trouble to think twice of any one thing, gave way to it. *Leightoun's* paper was in some places corrected by Sir *Robert Murray*; and was turned into instructions, by which Lord *Lauderdale* was authorised to pass the concessions, that were to be offered, into laws. This he would never own to me, tho' *Leightoun* shewed me the copy of them. But it appeared probable by his conduct afterwards, that he had secret directions to spoil the matter, and that he intended to deceive us all. Lord *Tweeddale* was more to be depended on. But he began to loose ground with Lady *Dysert*: And so his interest did not continue strong enough to carry on such a matter.

Leightoun undertook the administration of the See of *Glasgow*: And it was a year after this before he was prevailed on to be translated thither. He came upon this to *Glasgow*, and held a Synod of his Clergy; in which nothing was to be heard, but complaints of desertion and ill usage from them all. *Leightoun*, in a sermon that he preached to them, and in several discourses, both in publick and private, exhorted them to look up more to God, to consider themselves as the ministers of the Cross of *Christ*, to bear the contempt and ill usage they met with as a Cross laid on them for the exercise of their faith and patience, to lay aside all the appetites of revenge, to humble themselves before God, to have many days for secret fasting and prayers, and to meet often together that they might quicken and assist one another in those holy exercises: And then they might expect blessings from Heaven upon their labours. This was a new strain to the Clergy. They had nothing to say against it: But it was a comfortless doctrine to them: And they had not been accustomed to it. No speedy ways were proposed for forcing the people to come to Church, nor for sending soldiers among them, or raising the fines to which they were liable. So they went home, as little edified with their new Bishop, as he was with them. When this was over, he went round some parts of the country to the most eminent of the indulged Ministers, and carried me

Instructions
for an ac-
commoda-
tion.

Leightoun's
advices to
his Clergy.

1670. with him. His business was, to persuade them to hearken to propositions of peace. He told them, some of them would be quickly sent for to *Edenburgh*, where terms would be offered them in order to the making up our differences: All was sincerely meant: They would meet with no artifices, nor hardships: And if they received those offers heartily, they would be turned into laws: And all the vacancies then in the Church would be filled by their brethren. They received this with so much indifference, or rather neglect, that it would have cooled any zeal, that was less warm, and less active, than that good man's was. They were scarce civil; and did not so much as thank him for his tenderness and care: The more artful among them, such as *Hutcherson*, said, it was a thing of general concern, and they were but single men. Others were more metaphysical, and entertained us with some poor arguings and distinctions. *Leightoun* began to lose heart. Yet he resolved to set the negotiation on foot, and carry it as far as he could.

A conference between
Leightoun
and some
Presbyterians.

When Lord *Lauderdale* came down to hold a session of Parliament, letters were writ to six of the Presbyterian preachers, ordering them to come to town. There was a long conference between *Leightoun* and them, before the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Rothes*, *Tweeddale*, and *Kincardin*. *Sharp* would not be present at it: But he ordered *Paterfon*, afterwards Archbishop of *Glasgow* to hear all, and to bring him an account of what passed. *Leightoun* laid before them the mischief of our divisions, and of the schism that they had occasioned: Many souls were lost, and many more were in danger by these means: So that every one ought to do all he could to heal this wide breach, that had already let in so many evils among us, which were like to make way to many more: For his own part, he was persuaded that Episcopacy, as an order distinct from Presbyters, had continued in the Church ever since the days of the Apostles; that the world had every where received the Christian religion from Bishops, and that a parity among Clergymen was never thought of in the Church before the middle of the last century, and was then set up rather by accident than on design: Yet, how much soever he was persuaded of this, since they were of another mind, he was now to offer a temper to them, by which both sides might still preserve their opinions, and yet unite in carrying on the ends of the Gospel and their Ministry: They had Moderators amongst them, which was no divine institution, but only a matter of order: The King therefore might name these: And the making them constant could be no such encroachment on their function, as that the peace of the Church must be

he broke on such an account: Nor could they say, that the 1670. blessing of the men named to this function by an imposition of hands did degrade them from their former office, to say no more of it: So they were still at least Ministers: It is true, others thought, they had a new and special authority, more than a bare presidency: That did not concern them, who were not required to concur with them in any thing, but in submitting to this presidency: And, as to that, they should be allowed to declare their own opinion against it, in as full, and as publick a manner as they pleased: He laid it to their consciences, to consider of the whole matter, as in the presence of God, without any regard to party, or popularity. He spoke in all near half an hour, with a gravity and force that made a very great impression on those who heard it. *Hutcheson* answered, and said, their opinion for a parity among the Clergy was well known: The presidency now spoke of had made way to a lordly dominion in the Church: And therefore how inconsiderable soever the thing might seem to be, yet the effects of it both had been, and would be very considerable: He therefore desired, some time might be given them to consider well of the propositions now made, and to consult with their brethren about them: And, since this might seem an assembling together against law, he desired, they might have the King's Commissioner's leave for it. This was immediately granted. We had a second conference, in which matters were more fully opened, and pressed home, on the grounds formerly mentioned. Lord *Lauderdale* made us all dine together, and came to us after dinner: But could scarce restrain himself from flying out; for their behaviour seemed both rude and crafty. But *Leightoun* had prepared him for it, and pressed him not to give them a handle to excuse their flying off, by any roughness in his deportment towards them. The propositions offered them were now generally known. *Sharp* cried out, that Episcopacy was to be undermined, since the negative vote was to be let go. The inferiour Clergy thought, that if it took effect, and the Presbyterians were to be generally brought into Churches, they would be neglected, and that their people would forsake them. So they hated the whole thing. The bigotted Presbyterians thought, it was a snare, and the doing that, which had a fair appearance at present, and was meant only to lay that generation in their graves in peace; by which means Episcopacy, that was then shaking over all the Nation, would come to have another root, and grow again out of that. But the far greater part of the Nation approved of this design: And they reckoned, either we should gain our point, and then all

1670. all would be at quiet, or, if such offers were rejected by the Presbyterians, it would discover their temper, and alienate all indifferent men from them; and the Nation would be convinced, how unreasonable and stubborn they were, and how unworthy they were of any farther favour. All that was done in this session of Parliament was, the raising a tax, and the naming Commissioners for the union with *England*; besides two severe Acts pass'd against Conventicles.

New severities against Conventicles.

The reformed religion.

There had been a great one held in *Fife*, near *Dunfermlin*, where none had ever been held before. Some Gentlemen of estates were among them: And the novelty of the thing drew a great croud together; for intimation had been given of it some days before. Many of these came in their ordinary arms. That gave a handle to call them the *Rendezvous* of rebellion. Some of them were taken, and brought to *Edinburgh*, and pressed to name as many as they knew of their fellow Conventiclers: But they refused to do it. This was sent up to Court, and represented as the fore-runner of rebellion. Upon which Lord *Lauderdale*, hearing what use his enemies made of it, was transported almost to fits of rage. Severe Acts passed upon it, by which their fines were raised higher, and they were made liable to arbitrary severities. The Earl of *Lauderdale* with his own hand put in a word in the Act, that covered the Papists, the fines being laid on such of the reformed religion as went not to Church. He pretended by this to merit with the Popish party, the Duke in particular; whose religion was yet a secret to us in *Scotland*, tho' it was none at Court. He said to my self, he had put in these words on design to let the party know, they were to be worse used than the Papists themselves. All Field Conventicles were declared treasonable: And in the preacher they were made capital. The Landlords, on whose grounds they were held, were to be severely fined: And all who were at them were to be punished arbitrarily, if they did not discover all that were present, whom they knew. House Conventicles, crouded without the doors, or at the windows, were to be reckoned, and punished, as Field Conventicles. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, that the King was not well pleased with this Act, as being extravagantly severe; chiefly in that of the preachers being to be punished by death. He said, bloody laws did no good; and that he would never have passed it, if he had known it before hand. The half of the Parliament abhorred this Act. Yet so abject were they in their submissions to Lord *Lauderdale*, that the young Earl of *Cassilis* was the single person that voted in the negative. This pass'd in Parliament so suddenly, that *Leightoun* knew nothing

thing of it, till it was too late. He expostulated with Lord Tweedale severely about it: He said, the whole complex of it was so contrary to the common rules of humanity, not to say Christianity, that he was ashamed to mix in counsels with those who could frame and pass such Acts: And he thought it somewhat strange, that neither he, nor I, had been advised with in it. The Earl of Tweeddale said, the late Field Conventicle being a new thing, it had forced them to severities, that at another time could not be well excused: And he assured us, there was no design to put it in execution.

Leightoun sent to the western Counties six Episcopal Divines, all except my self brought from other parts: *Nairn* and *Charteris* were two of them: The three others *Aird*, *Cook*, and *Paterfson*, were the best we could persuade to go round the country to preach in vacant Churches, and to argue upon the grounds of the accommodation with such as should come to them. The Episcopal Clergy, who were yet in the country, could not argue much for any thing; and would not at all argue in favour of a proposition that they hated. The people of the country came generally to hear us, tho' not in great crouds. We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of Princes in matters of religion: Upon all these topicks they had texts of scripture at hand; and were ready with their answers to any thing that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers, and their servants. They were indeed vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themselves, and were full of a most entangled scrupulosity; so that they found, or made, difficulties in every thing that could be laid before them. We staid about three months in the country: And in that time there was a stand in the frequency of Conventicles. But, as soon as we were gone, a set of those hot preachers went round all the places in which we had been, to defeat all the good we could hope to do. They told them, the Devil was never so formidable, as when he was transformed into an Angel of light.

The outed Ministers had many meetings in several parts of the Kingdom. They found themselves under great difficulties. The people had got it among them, that all that was now driven at, was only to extinguish Presbytery, by some seeming concessions, with the present generation; and that if the Ministers went into it, they gave up their cause, that so they themselves might be provided for during their lives, and die at more ease. So they, who were strangely subdued by their desire of popularity, resolv-

The Presbyterians resolved to reject the offers made them.

1670. ed to reject the propositions, tho' they could not well tell on what grounds they should justify it. A report was also spread among them, which they believed, and had its full effect upon them: It was said, that the King was alienated from the Church of *England*, and weary of supporting Episcopacy in *Scotland*; and so was resolved not to clog his Government any longer with it; and that the concessions now made did not arise from any tenderness we had for them, but from an artifice to preserve Episcopacy: So they were made believe, that their agreeing to them was really a strengthening of that Government, which was otherwise ready to fall with its own weight. And because a passage of Scripture, according to its general sound, was apt to work much on them, that of *touch not, taste not, handle not*, it was often repeated among them. It was generally agreed on to reject the offers made them. The next debate among them was, about the reasons they were to give for rejecting them; or whether they would comply with another proposition, which *Leightoun* had made them, that, if they did not like the propositions he had made, they would see, if they could be more happy than he was, and offer at other propositions. In their meetings they named two to maintain the debate, *pro* and *con*. They disputed about the protestation that they were allowed to make: And *Protestatio contraria facto* was a maxim that was in great vogue among them. They argued upon the obligation by the Covenant to maintain their Church, as then established, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government: And so every thing that was contrary to that, was represented as a breach of covenant: And none durst object to that. But that they might make a proposition, which they were sure would not be hearkened to, they proposed, that among the concessions to be insisted on, one might be a liberty to ordain without the Bishops. When we heard what their reasonings were, papers were writ, and sent among them, in answer to them. But it is a vain thing to argue, when a resolution is taken up, not founded on argument; and arguments are only sought for, to justify that which is already resolved on. We pressed them with this, that, notwithstanding their Covenant, they themselves had afterwards made many alterations, much more important than this of submitting to a constant Moderator, named by the King: *Cromwell* took from them the power of meeting in General Assemblies: Yet they went on doing the other duties of their function; tho' this, which they esteemed the greatest of all their rights, was denied them: When an order came out to sequester the half of the benefices of such as should still pray for the King, they upon that submitted, tho' before they had asserted

ted it as a duty, to which they were bound by their Covenant: 1670. They had discontinued their ministry, in obedience to laws and proclamations now for nine years: And those, who had accepted the Indulgence, had come in by the King's authority, and had only a parochial government, but did not meet in Presbyteries: From all which we inferred, that, when they had a mind to lay down any thing that they thought a duty, or to submit to any thing that they thought an invasion of their rights, they could find a distinction for it: And it was not easy to shew, why they were not as compliant in this particular. But all was lost labour: Hot men among them were positive: And all of them were full of contention.

Duchess *Hamilton* sent for some of them, *Hutcheson* in particular. She said, she did not pretend to understand nice distinctions, and the terms of dispute: Here was plain sense: The country might be again at quiet, and the rest of those that were outed admitted to Churches, on terms, that seemed to all reasonable men very easy: Their rejecting this would give a very ill character of them, and would have very bad effects, of which they might see cause to repent, when it would be too late. She told me, all that she could draw from him, that she understood, was, that he saw the generality of their party was resolved against all treaties, or any agreement; and that, if a small number should break off from them, it would not heal the old breaches, but would create new ones. In conclusion, nothing was like to follow on this whole negotiation. We, who were engaged in it, had lost all our own side by offering at it: And the Presbyterians would not make one step towards us.

Leightoun desired another meeting with them at *Pasley*, to which he carried me and one or two more. They were about thirty. We had two long conferences with them. *Leightoun* laid out before them the obligations that lay on them to seek for peace at all times, but more especially when we already saw the dismal effects of our contentions: There could be no agreement, unless on both sides there was a disposition to make some abatements, and some steps towards one another: It appeared, that we were willing to make even unreasonable ones on our side: And would they abate nothing in theirs? Was their opinion so mathematically certain, that they could not dispense with any part of it, for the peace of the Church, and for the saving of souls? Many poor things were said on their side, which would have made a less mild man, than he was, lose all patience. But he bore with all: And urged this question on them, Would they have held communion with the Church of God at the time of the council

Some conferences upon that subject.

1670. council of *Nice*, or not? If they should say, not, he would be less desirous of entering into communion with them; since he must say of the Church at that time, *let my soul be with theirs*: If they said, they would; then he was sure, they would not reject the offers now made them, which brought Episcopacy much lower than it was at that time. One of the most learned among them had prepared a speech full of quotations, to prove the difference between the primitive Episcopacy and ours at present. I was then full of those matters: So I answered all his speech, and every one of his quotations, and turned the whole upon him, with advantages that were too evident to be so much as denied by their own party: And, it seemed, the person himself thought so; for he did not offer at one word of reply. In conclusion, the Presbyterians desired, that the propositions might be given them in writing: For hitherto all had pass'd only verbally; and words, they said, might be misunderstood, misrepresented, and denied. *Leightoun* had no mind to do it: Yet, since it was plausible, to say they had nothing but words to shew to their brethren, he wrote them down, and gave me the original, which I still have in my hands; but suffered them to take as many copies of it as they pleased. At parting he desired them to come to a final resolution, as soon as they could; for he believed, they would be called for by the next *January* to give their answers. And by the end of that month they were ordered to come to *Edenburgh*. I went thither at the same time upon *Leightoun's* desire.

At last they refused to accept of the concessions.

We met at the Earl of *Rothes's* house, where all this treaty came to a short conclusion. *Hutcheson* in all their names said, they had considered the propositions made to them, but were not satisfied in their consciences to accept of them. *Leightoun* desired to know upon what grounds they stood out. *Hutcheson* said, it was not safe to argue against law. *Leightoun* said, that, since the Government had set on a treaty with them in order to the altering the laws, they were certainly left to a full freedom of arguing against them: These offers were no laws: So the arguing about them could not be called an arguing against law: He offered them a publick conference upon them, in the hearing of all that had a mind to be rightly informed: He said, the people were drawn into those matters so far, as to make a schism upon them: He thought, it was therefore very reasonable, that they should likewise hear the grounds examined, upon which both sides went. *Hutcheson* refused this: He said, he was but one man; and that what he said was in the name of his brethren, who had given him no farther authority. *Leightoun* then asked, if

if they had nothing on their side to propose towards the healing 1670.
of our breaches. *Hutchefon* answered, their principles were
well enough known, but he had nothing to propose. Up-
on this *Leightoun*, in a long discourse, told what was the de-
sign he had been driving at in all this negotiation: It was to pro-
cure peace, and to promote religion: He had offered several
things, which he was persuaded were great diminutions of the
just rights of Episcopacy: Yet since all Church-power was for edifi-
cation, and not for destruction, he had thought, that in our
present circumstances it might have conduced as much to the
interest of religion, that Episcopacy should divest it self of a great
part of the authority that belonged to it, as the Bishop's using
it in former ages had been an advantage to religion: His offers
did not flow from any mistrust of the cause: He was persuaded,
Episcopacy was handed down thro' all the ages of the Church
from the Apostles days: Perhaps he had wronged the order by
the concessions he had made: Yet he was confident God would
forgive it, as he hoped his brethren would excuse it: Now
they thought fit to reject these concessions, without either offer-
ing any reason for doing it, or any expedient on their side:
Therefore the continuance of our divisions must lie at their door,
both before God and man: If ill effects followed upon this, he
was free of all blame, and had done his part. Thus was this
treaty broke off, to the amazement of all sober and dispassio-
nate people, and to the great joy of *Sharp*, and the rest of the
Bishops; who now for a while seemed even pleased with us, be-
cause we had all along asserted Episcopacy, and had pleaded for
it in a high and positive strain.

I hope this will be thought an useful part of the history of
that time: None knew the steps made in it better than my self.
The fierce Episcopal men will see, how much they were to blame
for accusing that Apostolical man *Leightoun*, as they did, on this
occasion; as if he had designed in this whole matter to betray
his own order, and to set up Presbytery. The Presbyterians
may also see, how much their behaviour disgusted all wise, mo-
derate and good men, when they rejected propositions, that came
so home even to the maxims they had set up, that nothing but
the fear of offending, that is of loosing the credit they had with
their party, could be so much as pretended for their refusing to
agree to them. Our part in the whole negotiation was sincere
and open. We were acted with no other principle, and had
no other design, but to allay a violent agitation of men's spirits,
that was throwing us into great distractions; and to heal a
breach, that was like to let in an inundation of miseries upon

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us,

Censures
pass'd upon
this whole
matter.

1670. us, as has appeared but too evidently ever since. The high party, keeping still their old bias to persecution, and recovering afterwards their credit with the Government, carried violent proceedings so far, that, after they had thrown the Nation into great convulsions, they drew upon themselves such a degree of fury from enraged multitudes, whom they had oppressed long and heavily, that, in conclusion, the Episcopal order was put down, as shall be told in its proper place. The roughness of our own side, and the perverseness of the Presbyterians, did so much alienate me from both, that I resolved to withdraw my self from any farther meddling, and to give my self wholly to study. I was then, and for three years after that, offered to be made a Bishop: But I refused it. I saw the counsels were altering above: So I resolved to look on, and see whither things would turn.

1671. My acquaintance at *Hamilton*, and the favour and friendship I met with from both the Duke and Duchess, made me offer my service to them, in order to the search of many papers, that were very carefully preserved by them: For the Duchess's uncle had charged her to keep them with the same care, as she kept the writings of her estate; since in these a full justification of her father's publick actings, and of his own, would be found, when she should put them in the hands of one that could set them in order, and in a due light. She put them all in my hands, which I acknowledge was a very great trust: And I made no ill use of it. I found there materials for a very large history. I writ it with great sincerity; and concealed none of their errors. I did indeed conceal several things that related to the King: I left out some passages that were in his letters; in some of which was too much weakness, and in others too much craft and anger. I got thro' that work in a few months. When the Earl of *Lauderdale* heard that I had finished it, he desired me to come up to him; for he was sure, he could both rectify many things, and enlarge on a great many more. His true design was, to engage me to put in a great deal relating to himself in that work. I found another degree of kindness and confidence from him upon my coming up, than ever before. I had nothing to ask for my self, but to be excused from the offer of two Bishopricks. But whatsoever I asked for any other person was granted: And I was considered as his favourite. He trusted me with all secrets, and seemed to have no reserves with me. He indeed pressed me to give up with Sir *Robert Murray*: And I saw, that upon my doing that I should have as much credit with him as I could desire. Sir *Robert* himself apprehended this would be

The Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton* was writ by me at that time.

put to me; and pressed me to comply with him in it. But I ^{1671.} hated servitude, as much as I loved him: So I refused it flatly. I told Lord *Lauderdale*, that Sir *Robert* had been as a second father, or governour to me, and therefore I could not break friendship with him. But I promised to speak to him of nothing that he trusted to me. And this was all that ever he could bring me to, tho' he put it often to me. I was treated by him with an entire confidence. Applications were made to me: And every thing that I proposed was done. I laid before him the ill state the affairs of *Scotland* were falling into, by his throwing off so many of his friends. Duke *Hamilton* and he had been for some years in ill terms. I laid down a method for bringing them to a better understanding. I got kind letters to pass on both sides, and put their reconciliation in so fair a way, that upon my return to *Scotland* it was for that time fully made up. I had authority from him to try, how both the Earls of *Argile*, and *Tweeddale*, might return to their old friendship with him. The Earl of *Argile* was ready to do every thing. But the Earl of *Atbol* had proposed a match between his son and Lady *Dyfert's* daughter, and he had an hereditary hatred to the Lord *Argile* and his family: So that could not be easily brought about. Lord *Tweeddale* was resolved to withdraw from business. The Earl of *Lauderdale* had for many years treated his brother the Lord *Halton* with as much contempt as he deserved; for he was both weak and violent, insolent and corrupt. He had promised to settle his estate on his daughter, when the Lord *Tweeddale's* son married her. But his brother offered now every thing that Lady *Dyfert* desired, provided she would get his brother to settle his estate on him. So Lord *Halton* was now taken into affairs; and had so much credit with his brother, that all the dependance was upon him. And thus the breach between the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Tweeddale* was irreconcilable; tho' I did all I could to make it up.

As to Church affairs, Lord *Lauderdale* asked my opinion concerning them. I gave it frankly to this purpose: There were many vacancies in the disaffected Counties, to which no conformable men of any worth could be prevailed on to go: So I proposed, that the Indulgence should be extended to them all; and that the Ministers should be put into those parishes by couples, and have the benefice divided between them; and, in the Churches where the Indulgence had already taken place, that a second Minister should be added, and have the half of the benefice: By this means I reckoned, that all the outed Ministers would be again employed, and kept from going round the uninfected parts of the Kingdom: I also proposed that they should

Foreign affairs.

An alliance with France, let on foot.

A farther Indulgence proposed.

Some of her intrigues.

1671. should be confined to their parishes, not to stir out of them without leave from the Bishop of the diocese, or a Privy Counsellour; and that, upon transgressing the rules that should be set them, a proportion of their benefice should be forfeited, and applied to some pious use. Lord *Lauderdale* heard me to an end: And then, without arguing one word upon any one branch of this scheme, he desired me to put it in writing; which I did. And the next year, when he came down again to *Scotland*, he made one write out my paper, and turned it into the style of instructions. So easily did he let himself be governed by those whom he trusted, even in matters of great consequence. Four Bishops happened to die that year, of which *Edenburgh* was one. I was desired to make my own choice: But I refused them all. Yet I obtained a letter to be writ, by the King's order, to Lord *Rothes*, that he should call the two Archbishops, and four of the Officers of State, and send up their opinion to the King of the persons fit to be promoted: And a private letter was writ to the Lords, to join with *Leightoun* in recommending the persons that he should name. *Leightoun* was uneasy, when he found that *Charteris*, and *Nairn*, as well as my self, could not be prevailed on to accept Bishopricks. They had an ill opinion of the Court, and could not be brought to leave their retirement. *Leightoun* was troubled at this. He said, if his friends left the whole load on him, he must leave all to providence. Yet he named the best men he could think on. And, that *Sharp* might not have too publick an affront put on him, *Leightoun* agreed to one of his nomination. But now I go to open a scene of another nature.

Foreign affairs.

An alliance with France set on foot.

The Court was now going into other measures. The Parliament had given the King all the money he had asked for repairing his fleet, and for supplying his stores and magazines. Additional revenues were also given for some years. But at their last sitting, in the beginning of the year 1670, it appeared that the House of Commons were out of countenance for having given so much money, and seemed resolved to give no more. All was obtained under the pretence of maintaining the Triple Alliance. When the Court saw how little reason they had to expect farther supplies, the Duke of *Buckingham* told the King, that now the time was come in which he might both revenge the attempt on *Chatham*, and shake off the uneasy restraint of a House of Commons. And he got leave from the King to send over Sir *Ellis Leightoun* to the Court of *France*, to offer the project of a new alliance, and a new war. Sir *Ellis* told me this himself: And was proud to think, that he was the first man employed

employed in those black and fatal designs. But, in the first proposition made by us, the subduing of *England*, and the toleration of Popery, here was offered, as that with which the design must be begun. *France*, seeing *England* so inclined, resolved to push the matter farther.

The King's sister, the Duchess of *Orleans*, was thought the wittiest woman in *France*. The King of *France* had made love to her, with which she was highly incensed, when she saw it was only a pretence to cover his addresses to *Mademoiselle La Valiere*, one of her maids of honour, whom he afterwards declared openly to be his Mistress: Yet she had reconciled her self to the King; and was now so entirely trusted by him, that he ordered her to propose an interview with her brother at *Dover*. The King went thither, and was so much charmed with his sister, that every thing she proposed, and every favour she asked, was granted. The King could deny her nothing. She proposed an alliance in order to the conquest of *Holland*. The King had a mind to have begun at home. But she diverted him from that. It could not be foreseen, what difficulties the King might meet with upon the first opening the design: As it would alarm all his people, so it would send a great deal of wealth, and trade, and perhaps much people over to *Holland*: And by such an accession they would grow stronger, as he would grow weaker. So she proposed, that they should begin with *Holland*, and attack it vigorously, both by sea and land: And upon their success in that, all the rest would be an easy work. This account of that negotiation was printed twelve years after, at *Paris*, by one Abbot *Primi*. I had that part of the book in my hands, in which this was contained. Lord *Preston* was then the King's Envoy at *Paris*: So he, knowing how great a prejudice the publishing this would be to his master's affairs, complained of it. The book was upon that suppressed; and the writer was put in the *Bastille*. But he had drawn it out of the papers of Mr. *Le Tellier's* office: So there is little reason to doubt of the truth of the thing. *Madame*, as this book says, prevailed to have her scheme settled, and so went back to *France*. The journey proved fatal to her: For the Duke of *Orleans* had heard such things of her behaviour, that it was said he ordered a great dose of sublimate to be given her in a glass of succory-water, of which she died a few hours after in great torments: And when she was opened, her stomach was all ulcerated.

The Duchess of Orleans came to Dover.

Soon after was poisoned.

Since I mention her death, I will set down one story of her, that was told me by a person of distinction, who had it from some who were well informed of the matter. The King of

Some of her intrigues.

H h h h

France

1671. *France* had courted *Madame Soissons*, and made a shew of court-
 ing *Madame*. But his affections fixing on *Mademoiselle La Vali-
 ere*, she whom he had forsaken, as well as she whom he had de-
 ceived, resolved to be revenged: And they entred into a friend-
 ship in order to that. They had each of them a Gallant: *Ma-
 dame* had the Count *de Guiche*, and the other had the Marquis
Des Vardes, then in great favour with the King, and a very
 graceful person. When the treaty of the King of *France's* mar-
 riage was set on foot, there was an opinion generally received,
 that the Infanta of *Spain* was a woman of great genius, and
 would have a considerable stroke in all affairs. So, many young
 men of Quality set themselves to learn the *Spanish* language,
 to give them the more credit with the young Queen. All that
 fell to the ground, when it appeared how weak a woman she
 was. These two were of that number. Count *De Guiche* watch-
 ed an occasion, when a letter from the King of *Spain* was giv-
 en to his daughter by the *Spanish* Ambassador, and she tore
 the envelope, and let it fall. He gathered up all the parcels
 of it, together with the seal. From these they learnt to imitate
 the King of *Spain's* writing. And they sent to *Holland* to get
 a seal engraven from the impression of the wax. When all was
 prepared, a letter was writ, as in the name of the King of *Spain*,
 reproaching his daughter for her tameness in suffering such an
 affront as the King put on her by his amours, with reflexions
 full both of contempt and anger upon the King. There was
 one *Spanish* Lady left about the Queen: So they forged ano-
 ther letter, as from the *Spanish* Ambassador to her, with that to
 the Queen inclosed in it, desiring her to deliver it secretly into the
 Queen's own hand. And they made a livery, such as the *Spa-
 nish* Ambassador's pages wore: And a boy was sent in it with
 the letter. The Lady suspected no forgery; but fancied, the
 letter might be about some matter of State. She thought it
 safest to carry it to the King, who reading it ordered an enqui-
 ry to be made about it. The *Spanish* Ambassador saw he was
 abused in it. The King spoke to the Marquis *Des Vardes*, not
 suspecting that he was in it, and charged him to search after
 the authour of this abuse that was intended to be put on him.
 The two Ladies now rejoiced, that the looking after the disco-
 very was put in the hands of a man so much concerned in it.
 He amused the King with the enquiries that he was making,
 tho' he was ever in a wrong scent. But in all this time *Madame*
 was so pleased with his conduct, that she came to like his per-
 son; and had so little command of her self, that she told *Ma-
 dame Soissons*, she was her rival. The other readily complied
 with

Some of the
 intrigues.

with her. And, by an odd piece of extravagance, he was sent for: 1671. And Madam *Soissons* told him, since he was in *Madame's* favour, she released him from all obligations, and delivered him over to her. The Marquis *Des Vardes* thought, this was only an artifice of gallantry, to try how faithful he was to his amours: So he declared himself incapable of changing, in terms full of respect for *Madame*, and of passion for the other. This raised in *Madame* so deep a resentment, that she resolved to sacrifice *Des Vardes*, but to save the Count *De Guiche*. So she gave him notice, that the King had discovered the whole intrigue; and charged him to hasten out of *France*. And, as soon as she believed that he was in *Flanders*, she told all to the King of *France*. Upon which *Des Vardes* was not only disgraced, but kept long a prisoner in *Aigues Mortes*. And afterwards he was suffered to come to *Montpelier*. And it was almost twenty years after, before he was suffered to come to Court. I was at Court when he came first to it. He was much broke in his health, but was become a philosopher, and was in great reputation among all *Des Cartes's* followers. *Madame* had an Intrigue with another person, whom I knew well, the Count of *Treville*. When she was in her agony, she said, *adieu Treville*. He was so struck with this accident, that it had a good effect on him; for he went and lived many years among the Fathers of the Oratory, and became both a very learned, and devout man. He came afterwards out into the world. I saw him often. He was a man of a very sweet temper, only a little too formal for a *French* man. But he was very sincere. He was a Jansenist. He hated the Jesuits. And had a very mean opinion of the King, which appeared in all the instances, in which it was safe for him to shew it.

Upon *Madame's* death, as the Marshal *Bellefonds* came from *France* with the complement to the Court of *England*, so the Duke of *Buckingham* was sent thither on pretence to return the complement, but really to finish the treaty. The King of *France* used him in so particular a manner, knowing his vanity, and caressed him to such a degree, that he went in without reserve into the interests of *France*. Yet he protested to me, that he never consented to the *French* fleet's coming into our seas and harbours. He said, he was offered 40000 *l.* if he could persuade the King to yield to it: And he appealed to the Earl of *Dorset* for this, who was on the secret. He therefore concluded, since, after all the uneasiness shewed at first, the King had yielded to it, that Lord *Arlington* had the money. Lord *Shaftsbury* laid the blame of this chiefly on the Duke of *Buckingham*: For he told me, that he himself had writ a peremptory instruction to him

The treaty
with *France*
negotiated.

1671. him from the King, to give up all treaty, if the *French* did insist on the sending a fleet to our assistance. And therefore he blamed him, as having yielded it up, since he ought to have broke off all farther treaty, upon their insisting on this. But the Duke of *York* told me, there was no money given to corrupt the King's Ministers; that the King and he had long insisted on having all their supplies from *France* in money, without a fleet; and that the *French* shewed them it was not possible for them to find out funds for so great an expence, unless we took a squadron of their ships; since they could not both maintain their own fleet, and furnish us with the money that would be necessary, if we took not their squadron. It was agreed, that the King should have 350000 *l.* a year during the war, together with a fleet from *France*. *England* was to attack the *Dutch* by sea, while the King of *France* should invade them by land with a mighty Army. It was not doubted, but that the States would find it impossible to resist so great a force, and would therefore submit to the two Kings: So the division they agreed on was, that *England* should have *Zealand*, and that the King of *France* should have all the rest, except *Holland*, which was to be given to the Prince of *Orange*, if he would come into the alliance: And it should be still a trading country, but without any capital ships. Lord *Lauderdale* said upon that occasion to me, that whatsoever they intended to do, they were resolved to do it effectually all at once: But he would not go into farther particulars. That the year 1672 might be fatal to other Common-wealths, as well as to the States, the Duke of *Savoy* was encouraged to make a conquest of *Genoa*; tho he afterwards failed in the attempt: And the King of *Denmark* was invited into the alliance, with the offer of the town of *Hamburg*, on which he had long set his heart. The Duke of *Richmond* was sent to give a lustre to that negotiation, which was chiefly managed by Mr. *Henshaw*; who told me, that we offered that King some ships to assist him in seizing that rich town. But he was then in those engagements with the Sates of *Holland*, that even this offer did not prevail on him.

Lockhart
sent to
France.

Lockhart was at this time brought to Court by Lord *Lauderdale*, hoping that he would continue in an entire dependance on him, and be his creature. He was under so great a jealousy from the Government for his former actings, that he was too easy to enter into any employment, that might bring him into favour, not so much out of any ambition to rise, as from a desire to be safe, and to be no longer looked on as an enemy to the Court: For when a foreign Minister asked the King's leave to treat with
him

him in his master's name, the King consented; but with this severe reflexion, that he believed he would be true to any body but himself. He was sent to the Courts of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh*, either to draw them into the alliance, or, if that could not be done, at least to secure them from all apprehensions. But in this he had no success. And indeed when he saw into what a negotiation he was engaged, he became very uneasy: For, tho' the blackest part of the secret was not trusted to him, as appeared to me by his instructions, which I read after his death; yet he saw whither things were going. And that affected him so deeply, that it was believed to have contributed not a little to the languishing he soon fell under, which ended in his death two years after.

The war being thus resolved on, some pretences were in the next place to be sought out to excuse it: For, tho' the King of *France* went more roundly to work, and published that he was so ill satisfied with the conduct of the States, that it did not consist with his glory to bear it any longer, yet we thought it decent for us to name some particulars. It was said, we had some pretensions on *Surinam*, not yet compleatly satisfied; and that the States harboured traitors, that fled from justice, and lived in *Holland*: Some medals were complained of, that seemed dishonourable to the King; as also some pictures: And, tho' these were not made by publick order, yet a great noise was raised about them. But an accident happened, that the Court laid great hold of. The *Dutch* fleet lay off the coast of *England* the former year: And one of the King's Yatches sailed by, and expected they should strike sail. They said, they never refused it to any man of war: But they thought that honour did not belong to such an inconsiderable vessel. I was then at Court: And I saw joy in the looks of those that were in the secret. *Selden* had in his *Mare clausum* raised this matter so high, that he made it one of the chief rights and honours of the Crown of *England*, as the acknowledgement of the King's Empire in the four seas. The *Dutch* offered all satisfaction for the future in this matter: But they would not send their Admiral over as a criminal. While *France* was treating with *England*, they continued to amuse the *Dutch*: And they so possessed *De Groot*, then the *Dutch* Ambassador at *Paris*, or they corrupted him into a belief that they had no design on them, that they were too secure, and depended too much on his advertisements. Yet the States entred into a negotiation, both with *Spain* and the Emperour, and with the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Lunenburgh*. The King of

Pretended
reasons for
the Dutch
war.

1671. Sweden was yet under age: And the Ministry there desired a neutrality. France and England sent two Ambassadors to them, both men of great probity, *Pompone* and *Coventry*, who were both recalled at the same time to be Secretaries of State. *Coventry* was a man of wit and heat, of spirit and candor. He never gave bad advices: But when the King followed the ill advices that others gave, he thought himself bound to excuse, if not to justify them. For this the Duke of *York* commended him much to me. He said, in that he was a pattern to all good subjects, since he defended all the King's counsels in publick, even when he had blamed them most in private with the King himself.

1672. Our Court having resolved on a war, did now look out for money to carry it on. The King had been running into a great debt ever since his Restoration. One branch of it was for the pay of that fleet that brought him over. The main of it had been contracted during the former *Dutch* war. The King in order to the keeping his credit had dealt with some Bankers, and had assigned over the revenue to them. They drove a great trade, and had made great advantage by it. The King paid them at the rate of 8 per cent: And they paid those who put money in their hands only 6 per cent: And had great credit; for payments were made very punctually. The King had in some proclamations given his faith, that he would continue to make good all his assignments, till the whole debt should be paid, which was now growing up to almost a million and a half. So one of the ways proposed for supplying the King with money was, that he should stop these payments for a year, it being thought certain that by the end of the year the King would be out of all his necessities, by the hopes they had of success in the war. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was the chief man in this advice. He excused it to me, telling me what advantage the Bankers had made, and how just it was for the King to bring them to an account for their usury and extortions: And added, that he never meant the stop should run beyond the year. He certainly knew of it before hand; and took all his own money out of the Bankers hands, and warned some of his friends to do the like. Lord *Lauderdale* did about this time marry Lady *Dysert* upon his own Lady's death: And she writ me a long account of the shutting up the Exchequer, as both just and necessary. The Bankers were broke; and great multitudes, who had trusted their money in their hands, were ruined by this dishonourable and perfidious action.

The shutting
up of the
Exchequer.

action. But this gave the King only his own revenue again. 1672.
So other ways were to be found for an encrease of treasure.

By the peace of *Breda* it was provided, that, in order to the security of trade, no merchant's ships should be for the future fallen on, till six months after a declaration of war. The *Dutch* had a rich fleet coming from *Smyrna*, and other parts in the *Mediterranean*, under the convoy of a few men of war. Our Court had advice of this. And *Holmes* was ordered to lye for them, and to take them near the Isle of *Wight* with eight men of war. As he was sailing thither he met *Spragge*, who was returning from the *Straits* with a squadron of our ships; and told him, that he had sailed along with the *Dutch* most of the way, and that they would pass within a day or two. *Holmes* thought, he was much too strong for them; so did not acquaint *Spragge* with his design: For, if he had stopp'd him to assist in the execution, probably the whole fleet had been taken, which was reckoned worth a million and a half. When they came up, *Holmes* fell upon them: But their convoy did their part so well, that not only the whole fleet sailed away, while they kept him in play, but they themselves got off at last favoured by a mist: And there were only a few ships taken, of so small a value, that they were not worth the powder that was spent in the action. This was a breach of faith, such as even Mahometans and Pyrates would have been ashamed of. The unsuccessfulness of it made it appear as ridiculous, as it was base. *Holmes* was pressed to put it on the *Dutch* refusing to strike sail. Yet that was so false, and there were so many witnesses to it, that he had not the impudence to affirm it.

To crown all, a Declaration was ordered to be set out, suspending the execution of all penal laws, both against Papists and Nonconformists. Papists were no more to be prosecuted for their way of worship in their own houses, and the Nonconformists were allowed to have open Meeting Houses; for which they were to take out licences, and none were to disturb those who should meet for worship by virtue of those licences. Lord Keeper *Bridgman* had lost all credit at Court: So they were seeking an occasion to be rid of him, who had indeed lost all the reputation he had formerly acquired, by his being advanc'd to a post of which he was not capable. He refused to put the seal to the Declaration, as judging it contrary to law. So he was dismiss'd, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was made Lord Chancellor. Lord *Clifford* was made Lord Treasurer: Lord *Arlington* and Lord *Lauderdale* had both of them the Garter: And, as *Arlington* was made an Earl, *Lauderdale* was made a Duke: And this *Junto*, together with the Duke

The attempt
on the *Dutch*
Smyrna fleet.

A Declarati-
on for Tole-
ration.

1672. Duke of *Buckingham*, being called the Cabal, it was observed, that Cabal proved a technical word, every letter in it being the first letter of those five, *Cliffora, Ashly, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale*. They had all of them great presents from *France*, besides what was openly given them: For the *French* Ambassadour gave them all a picture of the King of *France* set in diamonds, to the value of 3000 *l*. Thus was the Nation, and our religion, as well as the King's faith and honour, set to sale, and sold. Lord *Shaftsbury* resolved to recommend himself to the confidence of the Court by a new strain never before thought of. He said, the writs for choosing the members of the House of Commons might be issued out in the intervals of a session; and the elections made upon them were to be returned into Chancery, and settled there. So the writs were issued out, but whether any elections were made upon them, and returned, I cannot tell. I know, the House of Commons intended to have impeached him for this among other things: But he had the foresight and skill to prevent it. When the Declaration for Toleration was published, great endeavours were used by the Court to persuade the Nonconformists to make addressees and complements upon it. But few were so blind, as not to see what was aimed at by it.

The Presbyterians gave the King thanks for the Toleration.

The Duke was now known to be a Papist: And the Duchess was much suspected. Yet the Presbyterians came in a body: And Dr. *Manton* in their name thanked the King for it, which offended many of their best friends. There was also an order, to pay a yearly pension of fifty pounds to most of them, and of an hundred pounds a year to the chief of the party. *Baxter* sent back his pension, and would not touch it. But most of them took it. All this I say upon Dr. *Stillingfleet's*, word who assured me, he knew the truth of it. And in particular, he told me, that *Pool*, who wrote the Synopsis of the criticks, confessed to him, that he had had fifty pounds for two years. Thus the Court hired them to be silent: And the greatest part of them were so, and very compliant. But now the pulpits were full of a new strain: Popery was every where preached against, and the authority of the laws was much magnified. The Bishops, the Bishop of *London* in particular, charged the Clergy to preach against Popery, and to inform the people of the controversy between us and the Church of Rome. This alarmed the Court, as well as the City, and the whole Nation. *Clifford* began to shew the heat of his temper; and seemed a sort of Enthusiast for Popery. The King complained to *Sheldon* of this preaching on controversy, as done on purpose to inflame the people, and to alienate them from him, and his government. Upon this *Sheldon* called some of the Cler-

gy together to consider what answer he should make the King, 1672. if he pressed him any farther on that head. *Tillotson* was one of these: And he suggested this answer, that, since the King himself professed the Protestant religion, it would be a thing without a precedent, that he should forbid his Clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he himself said he was of it. But the King never renewed the motion.

While things were in this fermentation, the Duchess of *York* The Duchess of York died. died. It was observed, that for fifteen months before that time she had not received the sacrament; and that upon all occasions she was excusing the errors that the Church of *Rome* was charged with, and was giving them the best colours they were capable of. An unmarried Clergy was also a common topick with her. *Morley* had been her father confessor: For, he told me, she practised secret confession to him from the time that she was twelve years old: And, when he was sent away from the Court, he put her in the hands of *Blanford*, who died Bishop of *Worcester*. *Morley* also told me, that upon the reports that were brought him of her slackness in receiving the sacrament, she having been for many years punctual to once a month, he had spoken plainly to her about it, and told her what inferences were made upon it. She pretended ill health, and business; but protested to him, she had no scruples with relation to her religion, and was still of the Church of *England*; and assured him, that no Popish Priest had ever taken the confidence to speak to her of those matters. He took a solemn engagement of her, that, if scruples should arise in her mind, she would let him know them, and hear what he should offer to her upon all of them. And he protested to me, that to her death she never owned to him that she had any scruples, tho' she was for some days entertained by him at *Farnham*, after the date of the paper which was afterwards published in her name. All this pass'd between the Bishop and me, upon the Duke's shewing me that paper all writ in her own hand, which was afterwards published by *Maimburg*. He would not let me take a copy of it; but he gave me leave to read it twice. And I went immediately to *Morley*, and gave him an account of it; from whom I had all the particulars already mentioned. And upon that he concluded, that that unhappy Princess had been prevailed on to give falsehoods under her hand, and to pretend that these were the grounds of her conversion. A long decay of health came at last to a quicker crisis than had been apprehended. All of the sudden she fell into the agony of death. *Blanford* was sent for, to prepare her for it, and to offer her the sacrament. Before he could come, the Queen came in, and sat by her. He was

K k k k

modest

1672. modest and humble, even to a fault. So he had not presence of mind enough to begin prayers, which probably would have driven the Queen out of the room. But, that not being done, the pretending kindness would not leave her. The Bishop spoke but little and fearfully. He happened to say, he hoped she continued still in the truth: Upon which she asked, what is truth: And then, her agony encreasing, she repeated the word Truth Truth often: And in a few minutes after she died, very little beloved, or lamented. Her haughtiness had raised her many enemies. She was indeed a firm, and a kind friend: But the change of her religion made her friends reckon her death rather a blessing than a loss at that time to them all. Her father, when he heard of her shaking in her religion, was more troubled at it, than at all his own misfortunes. He writ her a very grave and long letter upon it, enclosed in one to the Duke. But she was dead before it came into *England*. I have set down all that I know concerning the fatal alliance with *France*, and our preparations for the second Dutch War.

But that I may open the scene more distinctly, I will give as particular an account as I was able to gather of the affairs of the States of *Holland* at this time. And, because this was the fifth great crisis, under which the whole Protestant religion was brought, I will lead my reader thro' a full account of them all; since I may probably lay things before him, that he may otherwise pass over, without making due reflections on them.

The first
crisis of the
Protestant
religion.

The first crisis was, when *Charles V.* by the defeating the Duke of *Saxony*, and the getting him and the Landgrave of *Hesse* into his hands, had subdued the *Smalcaldick* league; in which the strength of the Protestant religion did then consist, having been weakened by the succeeding deaths of *Henry VIII.* and *Francis I.* Upon that defeat all submitted to the Emperor: Only the Town of *Magdeburgh* stood out. The Emperor should either not have trusted *Maurice*, or have used him better: And it seems, that he reckoned *Maurice* had neither religion nor honour, since his ambition had made him betray his religion, and abandon his party. When *Maurice* had got the Electorate, he made himself sure of the Army; and entred into an alliance with *France*, and other Princes of the Empire; and made so quick a turn on the Emperor, that he had almost surpris'd him at *Inchspruck*, and of a sudden overturned all that design, upon which the Emperor had been labouring for many years. This ended in the Edict of *Passau*, which settled the peace of *Germany* for that time.

The second Crisis was, towards the end of Queen *Mary's* reign, 1672. when the Protestant religion seemed extinguished in *England*; and the two Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Granvell*, then the chief Ministers of the two Crowns, designed a peace for that very end, that their masters might be at leisure to extirpate heresy, which was then spreading in both their dominions. But, after they had formed their scheme, Queen *Mary* died, and was succeeded by Queen *Elizabeth* in *England*. Soon after that the King of *France* was accidentally killed: So that Kingdom fell under a long continuance of a minority, and a civil war. And the *Netherlands* felt from thence, and from *England*, such encouragement, that they made the longest and bravest resistance that is to be found in all history; which was in a great measure owing to the obstinate and implacable cruelty of *Philip II*, and his great distance from the scene of the war; and was past all possibility of being made up, by reason of his perfidious breach of all agreements, and his using those that served him well in so base a manner, as he did both the Duke of *Alva*, and the Prince of *Parma*.

The second Crisis.

The third Crisis lasted from 1585 to the year 1589. Then began the League of *France*. The Prince of *Parma* was victorious in the *Netherlands*. The Prince of *Orange* was murdered. The States fell under great distractions. And *Spain* entered into a design of dethroning the Queen of *England*, and putting the Queen of *Scots* in her stead. In order to that they were for some years preparing the greatest fleet that the world had ever seen, which came to be called the Invincible Armada. All *Europe* was amazed at these great preparations: And many conjectures were made concerning the design of such a vast fleet. Some thought of *Constantinople*. Others talked of *Ægypt*, in conjunction with the Emperor of the *Abissens*. But that which was most probable was, that King *Philip* intended to make a great effort, and put an end to the war of the *Netherlands* in one campaign. At last the true intent of it was found out. *Walsingham's* chief spies were Priests: As he used always to say, an active, but vicious, Priest was the best spy in the world. By one of these he had advice, that the King of *Spain* had fixed on a resolution with relation to his fleet; but that it was not yet communicated to any of his Ministers in foreign Courts. The King himself had indeed writ a letter about it to the Pope: But it was not entred in any office: So this was all that the intelligence from *Madrid* could discover. Upon this one was sent to *Venice*, from whence the correspondence with *Rome* was held. And at *Rome* it was found out, that one of the Pope's chief

The third Crisis.

confidants

1672. confidents had a Mistress, to whom twenty thousand crowns were given for a sight and copy of that letter. The copy of it was sent over soon after *Christmasts*, in the winter 1586. By it the King of *Spain* had acquainted the Pope, that the design of his fleet was to land in *England*, to destroy Queen *Elizabeth*, and herefy, and to set the Queen of *Scots* on the throne: In this he had the concurrence of the House of *Guise*: And he also depended on the King of *Scotland*. This proved fatal to the Queen of *Scots*. It is true, King *James* sent one *Steward*, the ancestor of the Lord *Blantyre*, who was then of his bedchamber, with an earnest and threatening message to Queen *Elizabeth* for saving his mother. But in one of the intercepted letters of the *French* Ambassadors then in *Scotland*, found among *Walsingham's* papers, it appears, that the King, young as he was then, was either very double, or very inconstant in his resolutions. The *French* Ambassador assured him, that *Steward* had advised the Queen to put a speedy end to that business, which way she pleased; and that as for his master's anger, he would soon be pacified, if she would but send him dogs and deer. The King was so offended at this, that he said, he would hang him up in his boots, as soon as he came back. Yet when he came back, it was so far from that, that he lay all that night in the bedchamber. As for the pompous Embassy that was sent from *France* to protest against it, *Maurier* has told a very probable story, of *Henry III*, writing a letter with them to the Queen, advising her to proceed with all haste to do that which the Embassy was sent to prevent. He saw, the House of *Guise* built a great part of their hopes on the prospect of their cousin's coming to the Crown of *England*, which would cut off all the hopes the House of *Bourbon* had of assistance from thence. I have seen an original letter of the Earl of *Leicester's* to the Earl of *Bedford*, who had married his sister, and was then Governour of *Berwick*, telling him, that, how high soever the *French* Ambassadors had talked in their harangues upon that occasion, calling any proceeding against the Queen of *Scots* an open indignity, as well as an act of hostility against *France*, since she was Queen Dowager of *France*; yet all this was only matter of form and decency, that was extorted from the King of *France*; and, how high soever they might talk, they were well assured he would do nothing upon it. So that unfortunate Queen fell at that time, by reason of the *Spanish* preparations to conquer *England*, under the pretence of setting her on the throne. She died, much more decently than she had lived, in *Febr.* 1587.

But

But the Court of *England* saw, that if King *Philip's* fleet was 1672. in a condition to conquer *England*, he would not abandon the design for her being put out of the way; and that he certainly intended to conquer it for himself, and not for another. So orders were given to make all possible haste with a fleet. Yet they were so little provided for such an invasion, that, tho' they had then twenty good ships upon the stocks, it was not possible to get them in a condition to serve that summer: And the design of *Spain* was to sail over in 1587. So, unless by corruption, or any other method, the attempt could be put off for that year, there was no strength ready to resist so powerful a fleet. But, when it seemed not possible to divert the present execution of so great a design, a merchant of *London* to their surprise undertook it. He was well acquainted with the state of the revenue of *Spain*, with all their charge, and all that they could raise. He knew all their funds were so swallowed up, that it was impossible for them to victual, and set out their fleet, but by their credit in the bank of *Genoa*. So he undertook to write to all the places of trade, and to get such remittances made on that bank, that he should by that means have it so entirely in his hands, that there should be no money current there, equal to the great occasion of victualling the fleet of *Spain*. He reckoned, the keeping such a treasure dead in his hands till the season of victualling was over, would be a loss of 40000 *l*. And at that rate he would save *England*. He managed the matter with such secrecy, and success, that the fleet could not be set out that year. At so small a price, and with so skillful a management, was the Nation saved at that time. This it seems was thought too great a mystery of State to be communicated to *Cambden*, or to be published by him, when the instructions were put in his hands for writing the history of that glorious reign. But the famous *Boyle*, Earl of *Cork*, who had then a great share in the affairs of *Ireland*, came to know it; and told it to two of his children, from whom I had it. The story is so coherent, and agrees so well with the state of affairs at that time, that it seems highly credible. And, if it is true, it is certainly one of the curiousest passages in our whole *English* history. I return from this digression, which I hope will be no unacceptable entertainment to the reader: It is well known, how the design of the Armada miscarried: And soon after that the Duke of *Guise* was stabbed: Not long after *Henry III.* was also stabbed: And *Henry IV.* succeeded, who broke the League, with which the great designs of *Spain* fell to the ground. So happily did this third Crisis pass over.

The Spanish fleet came not as at first intended.

1672.

The fourth
Crisis.

The fourth Crisis was from the battel of *Prague* to the year 1630, in which, as was told in the first book, not only the Elector *Palatine* fell, but almost all the Empire came under the *Austrian* yoke. All attempts to shake it off proved unsuccessful, and fatal to those who undertook it, till the young and great King of *Sweden*, *Gustavus Adolphus*, engaged in it. The wars of *Rockelle*, together with the loss of that important place, seemed to threaten the destruction of the Protestants of *France*. *England* fell under those unhappy jealousies, which began a dis-jointing between the King and his people. And the States were much pressed by the *Spaniards* under *Spinola*. *Breda* was taken. But the worst of all was, a quarrel that was raised between Prince *Maurice* and *Barnevelt*, that will require a fuller discussion, than was offered in the former book. All agree, that *William* Prince of *Orange* was one of the greatest men in story, who, after many attempts for the recovery of the liberty of the Provinces, was in conclusion successful, and formed that Republick. In the doing of it he was guilty of one great error, unless he was forced to it by the necessity of his affairs; which was the settling a negative in every one of the Towns of *Holland*, in the matters of religion, of taxes, and of peace and war. It had been much safer, if it had been determined, that the two thirds must concur; by which the Government would have been much stronger. Some thought, that he brought in so many little Towns to balance the greater, of whom he could not be sure; whereas he could more easily manage these smaller ones. Others have said, that he was forced to it, to draw them to a more hearty concurrence in the war, since they were to have such a share in the Government for the future. But, as he settled it, the corruption of any one small Town may put all the affairs of *Holland* in great disorder. He was also blamed, because he laboured to raise the power of the Stadtholder so high, that in many regards it was greater than the power of the Counts of *Holland* had been. But this was balanced by its being made elective, and by the small appointments he took to himself. It seems, he designed to have settled that honour in his family: For after his death there were reversal letters found among his papers from the Duke of *Anjou*, when the Provinces invited him to be their Prince, by which the Duke engaged himself to leave *Holland* and *Zealand* in the Prince's hands. Before he died, he had in a great measure lost the affections of the Clergy; because he was very earnest for the toleration of Papists, judging that necessary for the engaging men of all persuasions in the common concerns of liberty, and for encouraging the other Provinces to

come

1672.

come into the union. This was much opposed by the preachers in *Holland*, who were for more violent methods. Those, who but a few years before had complained of the cruelty of the Church of *Rome*, were no sooner delivered from that, than they began to call for the same ways of prosecuting those who were of the other side. This made that great Prince loose ground with the zealots of his own side before he died. With him all their affairs sunk so fast, that they saw the necessity of seeking protection elsewhere. Their Ministers did of themselves, without the concurrence of the States, send to Queen *Elizabeth*, to desire her to take them under her protection, on such terms as she should prescribe. And, tho' the States were highly offended at this, yet they durst not at that time complain of it, much less punish it; but were forced by the clamour of their people to follow an example that was so irregularly set them. This I had from *Halewyn* of *Dort*, of whom I shall have occasion to write afterwards. When the Queen sent over the Earl of *Leicester*, with a new title, and an authority greater than was either in the Counts of *Holland*, or in the Stadtholder, by the name of Supreme Governour: He as soon as he landed at *Flushing* went first to Church, where he ordered prayers to be offered up for a blessing on his counsels, and desired that he might receive the Sacrament next day: And there he made solemn protestations of his integrity and zeal. This pleased the people so much, that *Barneveldt*, and the States at the *Hague*, thought it necessary to secure themselves from the effects of such a threatening popularity: So they sent for the Count, afterwards Prince, *Maurice*, who was then at *Leyden*, not yet eighteen, and chose him Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zealand*. There had been no provision made against that in their treaty with the Earl of *Leicester*. Yet he was highly offended at it. I will go no farther into the errors of his government, and the end that the Queen put to it; which she did, as soon as it appeared that he was incapable of it, and was beginning to betray, and to sell their best places.

Prince *Maurice* and *Barneveldt* continued long in a perfect conjunction of counsels: Till upon the negotiation for a peace, or at least for a truce, they differed so much, that their friendship ended in a most violent hatred, and a jealousy that could never be made up. Prince *Maurice* was for carrying on the war, which set him at the head of a great army. And he had so great an interest in the conquests they made, that for that very reason *Barneveldt* infused it into the States, that they were now safe, and needed not fear the *Spaniards* any more; so there was

Differences
between
Prince
Maurice of
Orange and
Barneveldt.

1672. was no reason for continuing the war. Prince *Maurice* on the other hand said, their persecuted brethren in the Popish Provinces wanted their help to set them at liberty. The work seemed very easy, and the prospect of success was great. In opposition to this it was said; since the seven Provinces were now safe, why should they extend their territories? Those who loved their religion and liberty in the other Provinces might come and live among them: This would encrease both their numbers, and their wealth: Whereas the conquest of *Antwerp* might prove fatal to them: Besides, that both *France* and *England* interposed: They would not allow them to conquer more, nor become more formidable. All the zealous preachers were for continuing the war: And those that were for peace were branded as men of no religion, who had only carnal and political views. While this was in debate every where, the disputes began between *Arminius* and *Gomarus*, two famous Professors at *Leyden*, concerning the decrees of God, and the efficacy of grace; in which those two great men, *Maurice* and *Barnevelt*, went upon interest, to lead the two parties, from which they both differed in opinion. Prince *Maurice* in private always talked on the side of the *Arminians*: And *Barnevelt* believed predestination firmly. But, as he left reprobation out in his scheme, so he was against the unreasonable severity with which the Ministers drove those points. He found the *Arminians* were the better patriots: And he thought the other side out of their zeal were engaged for carrying on the war, so as that they called all the others indifferent as to all religions, and charged them as favourers of *Spain* and Popery. I will go no farther into the differences that followed, concerning the authority of the States General over the several Provinces. It is certain, that every Province is a separated State, and has an entire sovereignty within it self; and that the States General are an assembly of the deputies of the several Provinces, but without any authority over them. Yet it was pretended, that extraordinary diseases required extraordinary remedies: And Prince *Maurice*, by the assistance of a party that the Ministers made for him among the people, engaged the States to assume an authority over the Province of *Holland*, and to put the Government in new hands. A Court was erected by the same authority, to judge those who had been formerly in the magistracy. *Barnevelt* was accused, together with *Grotius*, and some others, as fomenters of sedition, and for raising distractions in the country. He was condemned, and beheaded. Others were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And every one of the Judges had a great gold medal given them, in the reverse of which the Synod of *Dort*

Dort was represented, which was called by the same authority. 1672. I saw one of those medals in the possession of the posterity of one of those Judges. King *James* assisted Prince *Maurice* in all this: So powerfully do the interests of Princes carry them to concur in things that are most contrary to their own inclinations. The prevailing passion of that King was his hatred of the *Puritans*: That made him hate these opinions into which they went with great heat: And, tho' he encouraged all that were of the *Arminian* party in his own dominions, yet he helped to crush them in *Holland*: He hated *Barnevelt* upon another score; for his getting the cautionary towns out of his hands: And, according to the nature of impotent passions, this carried him to procure his ruine. After this victory that Prince *Maurice* had got over the party that opposed him, he did not study to carry it much farther. He found quickly how much he had lost the hearts of the people, who had before that time made him their idol, and now look'd at him with horreur. He studied to make up matters the best he could, that he might engage the States in the *Bohemian* war. But all that was soon at an end. It was plain, that he had no design upon their liberty: Tho' he could not bear the opposition that he began to meet with from a free State.

His death put an end to all jealousies: And his brother Prince *Henry Frederick* quickly settled the disputes of *Arminianism*, by the toleration that was granted them. He was known to be a secret favourer of their tenets: He conducted the Armies of the States with so much success, and left them so much at liberty as to all their state affairs, that all the jealousies which his brother's conduct had raised, were quite extinguished by him. The States made him great presents. He became very rich. And his son had the survivance of the Stadtholdership. But his son had more of his uncle's fire in him, than of his father's temper. He opposed the peace of *Munster* all he could. The States came then to see, that they had continued too long in their alliance with *France* against *Spain*, since *France* had got the ascendant by too visible a superiority. So that their interest led them now to support *Spain* against *France*. Prince *William* fell to be in ill terms with his mother. And she, who had great credit with the States, set up such an open opposition to her son, that the peace of *Munster* was in a great measure the effect of their private quarrel. Prince *William*, being married into the Royal family of *England*, did all he could to embroil the States with the new Commonwealth. But he met with such opposition, that, he, finding the States were resolved to dismiss a great part of their

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Army,

1672. Army, suffered himself to be carried to violent counsels. I need not enlarge on things that are so well known, as his sending some of the States prisoners to *Lovestein*, and his design to change the government of *Amsterdam*; which was discovered by the post-boy, who gave the alarm a few hours before the Prince could get thither.

These things, and the effects that followed on them, are well known: As is also his death which followed a few weeks after, in the most unhappy time possible for the Princess Royal's big-belly. For as she bore her son a week after his death, in the eighth month of her time, so he came into the world under great disadvantages. The States were possessed with great jealousies of the family; as if the aspiring to subdue the liberties of their country was inherent in it, and inseparable from it. His private affairs were also in a very bad condition: Two great jointures went out of his estate, to his mother, and grandmother, besides a vast debt that his father had contracted to assist the King. Who could have thought that an infant, brought into the world with so much ill health, and under so many ill circumstances, was born for the preservation of *Europe*, and of the Protestant religion? So unlike do the events of things prove to their first appearances. And, since I am writing of his birth, I will set down a story, much to the honour of astrology, how little regard soever I myself have to it. I had it from the late Queen's own mouth: And she directed me to some who were of the Prince's Court in that time, who confirmed it to me. An unknown person put a paper in the old Princess's hands, which she took from him, thinking it was a petition. When she looked into it, she found it was her son's nativity, together with the fortunes of his life, and a full deduction of many accidents, which followed very punctually, as they were predicted. But that which was most particular was, that he was to have a son by a widow, and was to die of the small pox in the twenty fifth year of his age. So those who were apt to give credit to predictions of that sort fancied, that the Princess Royal was to die; and that he was upon that to marry the widow of some other person. It was a common piece of raillery in the Court, upon the death of any Prince, to ask what a person his widow was. But when he was taken ill of the small pox, then the decyphering the matter was obvious, and it struck his fancy so much, that probably it had an ill effect upon him. Thus was the young Prince born; who was some years after barred by the Perpetual Edict, from all hopes of arriving at the Stadtholdership.

The chief error in *De Wit's* administration was, that he did not again raise the authority of the Council of State; since it was very inconvenient to have both the legislature and the execution in the same hands. It seemed necessary to put the conduct of affairs in a body of men, that should indeed be accountable to the States, but should be bred to business. By this means their counsels might be both quick and secret; whereas, when all is to be determined by the States, they can have no secrets: And they must adjourn often to consult their principals: So their proceedings must be slow. During *De Wit's* Ministry, the Council of State was so sunk, that it was considered only as one of the forms of the government. But the whole execution was brought to the States themselves. Certainly a great assembly is a very improper subject of the executive part of power. It is indeed very proper, that such a body should be a check on those, who have the executive power trusted to them. It is true, *De Wit* found it so; which was occasioned by reason of the *English* Ambassador's being once admitted to sit in that Council. They pretended, indeed, that it was only on the account of the cautionary towns; which moved the States to give *England* a right to some share in their counsels. After these were restored, they did not think it decent to dispute the right of the Ambassador's sitting any more there. But the easier way was, the making that Council to signify nothing, and to bring all matters immediately to the States. It had been happy for *De Wit* himself, and his country, if he had made use of the credit he had in the great turn upon Prince *William's* death, to have brought things back to the State in which they had been anciently; since the established errors of a constitution and government can only be changed in a great revolution. He set up on a popular bottom: And so he was not only contented to suffer matters to go on in the channel in which he found them; but in many things he gave way to the raising the separated jurisdiction of the towns, and to the lessening the authority of the Courts at the *Hague*. This raised his credit, but weakened the union of the Provinces. The secret of all affairs, chiefly the foreign negotiations, lay in few hands. Others, who were not taken into the confidence, threw all miscarriages on him; which was fatal to him. The reputation he had got in the war with *England*, and the happy conclusion of it, broke a party that was then formed against him. After that he dictated to the States: And all submitted to him. The concluding the Triple Alliance in so short a time, and against the forms of their government, shewed, how sure he was of a general concurrence with every thing that he proposed.

In

1672.
The errors
of *De Wit's*
govern-
ment.

The Prince
of Orange
made Gene-
ral.

1672. In the negotiations between the States, and *France*, and *England*, he fell into great errors. He still fancied that the King of *England* must see his own interest so visibly in the exaltation of the Prince of *Orange*, that he reckoned that the worst that could happen was, to raise him to the trust of Stadtholder; since *England* could not gain so much by a conjunction with *France*, as by the King's having such an interest in their government, as he must certainly come to have, when his nephew should be their Stadtholder. So he thought, he had a sure reserve to gain *England* at any time over to them. But he had no apprehension of the King's being a Papist, and his design to make himself absolute at home. And he was amazed to find, that, tho' the Court of *England* had talked much of that matter of the Prince of *Orange* when the States were in no disposition to hearken to it, and so used it as a reproach or a ground of a quarrel, yet when it came more in view, they took no sort of notice of it, and seemed not only cold, but even displeased with it. The Prince, as his natural reservedness saved him from committing many errors, so his gravity, and other virtues recommended him much to the Ministers, and to the body of the people. The family of *De Wit*, and the town of *Amsterdam*, carried still the remembrance of what was pass'd fresh in their thoughts. They set it also up for a maxim, that the making of a Stadtholder was the giving up their liberty, and that the consequence of it would be the putting the sovereignty of their country in him, or at least in his family. The long continuance of a Ministry in one person, and that to so high a degree, must naturally raise envy, and beget discontent, especially in a popular government. This made many become *De Wit's* enemies, and by consequence the Prince's friends. And the Preachers employed all their zeal to raise the respect of the people for a family, under which they had been so long easy and happy.

The Prince
of *Orange*
made General.

When the Prince was of full age, it was proposed in so many places that he should have the supream command of their armies and fleets, that *De Wit* saw the tide was too strong to be resisted. So, after he had opposed it long, he proposed some limitations, that should be settled previous to his advancement. The hardest of all was, that he should bind himself by oath never to pretend to be Stadtholder, nor so much as to accept of it, tho' it should be offered him. These conditions were not of an easy digestion. Yet, it was thought necessary, that the Prince should be once at the head of their armies: That would create a great dependance on him: And if God bless'd him with

success,

success, it would not be possible to keep him so low, as these limitations laid him: And the obligation never to accept of the Stadtholdership could only be meant of his not accepting the offer from any tumultuary bodies of the populace, or the army; but could not be a restraint on him, if the States should make the offer, since his oath was made to them, and by consequence it was in their power to release the obligation that did arise from it to themselves. The Court of *England* blamed him for submitting to such conditions. But he had no reason to rely much on the advices of those, who had taken so little care of him during all the credit they had with the States, while the Triple Alliance gave them a great interest in their affairs. As soon as he was brought into the command of the armies, he told me, he spoke to *De Wit*, and desired to live in an entire confidence with him. His answer was cold: So he saw that he could not depend upon him. When he told me this, he added, that he was certainly one of the greatest men of the age, and he believed he served his country faithfully. *De Wit* reckoned, that the *French* could not come to *Holland* but by the *Maese*. And he had taken great care of the garrison of *Mastricht*; but very little of those that lay on the *Rhine* and the *Isel*, where the States had many places, but none of them good. They were ill fortified, and ill supplied. But most of them were worse commanded, by men of no courage, nor practice in military affairs, who considered their governments as places, of which they were to make all the advantage that they could.

Now I come to give an account of the fifth Crisis brought on the whole Reformation, which has been of the longest continuance, since we are yet in the agitations of it. The design was first laid against the States. But the method of invading them was surprizing, and not look'd for. The Elector of *Colen* was all his life long a very weak man: Yet it was not thought that he could have been prevailed on to put the *French* in possession of his country, and to deliver himself with all his dominions over into their hands. When he did that, all upon the *Rhine* were struck with such a consternation, that there was no spirit nor courage left. It is true, they could not have made a great resistance. Yet if they had but gained a little time, that had given the States some leisure to look round them, to see what was to be done.

The King of *France* came down to *Utrecht*, like a land flood. This struck the *Dutch* with so just a terror, that nothing but great errors in his management could have kept them from delivering themselves entirely up to him. Never was more applause given with less reason than the King of *France* had upon

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this

The fifth
Crisis.

The French
success.

1672. this campaign. His success was owing rather to *De Wit's* errors, than to his own conduct. There was so little heart or judgment shewn in the management of that run of success, that, when that year is set out, as it may well be, it will appear to be one of the least glorious of his life; tho', when seen in a false light, it appears one of the most glorious in history. The conquest of the *Netherlands* at that time might have been so easily compassed, that, if his understanding and his courage had not been equally defective, he could not have miscarried in it. When his army pass'd the *Rhine*, upon which so much eloquence and poetry have been bestowed, as if all had been animated by his presence and direction, he was viewing it at a very safe distance. When he came to *Utrecht*, he had neither the Prince of *Conde*, nor Mr. *Turenne* to advise with: And he was wholly left to his Ministers. The Prince of *Conde* was slightly wounded, as he passed the *Rhine*: And *Turenne* was sent against the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who was coming down with his army, partly to save his own country of *Cleve*, but chiefly to assist his allies the *Dutch*. So the King had none about him to advise with, but *Pomponne* and *Louvois*, when the *Dutch* sent to him to know what he demanded. *Pomponne's* advice was wise and moderate, and would in conclusion have brought about all that he intended. He proposed, that the King should restore all that belonged to the seven Provinces, and require of them only the places that they had without them; chiefly *Mastricht*, *Bois Le Duc*, *Breda*, and *Bergen-op-zoom*: Thus the King would maintain an appearance of preserving the seven Provinces entire, which the Crown of *France* had always protected. To this certainly the *Dutch* would have yielded, without any difficulty. By this he had the *Spanish Netherlands* entirely in his power, separated from *Holland* and the Empire; and might have taken them, whensoever he pleased. This would have an appearance of moderation, and would stop the motion that all *Germany* was now in; which could have no effect, if the States did not pay and subsist the troops. *Louvois* on the other hand proposed, that the King should make use of the consternation the *Dutch* were then in, and put them out of a condition of opposing him for the future. He therefore advised, that the King should demand of them, besides all that *Pomponne* moved, the paying a vast sum for the charge of that campaign; the giving the chief Church in every town for the exercise of the Popish religion; and that they should put themselves under the protection of *France*; and should send an Ambassador every year with a medal acknowledging it; and should enter into no treaties, or alliances, but by the directions

But followed by an ill management.

of *France*. The *Dutch* Embassadors were amazed, when they saw that the demands rose to so extravagant a pitch. One of them swooned away, when he heard them read: He could neither think of yielding to them, nor see how they could resist them. There was an article put in for form, that they should give the King of *England* full satisfaction. But all the other demands were made without any concert with *England*, tho' *Lockhart* was then following the Court.

I say nothing of the sea fight in *Solbay*, in which *De Ruyter* had the glory of surprizing the *English* fleet, when they were thinking less of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant preparation for the usual disorders of the twenty ninth of *May*: Which he prevented, engaging them on the twenty eighth, in one of the most obstinate sea fights that has happened in our age; in which the *French* took more care of themselves than became gallant men, unless they had orders to look on, and leave the *English* and *Dutch* to fight it out, while they preserved the force of *France* entire. *De Ruyter* disabled the ship in which the Duke was, whom some blamed for leaving his ship too soon. Then his personal courage began first to be called in question. The Admiral of the blue squadron was burnt by a fire-ship, after a long engagement with a *Dutch* ship much inferior to him in strength. In it the Earl of *Sandwich* perished with a great many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ship, by a piece of obstinate courage, to which he was provoked by an indecent reflection the Duke made on an advice he had offered, of drawing nearer the shore, and avoiding an engagement, as if in that he took more care of himself than of the King's honour. The Duke of *Buckingham* came aboard the fleet; tho' it was observed, that he made great haste away, when he heard the *Dutch* fleet was in view. The Duke told me, that he said to him, since they might engage the enemy quickly, he intended to make sure of another world: So he desired to know who was the Duke's Priest, that he might reconcile himself to the Church. The Duke told him, *Talbot* would help him to a Priest. And he brought one to him. They were for some time shut up together. And the Priest said, he had reconciled him according to their form. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had no religion at heart, did this only to recommend himself to the Duke's confidence.

It may be easily imagined, that all things were at this time in great disorder at the *Hague*. The *French* possessed themselves of *Naerden*: And a party had entred into *Muyden*, who had the keys of the gates brought to them. But they, seeing it was an inconsiderable place, not knowing the importance of it, by the command

The *Dutch*
in great ex-
tremities.

Embassa-
dors sent to
England.

1672. command of the water that could drown all to *Amsterdam*, flung the keys into the ditch, and went back to *Naerden*. But when the consequence of the place was understood, another party was sent to secure it. But before their return two battalions were sent from the Prince of *Orange*, who secured the place; and by that means preserved *Amsterdam*, where all were trembling, and thought of nothing but of treating and submission. The States were very near the extremities of despair. They had not only lost many places, but all their garrisons in them. *Guelder*, *Overyffel*, and *Utrecht*, were quite lost: And the Bishop of *Munster* was making a formidable impression on *Groninghen*, and at last besieged it. All these misfortunes came so thick one after another, that no spirit was left. And, to compleat their ruine, a jealousy was spread thro' all *Holland*, that they were betrayed by those who were in the government; and that *De Wit* intended, all should perish, rather than the family of *Orange* should be set up. *Mombas*, one of their Generals, who married *De Groot's* sister, had basely abandoned his post, which was to defend the *Rhine* where the *French* passed it: And when he was put in arrest for that, he made his escape, and went to the *French* for sanctuary. Upon this the people complained loudly: And the States were so puzzled, that their hearts quite failed them. When they were assembled, they looked on one another like men amazed; sometimes all in tears. Once the *Spanish* Embassador came, and demanded audience. And when he was brought in, he told them, that out of the affection that he bore them, and the union of his Master's interest with theirs, he came to blame their conduct: They looked sad: They never appeared in the *Vorhaut* in their coaches: And upon all occasions they looked like men despairing of their country: This quite disheartened their people: Therefore he advised them to put on another countenance, to publish that they had good news, that their allies were in march; and to feed their people with probable stories, and so to keep up their spirits. They thought the advice was seasonable, and followed it.

Embassad-
ors sent to
England.

They sent two Embassadors, *Dyckvelt* and *Halewyn*, to join with *Borel*, who was still in *England* to try if it was possible to divide *England* from *France*. And the morning in which they were dispatch'd away, they had secret powers given them to treat concerning the Prince of *Orange's* being their Stadtholder: For Lord *Arlington* had so oft reproached *Borel* for their not doing it, that he in all his letters continued still to press that on them. When they came over, they were for form's sake put under a guard. Yet *Borel* was suffered to come to them; and was transported with joy, when they told him what powers they had

had in that affair of the Prince. And immediately he went to 1672.
 Lord *Arlington*: But came soon back, like one amazed, when
 he found that no regard was had to that, which he had hoped
 would have entirely gained the Court. But he was a plain man,
 and had no great depth. The others were sent to *Hampton*
 Court; and were told, that the King would not treat separately,
 but would send over Embassadors to treat at *Utrecht*. They met
 secretly with many in *England*, and informed themselves by
 them of the state of the Nation. They gave money liberally,
 and gained some in the chief offices to give them intelligence.
 The Court understanding that they were not idle, and that the
 Nation was much inflamed, since all the offers that they made
 were rejected, commanded them to go back. The Duke of
Buckingham and Lord *Arlington* were ordered to go to *Utrecht*.
 And, to give the Nation some satisfaction, Lord *Hallifax* was
 sent over afterwards. But he was not put on the secret. The
Dutch, hearing that their Embassadors were coming over with-
 out making peace with *England*, ran together in great numbers
 to *Maesland* sluice, and resolved to cut them in pieces at their
 landing; for they heard they were at the *Brill*. But, as they
 were crossing the *Maes*, a little boat met them, and told them
 of their danger, and advised them to land at another place,
 where coaches were staying to carry them to the *Hague*. So they
 missed the storm, that broke out fatally at the *Hague* the next
 day, where mens minds were in great agitation.

De Wit was once at night going home from the States, when
 four persons set on him to murder him. He shewed on that oc-
 casion both an intrepid courage, and a great presence of mind.
 He was wounded in several places. Yet he got out of their hands.
 One of them was taken, and condemned for it. All *De Wit's*
 friends pressed him to save his life. But he thought, that
 such an attempt on a man in his post was a crime not to be par-
 doned; tho', as to his own part in the matter, he very freely for-
 gave it. The young man confessed his crime, and repented of
 it: And protested he was led to it by no other consideration,
 but that of zeal for his country and religion, which he thought
 were betrayed. And he died as in a rapture of devotion, which
 made great impression on the spectators. At the same time a Bar-
 ber accused *De Wit's* elder brother of a practice on him, in or-
 der to his murdering the Prince. There were so many impro-
 babilities in his story, which was supported by no circumstances,
 that it seemed no way credible. Yet *Cornelius de Wit* was put to
 the torture on it, but stood firm to his innocence. The sentence
 was accommodated rather to the state of affairs, than to the

1672. strict rules of justice. In the mean time, while his brother had resigned his charge of Pensionary, and was made one of the Judges of the High Court, *Cornelius De Wit* was banished; which was intended rather as a sending him out of the way, than as a sentence against him. I love not to describe scenes of horror, as was that black and infamous one committed on the two brothers. I can add little to what has been so often printed. *De Wit's* going in his own coach to carry his brother out of town was a great error: And looked like a triumph over a sentence, which was unbecoming the character of a Judge. Some furious agitators, who pretended zeal for the Prince, gathered the rabble together. And by that vile action that followed they did him more hurt, than they were ever able to repair. His enemies have taken advantages from thence to cast the infamy of this on him, and on his party, to make them all odious; tho' the Prince spoke of it always to me with the greatest horror possible. The Ministers in *Holland* did upon this occasion shew a very particular violence. In their sermons, and in some printed treatises, they charged the Judges with corruption, who had carried the sentence no farther than to banishment: And compared the fate of the *De Wits* to *Haman's*.

The Prince
of Orange
made Stadt-
holder.

I need not relate the great change of the Magistracy in all the Provinces; the repealing the Perpetual Edict; and the advancing the Prince of *Orange* to be Stadtholder, after they had voided the obligation of the oath he had taken, about which he took some time to deliberate. Both Lawyers and Divines agreed, that those to whom he had made that oath releasing the obligation of it, he was no longer bound by it. The States gave him, for that time, the full power of peace and war. All this was carried farther by the town of *Amsterdam*; for they sent a deputation to him, offering him the sovereignty of their town. When he was pleased to tell me this passage, he said, he knew the reason for which they made it was, because they thought all was lost: And they chose to have the infamy of their loss fall on him, rather than on themselves. He added, that he was sure the country could not bear a sovereign; and that they would contribute more to the war, when it was in order to the preserving their own liberty, than for any Prince whatsoever. So he told them, that, without taking any time to consult on the answer to be made to so great an offer, he did immediately refuse it. He was fully satisfied with the power already lodged with him, and would never endeavour to carry it any farther.

The Prince's advancement gave a new life to the whole country. He, tho' then very young, and little acquainted with the
affairs

affairs of State or War, did apply himself so to both, that, notwithstanding the desperate state in which he found matters, he neither lost heart, nor committed errors. The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Arlington* tried to bring the King of *France* to offer them better terms; but in vain. That Prince was so lifted up, that he seemed to consider the King very little. While he was so high on the one hand, and the Prince of *Orange* so steady on the other, the *English* Embassadors soon saw, that all the offices they could do were ineffectual. One day the Prince (who told me this himself) was arguing with them upon the King's conduct, as the most unaccountable thing possible, who was contributing so much to the exaltation of *France*, which must prove in conclusion fatal to himself; and was urging this in several particulars. The Duke of *Buckingham* broke out in an oath, which was his usual style, and said, he was in the right; and so offered to sign a peace immediately with the Prince. Lord *Arlington* seemed amazed at his rashness. Yet he persisted in it, and said positively he would do it. The Prince upon that, not knowing what secret powers he might have, ordered the articles to be engrossed. And he believed, if he could possibly have got them ready while he was with him, that he would have signed them. They were ready by next morning: But by that time he had changed his mind. That Duke at parting pressed him much to put himself wholly in the King's hands; and assured him he would take care of his affairs, as of his own. The Prince cut him short: He said, his country had trusted him, and he would never deceive, nor betray them for any base ends of his own. The Duke answered, he was not to think any more of his country, for it was lost: If it should weather out the summer, by reason of the waters that had drowned a great part of it, the winter's frost would lay them open: And he repeated the words often, do not you see it is lost? The Prince's answer deserves to be remembered: He said, he saw it was indeed in great danger: But there was a sure way never to see it lost, and that was to die in the last ditch.

The person that the Prince relied on chiefly, as to the affairs of *Holland*, was *Fagel*: A man very learned in the law, who had a quick apprehension, and a clear and ready judgment. He had a copious eloquence, more popular than correct: And was fit to carry matters with a torrent in a numerous assembly. *De Wit* had made great use of him; for he joined with him very zealously in the carrying the Perpetual Edict, which he negotiated with the States of *Frizeland*, who opposed it most: And he was made Greffier, or Secretary to the States General, which

1672.
 The *English*
 Embassa-
 dors were
 wholly in
 the interest
 of *France*.

The charac-
 ter of *Fagel*,

1672. is the most beneficial place in *Holland*. He was a pious, and virtuous man: Only he was too eager, and violent. He was too apt to flatter himself. He had much heart, when matters went well; but had not the courage that became a great Minister on uneasy and difficult occasions.

Prince Waldeck.

Prince *Waldeck* was their Chief General: A man of a great compass, and a true judgment; equally able in the cabinet, and in the camp. But he was always unsuccessful, because he was never furnished according to the schemes that he had laid down. The opinion that Armies had of him, as an unfortunate General, made him really so: For soldiers cannot have much heart, when they have not an entire confidence in him that has the chief command.

Dickvelt.

Dickvelt on his return from *England*, seeing the ruine of the *De Wits*, with whom he was formerly united, and the progress the *French* had made in *Utrecht*, where his estate and interest lay, despaired too soon; and went and lived under them. Yet he did great service to his Province. Upon every violation of articles, he went and demanded justice, and made protestations with a boldness, to which the *French* were so little accustomed, that they were amazed at it. Upon the *French* leaving *Utrecht*, and on the re-establishing that Province he was left out of the Government. Yet his great abilities, and the insinuating smoothness of his temper, procured him so many friends, that the Prince was prevailed on to receive him into his confidence: And he had a great share of it to the last, as he well deserved it. He had a very perfect knowledge of all the affairs of *Europe*, and great practice in many Embassies. He spoke too long, and with too much vehemence. He was in his private deportment a virtuous and religious man, and a zealous Protestant. In the administration of his Province, which was chiefly trusted to him, there were great complaints of partiality, and of a defective justice.

And Halewyn.

Halewyn, a man of great interest in the town of *Dort*, and one of the Judges in the Court of *Holland*, was the person of them all whom I knew best, and valued most: And was the next to *Fagel* in the Prince's confidence. He had a great compass of learning, besides his own profession, in which he was very eminent. He had studied divinity with great exactness; and was well read in all history, but most particularly in the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. He was a man of great vivacity: He apprehended things soon, and judged very correctly. He spoke short, but with life. He had a courage and vigour in his counsels, that became one who had formed himself upon the best models in the

the ancient authors. He was a man of severe morals. And as 1672. he had great credit in the Court where he sat, so he took care that the partialities of friendship should not mix in the administration of justice. He had in him all the best notions of a great patriot, and a true Christian philosopher. He was brought in very early to the secret of affairs, and went into the business of the Perpetual Edict very zealously. Yet he quickly saw the error of bringing matters of State immediately into numerous assemblies. He considered the States maintaining in themselves the sovereign power, as the basis upon which the liberty of their country was built. But he thought, the administration of the government must be lodged in a Council. He thought it a great misfortune, that the Prince was so young at his first exaltation; and so possessed with military matters, to which the extremity of their affairs required that he should be entirely applied, that he did not then correct that error, which could only be done upon so extraordinary a conjuncture. He saw the great error of *De Wit's* ministry, of keeping the secret of affairs so much in his own hands. Such a precedent was very dangerous to publick liberty, when it was in the power of one man to give up his country. Their people could not bear the lodging so great a trust with one, who had no distinction of birth or rank. Yet he saw it was necessary to have such an authority, as *De Wit's* merits and success had procured him, lodged some where. The factions and animosities, that were in almost all their towns, made it as necessary for their good government at home, as it was for the command of their armies abroad, to have this power trusted to a person of that eminence of birth and rank, that he might be above the envy that is always among equals, when any one of them is raised to a disproportioned degree of greatness above the rest. He observed some errors that were in the Prince's conduct. But after all, he said, it was visible that he was always in the true interest of his country: So that the keeping up a faction against him was like to prove fatal to all *Europe*, as well as to themselves.

The greatest misfortune in the Prince's affairs was, that the wisest, and the most considerable men in their towns, that had been acquainted with the conduct of affairs formerly, were now under a cloud, and were either turned out of the Magistracy, or thought it convenient to retire from business. And many hot, but poor men, who had signalized their zeal in the turn newly made, came to be called the Prince's friends, and to be put every where in the Magistracy. They quickly lost all credit, having little discretion, and no authority. They were very

The Prince studied to correct the errors he fell in at first.

P p p p

partial

1672. partial in the government, and oppressive, chiefly of those of the other side. The Prince saw this sooner than he could find a remedy for it. But by degrees the men of the other side came into his interest; and promised to serve him faithfully, in order to the driving out the *French*, and the saving their country. The chief of those were *Halewyn* of *Dort*, *Pats* of *Rotterdam*, and *Van Beuning* of *Amsterdam*.

Van Beuning's character.

The last of these was so well known, both in *France* and *England*, and had so great credit in his own town, that he deserves to be more particularly set out. He was a man of great notions. He had a wonderful vivacity, but too much levity in his thoughts. His temper was inconstant; firm, and positive for a while; but apt to change, from a giddiness of mind, rather than from any falsehood in his nature. He broke twice with the Prince, after he came into a confidence with him. He employed me to reconcile him to him for the third time: But the Prince said, he could not trust him any more. He had great knowledge in all sciences, and had such a copiousness of invention, with such a pleasantness, as well as a variety, of conversation, that I have often compared him to the Duke of *Buckingham*: Only he was vertuous, and devout; much in the enthusiastical way. In the end of his days he set himself wholly to mind the *East India* trade. But that was an employment not so well suited to his natural genius. And it ended fatally: For, the actions sinking on the sudden on the breaking out of a new war, that sunk him into a melancholly, which quite distracted him. The town of *Amsterdam* was for many years conducted by him as by a dictator. And that had exposed them to as many errors, as the irregularity of his notions suggested. The breaking the *West India* company, and the loss of *Munster* in the year 1658, was owing to that. It was then demonstrated, that the loss of that town laid the States open on that side; and that *Munster*, being in their hands, would not only cover them, but be a fit place for making levies in *Westphalia*. Yet *Amsterdam* would not consent to that new charge; and fancied, there was no danger on that side. But they found afterwards, to their cost, that their unreasonable managery in that particular drew upon them an expence of many millions, by reason of the unquiet temper of that martial Bishop, who had almost ruined them this year on the side of *Friseland*. But his miscarriage in the siege of *Groninghen*, and the taking *Coeverden* by surprize in the end of the year, as it was among the first things that raised the spirits of the *Dutch*, so both the Bishop's strength

Errors committed by the town of *Amsterdam*.

The Prince studied to correct the errors he fell in at first.

strength and reputation sunk so entirely upon it, that he never gave them any great trouble after that. 1672.

Another error, into which the managery of *Amsterdam* drew the States, was occasioned by the offer that *D'Estrades*, the *French* Embassador, made them in the year 1663, of a division of the *Spanish Netherlands*, by which *Ostend* and a line from thence to *Mastricht*, within which *Bruges*, *Ghent*, and *Antwerp*, were to be comprehended, was offered to them; the *French* desiring only *St. Omer*, *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and *Luxemburgh*. And the dominions that lay between those lines were to be a free Common-wealth; as *Halewyn* assured me, who said, he was in the secret at that time. This was much debated all *Holland* over. It was visible, that this new Common-wealth, taken out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, must naturally have fallen into a dependance on the States; and have become more considerable, when put under a better conduct. Yet this would have put the States at that time to some considerable charge. And, to avoid that, the proposition was rejected, chiefly by the opposition that *Amsterdam* made to it; where the prevailing maxim was, to reduce their expence, to abate taxes, and to pay their publick debts. By such an unreasonable parsimony matters were now brought to that state, that they were engaged into a war of so vast an expence, that the yearly produce of their whole estates, did not answer all the taxes that they were forced to lay on their people.

After the Prince saw, that the *French* demands were at this time so high, and that it was not possible to draw *England* into a separate treaty, he got the States to call an extraordinary assembly, the most numerous that has been in this age. To them the Prince spoke near three hours, to the amazement of all that heard him, which was owned to me by one of the deputies of *Amsterdam*. He had got great materials put in his hands, of which he made very good use. He first went thro' the *French* propositions, and shewed the consequence and the effects that would follow on them; that the accepting them would be certain ruine, and the very treating about them would distract and dispirit their people: He therefore concluded, that the entertaining a thought of these was the giving up their country: If any could hearken to such a motion, the lovers of religion and liberty must go to the *Indies*, or to any other country where they might be free and safe. After he had gone thro' this, near an hour, he in the next place shewed the possibility of making a stand, notwithstanding the desperate state to which their affairs seemed reduced: He shewed the force of all their allies; that

The Prince animates the States to continue the war.

The French King goes back to Paris.

England

1672. *England* could not hold out long without a Parliament; and they were well assured, that a Parliament would draw the King to other measures: He shewed the impossibility of the *French* holding out long, and that the *Germans* coming down to the lower *Rhine* must make them go out of their country, as fast as they came into it. In all this he shewed, that he had a great insight into the *French* affairs. He came last to shew, how it was possible to raise the taxes that must be laid on the country to answer such a vast and unavoidable expence; and set before them a great variety of projects for raising money. He concluded, that, if they laid down this for a foundation, that religion and liberty could not be purchased at too dear a rate, and that therefore every man among them, and every Minister in the country, ought to infuse into all the people, that they must submit to the present extremity, and to very extraordinary taxes; by this means, as their people would again take heart, so their enemies would loose theirs, who built their chief hopes on that universal dejection among them, that was but too visible to all the world. Every one that was present seemed amazed to hear so young a man speak to so many things, with so much knowledge, and so true a judgment. It raised his character wonderfully, and contributed not a little to put new life in a country, almost dead with fear, and dispirited with so many losses. They all resolved to maintain their liberty to the last; and, if things should run to extremities, to carry what wealth they could with them to the *East Indies*. The state of the shipping capable of so long a voyage was examined: And it was reckoned, that they could transport above two hundred thousand people thither.

The French
King goes
back to Pa-
ris

Yet all their courage would probably have served them in little stead, if the King of *France* could have been prevailed on to stay longer at *Utrecht*. But he made haste to go back to *Paris*. Some said, it was the effect of his amours, and that it was hastened by some quarrels among his Mistresses. Others thought, he was hastening to receive the flatteries that were preparing for him there. And indeed in the outward appearances of things there was great occasion for them; since he had a run of success beyond all expectation, tho' he himself had no share in it, unless it was to spoil it. He left a garrison in every place he took, against *Turenne's* advice, who was for dismantling them all, and keeping his army still about him. But his Ministers saw so far into his temper, that they resolved to play a sure game, and to put nothing to hazard. Upon the Elector of *Brandenburg's* coming down, *Monsieur Turenne* was sent against him:

By

By which means the army about the King was so diminished, 1672, that he could undertake no great design, besides the siege of *Nimwegen*, that held out some weeks, with so small a force. And tho' the Prince of *Orange* had not above eight thousand men about him, employed in keeping a pass near *Woerden*, yet no attempt was made to force him from it. Another probable reason of his returning back so soon was, a suggestion of the desperate temper of the *Dutch*, and that they were capable of undertaking any design, how black soever, rather than perish. Some told him of vaults under the streets of *Utrecht*, where gun-powder might be laid to blow him up, as he went over them: And all these were observed to be avoided by him. He would never lodge within the town, and came but seldom to it. He upon one or other of these motives went back. Upon which the Prince of *Conde* said, he saw he had not the soul of a conqueror in him; and that his Ministers were the best *Commis*, but the poorest Ministers in the world, who had not souls made for great things, or capable of them.

If the King had a mind to be flattered by his people, he found at his return enough even to surfeit him. Speeches, verses, inscriptions, triumphal arches, and medals were prepared with a profusion, and excess of flattery, beyond what had been offered to the worst of the *Roman* Emperors, baiting the ceremony of adoration. But blasphemous impieties were not wanting to raise, and feed his vanity. A solemn debate was held all about *Paris*, what title should be given him. *Le Grand* was thought too common. Some were for *Invincible*. Others were for *Le Conquerant*. Some, in imitation of *Charlemagne*, for *Lewis Le magne*. Others were for *Maximus*. But *Tres Grand* sounded not so well: No more did *Maxime*. So they settled on *Le Grand*. And all the bodies of *Paris* seemed to vie in flattery. It appeared, that the King took pleasure in it: So there has followed upon it the greatest run of the most fulsom flattery that is in history. Had the King of *France* left such a man as *Turenne* at *Utrecht*, it might have had ill effects on the resolutions taken by the *Dutch*. But he left *Luxemburgh* there, who had no regard to articles; but made all people see what was to be expected, when they should come under such a yoke, that was then so intolerable a burden, even while it ought to have been recommended to those who were yet free by a gentle administration. This contributed not a little to fix the *Dutch* in those obstinate resolutions they had taken up.

1672.

The Dutch
saved by
some extra-
ordinary
Providence.

There was one very extraordinary thing that happened near the *Hague* this summer: I had it from many eye witnesses: And no doubt was made of the truth of it by any at the *Hague*. Soon after the *English* fleet had refitted themselves, (for they had generally been much damaged by the engagement in *Solbay*,) they appeared in sight of *Scheveling*, making up to the shore. The tide turned: But they reckoned that with the next flood they would certainly land the forces that were aboard, where they were like to meet with no resistance. So they sent to the Prince for some regiments to hinder the descent. He could not spare many men, having the *French* very near him. So between the two the country was given for lost, unless *De Ruyter* should quickly come up. The flood returned, which they thought was to end in their ruine. But to all their amazement, after it had flowed two or three hours, an ebb of many hours succeeded, which carried the fleet again to the sea. And, before that was spent, *De Ruyter* came in view. This they reckoned a miracle wrought for their preservation. Soon after that they escaped another design, that otherwise would very probably have been fatal to them.

Offory in-
tended to
surprise *Hel-
voetsluys*.

The Earl of *Offory*, eldest son to the Duke of *Ormond*, a man of great honour, generosity, and courage, had been oft in *Holland*: And, coming by *Helvoetsluys*, he observed, it was a place of great consequence, but very ill looked to. The *Dutch* trusting to the danger of entring into it, more than to any strength that defended it, he thought it might be easy to seize, and fortify that place. The King approved this. So some ships were sheathed, and victualled, as for a voyage to a great distance. He was to have five men of war, and transport ships for twelve or fifteen hundred men. And a second squadron, with a farther supply, if he succeeded in the attempt, was to follow. He had got two or three of their pilots brought out on a pretended errand: And these he kept very safe to carry him in. This was communicated to none, but to the Duke, and to Lord *Arlington*: And all was ready for the execution. Lord *Offory* went to this fleet, and saw every thing ready as was ordered, and came up to receive the King's sailing orders. But the King, who had ordered him to come next morning for his dispatch, discovered the design to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who hated both the Duke of *Ormond*, and Lord *Offory*, and would have seen the King and all his affairs perish, rather than that a person whom he hated should have the honour of such a piece of merit. He upon that did turn all his wit to make the thing appear ridiculous, and

and impracticable. He represented it as unsafe on many accounts ; 1672. and as a desperate stroke, that put things, if it should succeed, out of a possibility of treaty or reconciliation. The King could not withstand this. Lord *Offory* found next morning that the King had changed his mind. And it broke out, by the Duke of *Buckingham's* loose way of talking, that it was done by his means. So the design was laid aside. But when the peace was made, Lord *Offory* told it to the *Dutch* Embassadors: And said, since he did not destroy them by touching them in that weak and fore part, he had no mind they should lye any longer open to such another attack. When the Embassadors wrote this over to their masters, all were sensible, how easy it had been to have seized, and secured that place; and what a terrible disorder it would have put them in: And upon this they gave order to put the place in a better posture of defence for the future. So powerfully did spite work on those about the King: And so easy was he to the man of wit and humour. The Duke staid long at sea, in hopes to have got the *East India* fleet. But they came sailing so near the *German* coast, that they passed him before he was aware of it. So he came back after a long and inglorious campaign. He lost the honour of the action that was at *Solbay*; and missed the wealth of that fleet, which he had long waited for.

I will compleat the transactions of this memorable year with an account of the impression that *Luxemburgh* made on the *Dutch* near the end of it; which would have had a very tragical conclusion, if a happy turn of weather had not saved them. *Stoupe* was then with him, and was on the secret. By many feints, that amused the *Dutch* so skillfully that there was no suspicion of the true design, all was prepared for an invasion, when a frost should come. It came at last: And it froze and thawed by turns for some time, which they reckon makes the ice firmest. At last a frost continued so strong for some days, that upon piercing and examining the ice, it was thought it could not be dissolved by any ordinary thaw in less than two days. So about midnight *Luxemburgh* marched out of *Utrecht* towards *Leyden* with about sixteen thousand men. Those of *Utrecht* told me, that, in the minute in which they began to march, a thaw wind blew very fresh. Yet they marched on till day light, and came to *Summerdam* and *Bodegrave*, which they gained not without difficulty. There they stopt, and committed many outrages of crying lust and barbarous cruelty; and vented their impiety in very blasphemous expressions, upon the continuance of the thaw, which now had quite melted the ice,

An army from *Utrecht* came on the ice to *Holland*.

1672. so that it was not possible to go back, the way that they came, where all had been ice, but was now dissolved to about three foot depth of water. There were cause-ways: And they were forced to march on these. But there was a fort, thro' which they must pass. And one *Painevine* with two regiments was ordered to keep it, with some cannon in it. If he had continued there, they must all have been taken prisoners, which would have put an end to the war. But, when he saw them march to him in the morning, he gave all for lost; and went to *Tergow*, where he gave the alarm, as if all was gone. And he offered to them, to come to help them by that garrison to a better capitulation. So he left his post, and went thither. The *French* army, not being stopt by that fort, got safe home. But their behaviour in those two villages was such, that, as great pains was taken to spread it over the whole country, so it contributed not a little to the establishing the *Dutch* in their resolutions, of not only venturing but of loosing all, rather than come under so cruel a yoke.

Painevine's
sentence.

Painevine's withdrawing had lost them an advantage never to be regained. So the Prince ordered a Council of war to try him. He pleaded, that the place was not tenable; that the enemy had pass'd it; so he thought the use it was intended for was lost: And if the enemy had come to attack him, he must have surrendered upon discretion: And he pleaded farther, that he went from it upon the desire of one of their towns to save it. Upon this defence, he was acquitted as to his life, but condemned to infamy, as a coward, and to have his sword broke over his head, and to be for ever banished the States dominions. But an appeal lay, according to their discipline, to a Council of war composed of General Officers: And they confirmed the sentence. The towns of *Holland* were highly offended at these proceedings. They said, they saw the officers were resolved to be gentle to one another, and to save their fellow officers, how guilty soever they might be. The Prince yielded to their instances, and brought him to a third trial before himself, and a Court of the supreme officers, in which they had the assistance of six Judges. *Painevine* stood on it, that he had undergone two trials, which was all that the martial law subjected him to; and in those he was acquitted. Yet this was over-ruled. It was urged against him, that he himself was present in the Council of war that ordered the making that fort; and he knew, that it was not intended to be a place tenable against an army, but was only meant to make a little stand for some time, and was intended for a desperate state of affairs; and that therefore he ought not

not to have left his post, because of the danger he was in: He saw the thaw began; and so ought to have staid, at least till he had seen how far that would go: And being put there by the Prince, he was to receive orders from none but him. Upon these grounds he was condemned, and executed, to the great satisfaction of the States, but to the general disgust of all the officers, who thought they were safe in the hands of an ordinary council of war, and did not like this new method of proceeding.

They were also not a little troubled at the strict discipline that the Prince settled, and at the severe execution of it. But by this means he wrought up his army to a pitch of obedience and courage, of sobriety and good order, that things put on another face: And all men began to hope that their armies would act with another spirit, now that the discipline was so carefully look'd to. It seems, the *French* made no great account of them: For they released twenty five thousand prisoners, taken in several places, for fifty thousand crowns.

Thus I have gone far into the state of affairs of *Holland* in this memorable year. I had most of these particulars from *Dyckvelt* and *Halewyn*. And I thought this great turn deserved to be set out with all the copiousness, with which my informations could furnish me. This year the King declared a new Mistress, and made her Duchess of *Portsmouth*. She had been maid of honour to *Madame*, the King's sister and had come over with her to *Dover*; where the King had expressed such a regard to her, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, who hated the Duchess of *Cleveland*, intended to put her on the King. He told him, that it was a decent piece of tenderness for his sister to take care of some of her servants. So she was the person the King easily consented to invite over. That Duke assured the King of *France*, that he could never reckon himself sure of the King, but by giving him a Mistress that should be true to his interests. It was soon agreed to. So the Duke of *Buckingham* sent her with a part of his equipage to *Dieppe*; and said, he would presently follow. But he, who was the most inconstant and forgetful of all men, never thought of her more; but went to *England* by the way of *Calais*. So *Montague*, then Ambassador at *Paris*, hearing of this, sent over for a Yacht for her, and sent some of his servants to wait on her, and to defray her charge, till she was brought to *Whitehall*: And then Lord *Arlington* took care of her. So the Duke of *Buckingham* lost the merit he might have pretended to; and brought over a Mistress, whom his own strange conduct threw into the hands of his enemies. The King was

A French
Mistress
made Duchess
of Portsmouth.

1672.

presently taken with her. She studied to please and observe him in every thing: So that he pass'd away the rest of his life in a great fondness for her. He kept her at a vast charge. And she by many fits of sickness, some believed real, and others thought only pretended, gained of him every thing she desired. She stuck firm to the *French* interest, and was its chief support. The King divided himself between her and *Mistriss Gwyn*; and had no other avowed amour. But he was so entirely possessed by the *Duchess of Portsmouth*, and so engaged by her in the *French* interest, that this threw him into great difficulties, and exposed him to much contempt and distrust.

The affairs
of Scotland.

Lauderdale's
great in-
fluence.

I do now return to the affairs of *Scotland*, to give an account of a session of Parliament, and the other transactions there in this critical year. About the end of *May*, Duke *Lauderdale* came down with his Lady in great pomp. He was much lifted up with the *French* success; and took such pleasure in talking of *De Witt's* fate, that it could not be heard without horror. He treated all people with such scorn, that few were able to bear it. He adjourned the Parliament for a fortnight, that he might carry his Lady round the country; and was every where waited on, and entertained, with as much respect, and at as great a charge, as if the King had been there in person. This enraged the Nobility. And they made great applications to Duke *Hamilton*, to lead a party against him, and to oppose the tax, that he demanded, of a whole year's assessment. I soon grew so weary of the Court, tho' there was scarce a person so well used by him as I my self was, that I went out of town. But Duke *Hamilton* sent for me; and told me, how vehemently he was solicited by the majority of the Nobility to oppose the demand of the tax. He had promised me not to oppose taxes in general: And I had assured Duke *Lauderdale* of it. But he said, this demand was so extravagant, that he did not imagine it would go so far: So he did not think himself bound, by a promise made in general words, to agree to such a high one. Upon this I spoke to Duke *Lauderdale*, to shew him the inclinations many had to an opposition to that demand, and the danger of it. He rejected it in a brutal manner, saying, they durst as soon be damned as oppose him. Yet I made him so sensible of it, that he appointed the Marquis of *Athol* to go and talk in his name to Duke *Hamilton*, who moved that I might be present: And that was easily admitted. Lord *Athol* pressed Duke *Hamilton* to come into an entire confidence with Duke *Lauderdale*; and promised, that he should have the chief direction of all affairs in *Scotland* under the other. Duke *Hamilton* asked

asked, how stood the Parliament of *England* affected to the war. 1672. Lord *Athol* assured him, there was a settled design of having no more Parliaments in *England*. The King would be master, and would be no longer curbed by a House of Commons. He also laid out the great advantages that *Scotland*, more particularly the great Nobility, might find by striking in heartily with the King's designs, and in making him absolute in *England*. Duke *Hamilton* answered very honestly, that he would never engage in such designs: He would be always a good and faithful subject: But he would be likewise a good country man. He was very unwilling to concur in the land tax. He said, *Scotland* had no reason to engage in the war, since as they might suffer much by it, so they could gain nothing, neither by the present war, nor by any peace that should be made. Yet he was prevailed on, in conclusion, to agree to it. And upon that the business of the session of Parliament went on smoothly without any opposition.

The Duchess of *Lauderdale*, not contented with the great appointments they had, set her self by all possible methods to raise money. They lived at a vast expence: And every thing was set to sale. She carried all things with a haughtiness, that could not have been easily born from a Queen. She talked of all people with an ungoverned freedom, and grew to be universally hated. I was out of measure weary of my attendance at their Court, but was pressed to continue it. Many found I did good offices. I got some to be considered, and advanced, that had no other way of access. But that which made it more necessary was, that I saw *Sharp* and his creatures were making their Court with the most abject flattery, and all the submissions possible. *Leightoun* went seldom to them, tho' he was always treated by them with great distinction. So it was necessary for me to be about them, and keep them right: Otherwise all our designs were lost without recovery. This led me to much uneasy compliance; tho' I asserted my own liberty, and found so often fault with their proceedings, that once or twice I used such freedom, and it was so ill taken, that I thought it was fit for me to retire. Yet I was sent for, and continued in such high favour, that I was again tried if I would accept of a Bishoprick, and was promised the first of the two Archbishopricks that should fall. But I was still fixed in my former resolutions, not to engage early, being then but nine and twenty: Nor could I come into a dependance on them.

Duke *Lauderdale* at his coming down had expected, that the Presbyterians should have addressed themselves to him for a share in

He expected
addresses for
a Toleration.
on.

1672. in that liberty, which their brethren had now in *England*; and which he had asserted in a very particular manner at the Council table in *White-hall*. One *Whatley*, a Justice of peace in *Lincolnshire*, if I remember the County right, had disturbed one of the Meeting-houses, that had got a licence pursuant to the declaration for a Toleration: And he had set fines on those that met in it, conformably to the Act against Conventicles. Upon which he was brought up to Council, to be reprimanded for his high contempt of his Majesty's declaration. Some Privy Counsellours shewed their zeal in severe reflections on his proceedings. Duke *Lauderdale* carried the matter very far: He said, the King's edicts were to be considered, and obeyed as laws, and more than any other laws. This was writ down by some that heard it, who were resolved to make use of it against him in due time. He looked on near two months after he came down to *Scotland*, waiting still for an application for liberty of conscience. But the designs of the Court were now clearly seen into. The Presbyterians understood, they were only to be made use of in order to the introducing of Popery. So they resolved to be silent and passive. Upon this he broke out into fury and rage against them. Conventicles abounded in all places of the country. And some furious zealots broke into the houses of some of the Ministers, wounding them, and robbing their goods, forcing some of them to swear that they would never officiate any more in their Churches. Some of these were taken, and executed. I visited them in prison; and saw in them the blind madness of ill grounded zeal, of which they were never fully convinced. One of them seemed to be otherwise no ill man. Another of them was a bold villain. He justified all that they had done, from the *Israelites* robbing the *Aegyptians*, and destroying the *Canaanites*.

Designs
from *Hol-*
land to raise
a rebellion
in *Scotland*.

That which gave Duke *Lauderdale* a juster ground of offence was, that one *Carstairs*, much employed since that time in greater matters, was taken in a ship that came from *Rotterdam*. He himself escaped out of their hands: But his letters were taken. They had a great deal writ in white ink; which shewed, that the design of sending him over was, to know in what disposition the people were, promising arms and other necessaries, if they were in a condition to give the Government any disturbance. But the whole was so darkly writ, much being referred to the bearer, that it was not possible to understand what lay hid under so many mysterious expressions. Upon this a severe prosecution of Conventicles was set on foot: And a great deal of money was raised by arbitrary fines. Lord *Atbol* made of this in one week 1900 *l. ster*. I did all I could

to moderate this fury: But all was in vain. Duke *Lauderdale* 1671. broke out into the most frantick fits of rage possible. When I was once saying to him, was that a time to drive them into a rebellion? Yes, said he, would to God they would rebel, that so he might bring over an army of *Irish* Papists to cut all their throats. Such a fury as this seemed to furnish work for a physician, rather than for any other sort of men. But after he had let himself loose into these fits for near a month, he calmed all on the sudden: Perhaps upon some signification from the King; for the party complained to their friends in *London*, who had still some credit at Court.

He called for me all on the sudden, and put me in mind of the project I had laid before him, of putting all the outed Ministers by couples into parishes: So that instead of wandring about the country, to hold Conventicles in all places, they might be fixed to a certain abode, and every one might have the half of a benefice. I was still of the same mind: And so was *Leightoun*; who compared this to the gathering the coals that were scattered over the house, setting it all on fire, into the chimney, where they might burn away safely. Duke *Lauderdale* set about it immediately: And the benefit of the Indulgence was extended to forty more Churches. This, if followed as to that of doubling them in a parish, and of confining them within their parishes, would have probably laid a flame that was spreading over the Nation, and was like to prove fatal in conclusion. But Duke *Lauderdale's* way was, to govern by fits, and to pass from hot to cold ones, always in extreams. So this of doubling them, which was the chief part of our scheme, was quite neglected. Single Ministers went into those Churches: And those, who were not yet provided for, went about the country holding Conventicles very boldly, without any restraint: And no care at all was taken of the Church.

Sharp and his instruments took occasion from this to complain, that the Church was ruined by *Leightoun's* means. And I wanted not my share in the charge. And indeed the remissness of the government was such, that there was just cause of complaint. Great numbers met in the fields. Men went to those meetings with such arms as they had. And we were blamed for all this. It was said, that things went so far beyond what a principle of moderation could suggest, that we did certainly design to ruine and overturn the constitution. *Leightoun* upon all this concluded he could do no good on either side: He had gained no ground on the Presbyterians, and was suspected and hated by the Episcopal party. So he resolved

A farther Indulgence.

Leightoun resolved to retire, and to leave his Sec.

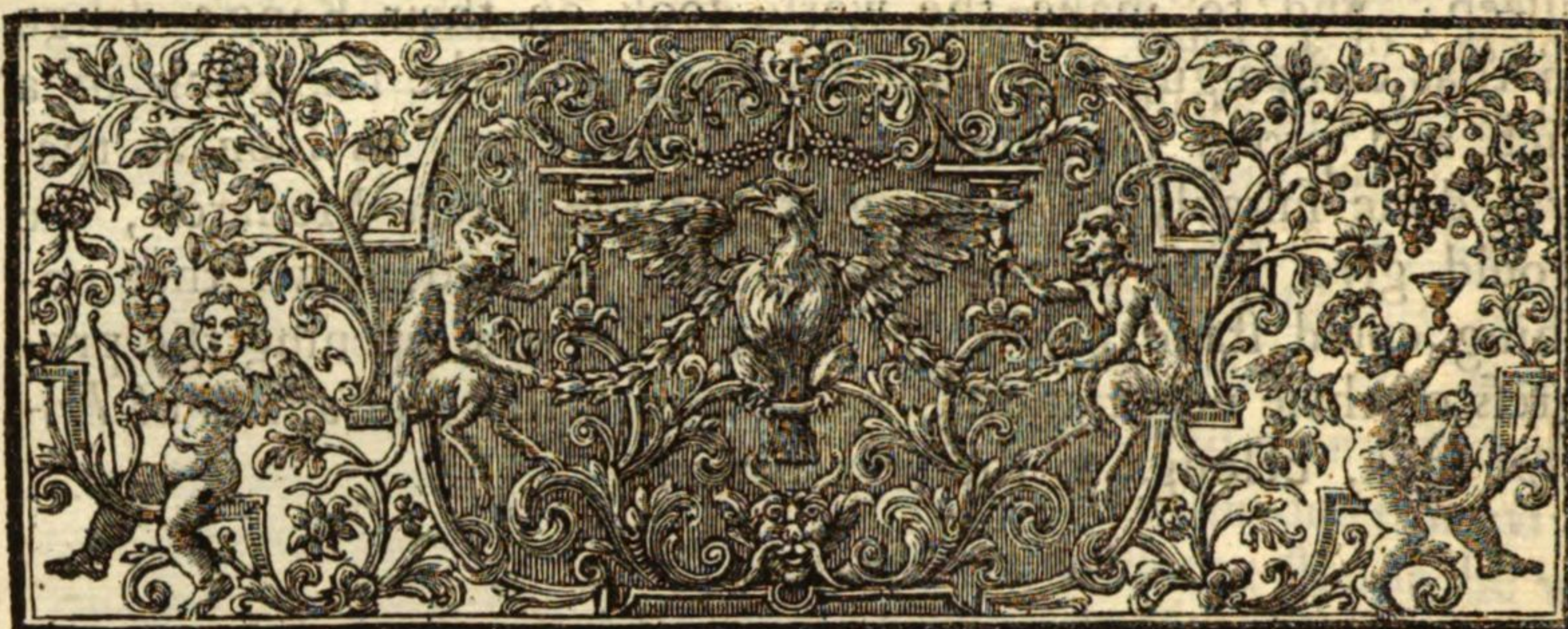
1672. to retire from all publick employments, and to spend the rest of his days in a corner, far from noise and business, and to give himself wholly to prayer and meditation, since he saw he could not carry on his great designs of healing and reforming the Church, on which he had set his heart. He had gathered together many instances out of Church history of Bishops that had left their Sees, and retired from the world: And was much pleased with these. He and I had many discourses on this argument. I thought a man ought to be determined by the providence of God, and to continue in the station he was in, tho' he could not do all the good in it that he had proposed to himself: He might do good in a private way by his example, and by his labours, more than he himself could know: And as a man ought to submit to sickness, poverty, or other afflictions, when they are laid on him by the hand of providence; so I thought the labouring without success was indeed a very great trial of patience, yet such labouring in an ungrateful employment was a cross, and so was to be born with submission; and that a great uneasiness under that, or the forsaking a station because of it, might be the effect of secret pride, and an indignation against providence. He on the other hand said, his work seemed to be at an end: He had no more to do, unless he had a mind to please himself with the lazy enjoying a good revenue. So he could not be wrought on by all that could be laid before him; but followed Duke *Lauderdale* to Court, and begged leave to retire from his Archbishoprick. The Duke would by no means consent to this. So he desired, that he might be allowed to do it within a year. Duke *Lauderdale* thought so much time was gained: So to be rid of his importunities he moved the King to promise him, that, if he did not change his mind, he would within the year accept of his resignation. He came back much pleased with what he had obtained; and said to me upon it, there was now but one uneasy stage between him and rest, and he would wrestle thro' it the best he could.

And now I am come to the period that I set out for this book. The world was now in a general combustion, set on by the ambition of the Court of *France*, and supported by the feebleness and treachery of the Court of *England*. A stand was made by the Prince of *Orange*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. But the latter, not being in time assisted by the Emperor, was forced to accept of such conditions as he could obtain. This winter there was great practice in all the Courts of *Europe*, by the Agents of *France*, to lay them every where asleep;

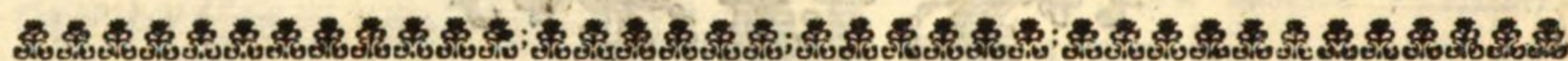
asleep; and to make the world look on their King's design 1672. in that campaign, as a piece of glory, for the humbling of a rich and proud Common-wealth; and that, as soon as that was done suitably to the dignity of the Great Monarch, he would give peace to the world, after he had shewn that nothing could stand before his arms. But the opening the progress of these negotiations, and the turn that the affairs of *Europe* took, belongs to the next period.



THE
 of the reign of King Charles II. 1672. in
 long civil war was not easily brought into res-
 toration, and might end in new conditions and troubles.
 But the Court had now given such broad intima-
 tion, both on our religion and the civil con-
 dition, that it was no more a jealousy: All was now open
 and participated. In the King's presence the Court flattered were
 always



THE
HISTORY
OF
My Own Times.

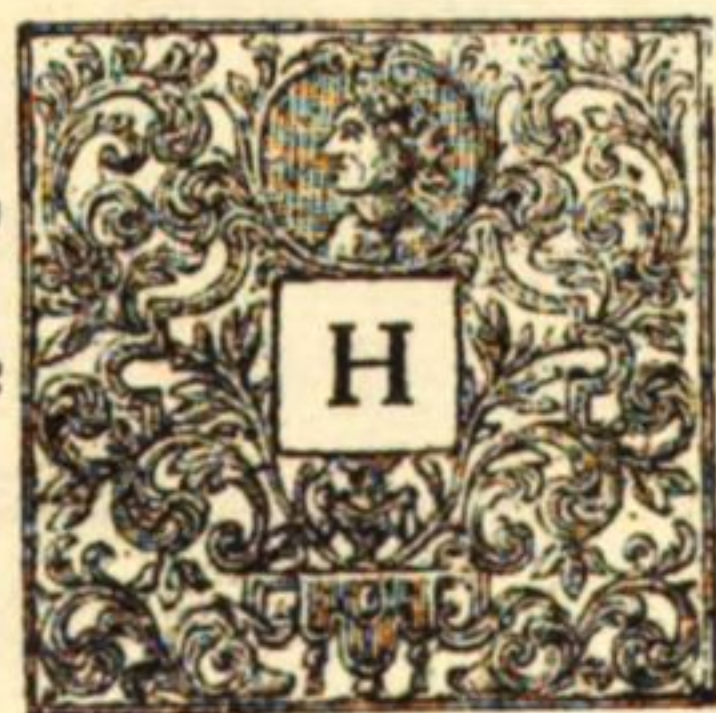


BOOK III.

*Of the rest of King Charles II's. reign, from
the year 1673 to the year 1685, in
which he died.*

1673.

Great jea-
lousies of the
King.



Hitherto the reign of King *Charles* was pretty serene and calm at home. A Nation weary of a long civil war was not easily brought into jealousies and fears, which were the seeds of distraction, and might end in new confusions and troubles. But the Court had now given such broad intimations of an ill design, both on our religion and the civil constitution, that it was no more a jealousy: All was now open and barefaced. In the King's presence the Court-flatterers were
always

always magnifying absolute government, and reflecting on the insolence of a House of Commons. The King said once to the Earl of *Essex*, as he told me, that he did not wish to be like a Grand Signior, with some mutes about him, and bags of bow-strings to strangle men, as he had a mind to it: But he did not think he was a King, as long as a company of fellows were looking into all his actions, and examining his Ministers, as well as his accounts. He reckoned, now he had set the Church party at such a distance from the Dissenters, that it was impossible to make them join in opposition to his designs. He hoped, the Church party would be always submissive: And he had the Dissenters at mercy.

The proceedings of the former year had opened all mens eyes. The King's own religion was suspected, as his brother's was declared: And the whole conduct shewed a design to govern by the *French* model. A *French* General was brought over to command our armies. Count *Schomberg*, who was a *German* by birth, (but his mother was an *English* woman,) was sent over. He was a firm Protestant, and served at first in *Holland*. But upon the Prince of *Orange*'s death he went into *France*, where he grew into so high a reputation, that he was kept under, and not raised to be a Marshal, only on the account of his religion. He was a calm man, of great application and conduct. He thought much better than he spoke. He was a man of true judgment, of great probity, and of an humble and obliging temper: And at any other time of his life he would have been very acceptable to the *English*. But now he was looked on as one sent over from *France* to bring our army under a *French* discipline: And so he was hated by the Nation, and not much loved by the Court. He was always pressing the King to declare himself the head of the Protestant party. He press'd him likewise to bring his brother over from Popery: But the King said to him, you know my brother long ago, that he is as stiff as a mule. He liked the way of *Charenton* so well, that he went once a week to *London* to the *French* Church there, that was according to that form: So the Duke and Lord *Clifford* looked on him as a Presbyterian, and an unfit man for their purpose. The Duke of *Buckingham* hated him; for he hoped to have commanded the Army. And as an army is a very unacceptable thing to the *English* Nation, so it came to be the more odious, when commanded by a General sent over from *France*. *Schomberg* told me, he saw it was impossible that the King could bring any great design to a good effect: He loved his ease so much, that he never minded business: And every thing that was said

T t t t

to

1673. to him of affairs was heard with so little attention, that it made no impression.

The Court was much divided.

The Ministry was all broke to pieces. The Duke of *Buckingham* was alone, hated by all, as he hated all the rest. But he went so entirely into all their ill designs, that the King considered him, and either loved or feared him so much, that he had a deep root with him. Lord *Clifford* stuck firm to the Duke, and was heated with the design of bringing in Popery, even to enthusiasm. It was believed, if the design had succeeded, he had agreed with his wife to take orders, and to aspire to a Cardinal's hat. He grew violent; and could scarce speak with patience of the Church of *England*, and of the Clergy. The Earl of *Arlington* thought, that the design was now lost, and that it was necessary for the King to make up with his people in the best manner he could. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was resolved to save himself on any terms.

A session of Parliament.

The money was exhausted: So it was necessary to have a session of Parliament. And one was called in the beginning of the year. At the opening it, the King excused the issuing out the writs, as done to save time, and to have a full House at the first opening: But he left that matter wholly to them: He spoke of the Declaration for liberty of conscience in another style: He said, he had seen the good effects of it; and that he would stick to it, and maintain it: He said, he was engaged in a war for the honour of the Nation, and therefore he demanded the supplies that were necessary to carry it on. On these heads Lord *Shaftsbury* enlarged. But no part of his speech was more amazing than that, speaking of the war with the *Dutch*, he said, *Delenda est Carthago*. Yet, while he made a base complying speech in favour of the Court, and of the war, he was in a secret management with another party.

The Declaration was voted illegal.

The House of Commons was upon this all in a flame. They saw Popery and slavery lay at the bottom. Yet, that they might not grasp at too much at once, they resolved effectually to break the whole design of Popery. They argued the matter of the Declaration; whether it was according to law, or not. It was plainly an annulling of the penal Law, made both against Papists and Dissenters. It was said, that tho' the King had a power of pardoning, yet he had not a power to authorise men to break laws. This must infer a power to alter the whole government. The strength of every law was the penalty laid upon offenders: And, if the King could secure offenders by indemnifying them before hand, it was a vain thing to make laws; since by that maxim they had no force, but at the King's discretion. Those who pleaded for the Declara-
tion

tion pretended to put a difference between penal Laws in spiritu- 1673.
al matters, and all others: And said, that the King's supremacy
seemed to give him a peculiar authority over these: By vertue of this
it was, that the synagogue of the *Jews*, and the *Walloon* Church-
es, had been so long tolerated. But to this it was answered, that
the intent of the law in asserting the supremacy was only to ex-
clude all foreign jurisdiction, and to lodge the whole authority with
the King: But that was still to be bounded, and regulated by law:
And a difference was to be made between a connivance, such as that
the *Jews* lived under, by which they were still at mercy, and a legal
authority: The Parliament had never disputed the legality of the
Patent for the *Walloon* congregations, which was granted to encour-
age strangers, professing the same religion, to come among us,
when they were persecuted for it in their own country: It was at
first granted only to strangers: But afterwards in the days of their
children, who were natives, it had been made void: And now
they were excepted by a special clause out of the Act of Uniformi-
ty. The House came quickly to a very unanimous resolution,
that the Declaration was against law. And they set that forth in
an address to the King, in which they prayed that it might be
called in. Some were studying to divert this, by setting them on
to enquire into the issuing out the writs. And the Court seemed
willing that the storm should break on Lord *Shaftsbury*, and
would have gladly compounded the matter by making him the
sacrifice. He saw into that; and so was resolved to change sides with
the first opportunity.

The House was not content with this: But they brought in a
bill disabling all Papists from holding any employment, or place
at Court; requiring all persons in publick trust to receive the Sa-
crament in a parish Church, and to carry an attested certificate
of that, with witnesses to prove it, into Chancery, or the Coun-
ty Sessions; and there to make a declaration renouncing Transub-
stantiation in full and positive words. Great pains was taken by
the Court to divert this. They proposed that some regard might
be had to Protestant Dissenters, and that their Meetings might be
allowed. By this means they hoped to have set them and the
Church party into new heats; for now all were united against Po-
pery. *Love* who served for the city of *London*, and was himself
a Dissenter, saw what ill effects any such quarrels might have:
So he moved, that an effectual security might be found against Po-
pery, and that nothing might interpose till that was done. When
that was over, then they would try to deserve some favour: But
at present they were willing to lye under the severity of the laws,
rather than clog a more necessary work with their concerns. The
chief

A bill for a
new test.

The pru-
dence of the
Dissenters.

1673. chief friends of the sects agreed to this. So a vote pass'd to bring in a bill in favour of Protestant Dissenters, tho' there was not time enough, nor unanimity enough, to finish one this session: For it went no farther than a second reading, but was dropt in the Committee. But this prudent behaviour of theirs did so soften the Church party, that there was no more votes nor bills offered at against them, even in that angry Parliament, that had been formerly so severe upon them.

Debates in
the House of
Lords.

The Court was now in great perplexity. If they gave way to proceedings in the House of Commons, there was a full stop put to the design for Popery: And if they gave not way to it, there was an end of the war. The *French* could not furnish us with so much money, as was necessary: And the shutting up the Exchequer had put an end to all credit. The Court tried what could be done in the House of Lords. Lord *Clifford* resolved to assert the Declaration with all the force, and all the arguments, he could bring for it. He shewed the heads he intended to speak on to the King, who approved of them, and suggested some other hints to him. He began the debate with rough words: He called the vote of the Commons *Monstrum Horrendum Ingens*, and run on in a very high strain. He said all that could be said, with great heat, and many indecent expressions. When he had done, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, to the amazement of the whole House, said, he must differ from the Lord that spoke last *toto cælo*. He said, while those matters were debated out of doors, he might think with others, that the Supremacy, asserted as it was by law, did warrant the Declaration: But now that such a House of Commons, so loyal and affectionate to the King were of another mind, he submitted his reasons to theirs: They were the King's great Council: They must both advise and support him: They had done it; and would do it still, if their laws and their religion were once secure to them. The King was all in fury to be thus forsaken by his Chancellor: And told Lord *Clifford*, how well he was pleased with his speech, and how highly he was offended with the other. The debate went on, and upon a division the Court had the majority. But against that vote about thirty of the most considerable of the House protested. So the Court saw, they had gained nothing in carrying a vote, that drew after it such a protestation. This matter took soon after that a quick turn. It had been much debated in the cabinet, what the King should do. Lord *Clifford* and Duke *Lauderdale* were for the King's standing his ground. Sir *Ellis Leightoun* assured me, that the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Berkeley* offered to the King, if he would bring the army to town, that they would take out of both Houses the

Members

Members that made the opposition. He fancied, the thing might 1673. have been easily brought about, and that, if the King would have acted with the spirit that he sometimes put on, they might have carried their business. Duke *Lauderdale* talked of bringing an army out of *Scotland*, and seizing on *Newcastle*; and press'd this with as much vehemence, as if he had been able to have executed it. Lord *Clifford* said to the King, his people did now see thro' all his designs: And therefore he must resolve to make himself master at once, or be for ever subject to much jealousy and contempt. The Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* pressed the King on the other hand to give the Parliament full content: And they undertook to procure him money for carrying on the war: And, if he was successful in that, he might easily recover what he must in this extremity part with. This suited the King's own temper. Yet the Duke held him in suspense.

The variety of opinions in the King's Council.

Colbert's brother, *Croissy*, was then the *French* Ambassador here. Lord *Arlington* possessed him with such an apprehension of the madness of violent counsels, and that the least of the ill effects they might have would be the leaving the war wholly on the *French* King, and that it would be impossible to carry it on, if the King should run to such extremities, as some were driving him to at home; that he gained him both to press the King and his brother to comply with the Parliament, and to send an express to his own master, representing the whole matter in the light in which Lord *Arlington* had set it before him.

The French advise the King to yield to the Parliament.

In the afternoon of the day in which the matter had been argued in the House of Lords, the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* got all those Members of the House of Commons on whom they had any influence, (and who had money from the King, and were his spies, but had leave to vote with the party against the Court, for procuring them the more credit,) to go privately to him, and to tell him that upon Lord *Clifford's* speech the House was in such fury, that probably they would have gone to some high votes and impeachments: But the Lord *Shaftsbury* speaking on the other side restrained them: They believed, he spoke the King's sense, as the other did the Duke's: This calmed them. So they made the King apprehend, that the Lord Chancellor's speech, with which he had been so much offended, was really a great service done him: And they persuaded him farther, that he might now save himself, and obtain an indemnity for his Ministers, if he would part with the Declaration, and pass the bill. This was so dextrously managed by Lord *Arlington*, who got a great number of the Members to go one after another to the King, who by concert spoke all the same language, that before night the King was quite changed, and

The King went into that suddenly.

U u u u

said

1673. said to his brother, that Lord *Clifford* had undone himself, and had spoiled their business by his mad speech; and that, tho' Lord *Shaftsbury* had spoke like a rogue, yet that had stopt a fury which the indiscretion of the other had kindled, to such a degree that he could serve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. The Duke was struck with this; and imputed it wholly to Lord *Arlington's* management. In the evening he told Lord *Clifford* what the King had said. The Lord *Clifford*, who was naturally a vehement man, went upon that to the King, who scarce knew how to look him in the face. Lord *Clifford* said, he knew how many enemies he must needs make to himself by his speech in the House of Lords: But he hoped that in it he both served and pleased the King, and was therefore the less concerned in every thing else: But he was surprised to find by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in some confusion: He owned, that all he had said was right in it self: But he said, that he, who sat long in the House of Commons, should have considered better what they could bear, and what the necessity of his affairs required. Lord *Clifford* in his first heat was inclined to have laid down his white staff, and to have expostulated roundly with the King. But a cooler thought stop'd him. He reckoned he must now retire: And therefore he had a mind to take some care of his family in the way of doing it: So he restrained himself; and said, he was sorry that his best meant services were so ill understood. Soon after this, letters came from the *French* King, pressing the King to do all that was necessary to procure money of his Parliament, since he could not bear the charge of the war alone. He also writ to the Duke, and excused the advice he gave upon the necessity of affairs; but promised faithfully to espouse his concerns, as soon as he got out of the war, and that he would never be easy, till he recovered that which he was now forced to let go. Some parts of these transactions I had from the Duke, and from Duke *Lauderdale*: The rest, that related to the Lord *Clifford*, *Titus* told me, he had from his own mouth.

Clifford disgraced.

As soon as Lord *Clifford* saw he must loose the white staff, he went to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had contributed much to the procuring it to him; and told him, he brought him the first notice that he was to lose that place to which he had helped him, and that he would assist him to procure it to some of his friends. After they had talked round all that were in any sort capable of it, and had found great objections to every one of them, they at last pitched on Sir *Thomas Osborn*, a Gentleman of *Yorkshire*, whose estate was much sunk. He was a very plausible speaker, but too copious, and could not easily make an end of his discourse.

Osborn made Lord Treasurer.

course. He had been always among the high Cavaliers: And mis- 1673.
sing preferment he had opposed the Court much, and was one of
Lord *Clarendon's* bitterest enemies. He gave himself great liber-
ties in discourse, and did not seem to have any regard to truth, or
so much as to the appearances of it; and was an implacable ene-
my: But he had a peculiar way to make his friends depend on
him, and to believe he was true to them. He was a positive, and
undertaking man: So he gave the King great ease, by assuring him
all things would go according to his mind in the next session of Par-
liament. And when his hopes failed him, he had always some ex-
cuse ready to put the miscarriage upon. And by this means
he got into the highest degree of confidence with the King, and
maintained it the longest, of all that ever served him.

The King now went into new measures. He called for the Decla-
ration, and ordered the seal put to it to be broken. So the Act for
the taking the Sacrament, and the Test against Transubstantiation
went on: And together with it an Act of Grace pass'd, which was
desired chiefly to cover the Ministry, who were all very obnoxious
by their late actings. The Court desired at least 1200000 *l.* for
that sum was necessary to the carrying on the war. The great bo-
dy of those who opposed the Court had resolved to give only
600000 *l.* which was enough to procure a peace, but not to con-
tinue the war. *Garroway* and *Lee* had led the opposition to the
Court all this session in the House of Commons: So they were
thought the properest to name the sum. Above eighty of the chief
of the party had met over night, and had agreed to name 600000 *l.*
But *Garroway* named 1200000, and was seconded in it by *Lee*.
So this surprise gained that great sum, which enabled the Court to
carry on the war. When their party reproached these persons for
it, they said, they had tried some of the Court as to the sum in-
tended to be named, who had assured them, the whole agreement
would be broke, if they offered so small a sum: And this made
them venture on the double of it. They had good rewards from
the Court: And yet they continued still voting on the other side.
They said, they had got good pennyworths for their money: A
sure law against Popery, which had clauses in it never used before;
for all that continued in office after the time lapsed, they not tak-
ing the Sacrament, and not renouncing Transubstantiation (which
came to be called the Test, and the Act from it the Test Act,) were
rendred incapable of holding any office: All the Acts they did in
it were declared invalid and illegal, besides a fine of 500 *l.* to the
discoverer. Yet upon that Lord *Cavendish*, now Duke of *Devon-*
shire, said, that when much money was given to buy a law against
Popery, the force of the money would be stronger in order to the
bringing

A great sup-
ply was giv-
en.

1673. bringing it in, than the law could be for keeping it out. I never knew a thing of this nature carried so suddenly, and so artificially, in the House of Commons, as this was, to the great amazement of the *Dutch*, who relied on the Parliament, and did not doubt but that a peace with *England* would be procured by their interposition.

The Duke
laid down
all his Com-
missions.

Thus this memorable session ended. It was indeed much the best session of that long Parliament. The Church party shewed a noble zeal for their religion: And the Dissenters got great reputation by their silent deportment. After the session was over, the Duke carried all his commissions to the King, and wept as he delivered them up: But the King shewed no concern at all. Yet he put the Admiralty in a Commission composed wholly of the Duke's creatures: So that the power of the navy was still in his hands. Lord *Clifford* left the Treasury, and was succeeded by *Osborn*, who was soon after made Earl of *Danby*. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had lost the King's favour quite. But it was not thought fit to lay him aside, till it should appear what service he could do them in another session of Parliament. Lord *Arlington* had lost the Duke more than any other. He looked on him as a pitiful coward, who would forsake and betray any thing, rather than run any danger himself. Prince *Rupert* was sent to command the fleet. But the Captains were the Duke's creatures: So they cross'd him all they could, and complained of every thing he did. In a word they said, he had neither sense nor conduct left. Little could be expected from a fleet so commanded, and so divided. He had two or three engagements with the *Dutch*, that were well fought on both sides, but were of no great consequence, and were drawn battels. None of the *French* ships engaged, except one, who charged their Admiral for his ill conduct: But, instead of reward, he was clapt in the *Bastille* upon his return to *France*. This opened the eyes and mouths of the whole Nation. All men cried out, and said, we were engaged in a war by the *French*, that they might have the pleasure to see the *Dutch* and us destroy one another, while they knew our seas and ports, and learned all our methods, but took care to preserve themselves. Count *Schomberg* told me, he press'd the *French* Ambassador to have the matter examined. Otherwise, if satisfaction was not given to the Nation, he was sure the next Parliament would break the alliance. But by the Ambassador's coldness he saw, the *French* Admiral had acted according to his instructions. So *Schomberg* made haste to get out of *England*, to prevent an address to send him away: And he was by that time as weary of the Court, as the Court was of him.

The Duke
treats for a
second mar-
riage.

The Duke was now looking for another wife. He made addres-

ses

ses to the Lady *Bellasis*, the widow of the Lord *Bellasis*'s son. She 1673.
was a zealous Protestant, tho' she was married into a Popish fami-
ly. She was a woman of much life, and great vivacity, but of a
very small proportion of beauty; as the Duke was often observed
to be led by his amours to objects that had no extraordinary
charms. Lady *Bellasis* gained so much on the Duke, that he gave
her a promise under his hand to marry her. And he sent *Coleman* to
her to draw her over to Popery: But in that she could not be mov-
ed. When some of her friends reproached her for admitting the
Duke so freely to see her, she could not bear it, but said, she could
shew that his addressees to her were honourable. When this came to
the Lord *Bellasis*'s ears, who was her father in law, and was a zea-
lous Papist, and knew how intractable the Lady was in those mat-
ters, he gave the whole design of bringing in their religion for
gone, if that was not quickly broke: So he, pretending a zeal for
the King, and the Duke's honor, went and told the King all he
had heard. The King sent for the Duke, and told him, it was
too much that he had plaid the fool once: That was not to be
done a second time, and at such an age. The Lady was also so
threatened, that she gave up the promise, but kept an attested co-
py of it, as she her self told me. There was an Archduchess of
Inspruck, to whom marriage was solemnly proposed: But, the Em-
press happening to die at that time, the Emperor himself married
her. After that a match was proposed to the Duke of *Modena*'s
daughter, which took effect. But because those at *Rome* were not
willing to consent to it, unless she might have a publick Chapel,
which the Court would not hearken to, another marriage was pro-
posed for a daughter of the Duke of *Crequi*'s. I saw a long letter
of the Duke's writ to Sir *William Lockhart* upon this subject with
great anxiety. He apprehended, if he was not married before the
session of Parliament, that they would fall on that matter, and li-
mit him so, that he should never be able to marry to his content:
He was vexed at the stiffness of the Court of *Rome*, who were de-
manding terms that could not be granted: He had sent a positive
order to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who was negotiating the busi-
ness at *Modena*, to come away by such a day, if all was not con-
sented to: In the mean while he hoped, the King of *France*
would not put that mortification on him, as to expose him to the
violence of the Parliament, (I use his own words;) but that he
would give order for dispatching that matter with all possible haste.
But, while he was thus perplexed, the Court of *Rome* yielded: And
so the Duke married that Lady by proxy: And the Earl of *Peter-*
borough brought her over thro' *France*.

The *Swedes* offered at this time a mediation in order to a peace: A treaty o-

X x x x

And ^{opened at Co-}
logn.

1673.

Lord Sunderland's
character.

And *Cologne* was proposed to be the place of treaty. The King ordered the Earl of *Sunderland*, Sir *Leolin Jenkins*, and Sir *Joseph Williamson*, thither, to be his Plenipotentiaries. Lord *Sunderland* was a man of a clear and ready apprehension, and a quick decision in business. He had too much heat both of imagination and passion, and was apt to speak very freely both of persons and things. His own notions were always good: But he was a man of great expence. And, in order to the supporting himself, he went into the prevailing counsels at Court: And he changed sides often, with little regard either to religion, or the interest of his country. He raised many enemies to himself by the contempt with which he treated those who differed from him. He had indeed the superior genius to all the men of business that I have yet known. And he had the dexterity of insinuating himself so entirely into the greatest degree of confidence with three succeeding Princes, who set up on very different interests, that he came by this to lose himself so much, that even those who esteemed his parts, depended little on his firmness.

The treaty
broke off.

The treaty of *Cologne* was of a short continuance: For the Emperor, looking on *Furstenberg*, the Dean of *Cologne*, and Bishop of *Strasbourg*, afterwards advanced to be Cardinal, who was the Elector's Plenipotentiary at that treaty, as a subject of the Empire, who had betrayed it, ordered him to be seized on. The *French* look'd on this as such a violation of the pass-ports, that they set it up for a preliminary, before they would enter upon a treaty, to have him set at liberty.

Mastricht was taken this summer; in which the Duke of *Monmouth* distinguished himself so eminently, that he was much considered upon it. The King of *France* was there. After the taking of *Mastricht* he went to *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, and left the Prince of *Conde* with the army in *Flanders*, *Turenne* having the command of that on the upper *Rhine* against the *Germans*; for the Emperor and the whole Empire were now engaged.

The affairs
of Scotland.

But I return now to the intrigues of our Court. I came up this summer, in order to the publishing the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. I had left *Scotland* under an universal discontent. The whole administration there was both violent and corrupt, and seemed to be formed on a *French* model. The Parliament had in the year 1663, in order to the bringing our trade to a balance with *England*, given the King in trust a power to lay impositions on foreign commodities. So upon that a great duty was lately laid upon *French* salt, in order to the better vending the salt made at home: Upon which it was sold very dear. And that raised great complaints: For, as the salt was excessive dear, so it did not serve

all purposes. All people looked on this, as the beginning of a gabel. An imposition was also laid on *Tobacco*: And all brandy was prohibited to be imported, but not to be retailed: So those who had the grant of the seizures sold them, and raised the price very much. These occasioned monopolies: And the price of those things that were of great consumption among the Commons was much raised: So that a trust lodged with the Crown was now abused in the highest degree. As these things provoked the body of the people, so Duke *Lauderdale's* insolence, and his engrossing every thing to himself, and to a few of his friends, and his wife and his brother setting all things to sale, raised a very high discontent all over the Nation. The affairs of the Church were altogether neglected: So that in all respects we were quite out of joint.

I went up with a full resolution to do my country all the service I could, and to deal very plainly with the Duke of *Lauderdale*, resolving if I could do no good, to retire from all affairs, and to meddle no more in publick business. I lost indeed my best friend at Court. Sir *Robert Murray* died suddenly at that time. He was the wisest, and worthiest man of the age, and was as another father to me. I was sensible how much I lost in so critical a conjuncture, being bereft of the truest and faithfulest friend I had ever known: And so I saw, I was in danger of committing great errors for want of so kind a monitor.

At my coming to Court, Duke *Lauderdale* took me into his closet, and asked me the state of *Scotland*. I upon that gave him a very punctual and true account of it. He seemed to think that I aggravated matters; and asked me, if the King should need an army from *Scotland* to tame those in *England*, whether that might be depended on? I told him, certainly not: The Commons in the southern parts were all Presbyterians: And the Nobility thought they had been ill used, and were generally discontented, and only waited for an occasion to shew it. He said, he was of another mind: The hope of the spoil of *England* would fetch them all in. I answer'd, the King was ruined if ever he trusted to that: And I added, that with relation to other more indifferent persons, who might be otherwise ready enough to push their fortunes without any anxious enquiries into the grounds they went on, yet even these would not trust the King, since he had so lately said, he would stick to his Declaration, and yet had so soon after given it up. He said, *Hinc illæ Lacrymæ*: But the King was forsaken in that matter, for none stuck to him but Lord *Clifford*, and himself: And then he set himself into a fit of railing at Lord *Shaftsbury*. I was struck with this conversation: And by it I clearly saw into the desperate designs of the Court, which were as foolish, as they were wicked:

1673. wicked: For I knew, that upon the least disorder in *England* they were ready in *Scotland* to have broke out into a rebellion: So far were they from any inclination to have assisted the King in the mastering of *England*. I was much perplexed in my self what I ought to do, whether I ought not to have tried to give the King a truer view of our affairs: But I resolved to stay for a fit opportunity. I tried the Duchess of *Lauderdale*, and set before her the injustice and oppression that *Scotland* was groaning under: But I saw she got too much by it to be any way concerned at it. They talked of going down to hold a session of Parliament in *Scotland*: I warned them of their danger. But they despised all I could say: Only great offers were made to my self, to make me wholly theirs, which made no impression on me.

The King
liked my
Memoirs.

He carried me to the King, and proposed the licensing my Memoirs to him. The King bid me bring them to him; and said, he would read them himself. He did read some parts of them, particularly the account I gave of the ill conduct of the Bishops, that occasioned the beginning of the wars; and told me, that he was well pleased with it. He was at that time so much offended with the *English* Bishops for opposing the toleration, that he seemed much sharpened against them. He gave me back my book to carry it to Secretary *Coventry*, in order to the licensing it. The Secretary said, he would read it all himself: So this obliged me to a longer stay than I intended. Sir *Ellis Leightoun* carried me to the Duke of *Buckingham*, with whom I pass'd almost a whole night; and happened so far to please him, that he, who was apt to be fired with a new acquaintance, gave such a character of me to the King, that ever after that he took much notice of me, and said, he would hear me preach. He seemed well pleased with my sermon; and spoke of it in a strain that drew much envy on me.

And shewed
me great fa-
vour.

He ordered me to be sworn a Chaplain, and admitted me to a long private audience, that lasted above an hour, in which I took all the freedom with him that I thought became my profession. He run me into a long discourse about the authority of the Church, which he thought we made much of in our disputes with the Dissenters, and then took it all away when we dealt with the Papists. I saw plainly what he aimed at in this: And I quickly convinced him, that there was a great difference between an authority of government in things indifferent, and a pretence to infallibility. He complained heavily of the Bishops for neglecting the true concerns of the Church, and following Courts so much, and being so engaged in parties. I went thro' some other things with relation to his course of life, and entred into many particulars with much freedom. He bore it all very well; and thank'd me

me for it: Some things he freely condemned, such as living with another man's wife: Other things he excused, and thought God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleasure. He seemed to take all I had said very kindly: And during my stay at Court he used me in so particular a manner, that I was considered as a man growing into a high degree of favour.

At the same time Lord *Ancram*, a *Scotish* Earl, but of a small fortune, and of no principles, either as to religion or vertue, whose wife was a Papist, and himself a member of the House of Commons, told the Duke that I had a great interest in *Scotland*, and might do him service in that Kingdom. He depended on Duke *Lauderdale*; but hated him, because he did nothing for him. We were acquainted there: And, he having studied the most divinity of any man of quality I ever knew, we found many subjects of discourse. He saw, I did not flatter Duke *Lauderdale*: And he fancied he might make a tool of me. So he seemed to wonder that I had not been carried to wait on the Duke; and brought me a message from him, that he would be glad to see me: And upon that he carried me to him. The Duke received me very graciously. Lord *Ancram* had a mind to engage me to give him an account of the affairs of *Scotland*: But I avoided that, and very bluntly entered into much discourse with him about matters of religion. He said some of the common things, of the necessity of having but one Church, otherwise we saw what swarms of sects did rise up on our revolt from *Rome*, and these had raised many rebellions, and the shedding much blood: And he named both his father's death, and his great grandmother's, *Mary Queen of Scots*: He also turned to some passages in *Heylin's* history of the Reformation, which he had lying by him: And the passages were marked, to shew upon what motives and principles men were led into the changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all these particulars; and shewed him the progress that ignorance and superstition had made in many dark ages, and how much bloodshed was occasioned by the Papal pretensions, for all which the opinion of infallibility was a source never to be exhausted. And I spoke long to such things as were best suited to his temper, and his capacity. I saw Lord *Ancram* helped him all he could, by which I perceived how he made his Court; for which when I reproached him afterwards, he said, it was ill breeding in me to press so hard on a Prince. The Duke upon this conversation expressed such a liking to me, that he ordered me to come oft to him: And afterwards he allowed me to come to him in a private way, as oft as I pleased. He desired to know the state of affairs in *Scotland*. I told him how little that Kingdom could be depended on. I turned

1673.

My conversation with the Duke.

1673. ed the discourse often to matters of religion. He broke it very gently; for he was not at all rough in private conversation. He wished, I would let those matters alone: I might be too hard for him, and silence him, but I could never convince him. I told him, it was a thing he could never answer to God nor the world, that, being born and baptized in our Church, and having his father's last orders to continue steadfast in it, he had suffered himself to be seduced, and as it were stolen out of it, hearing only one side, without offering his scruples to our divines, or hearing what they had to say in answer to them; and that he was now so fixed in his Popery, that he would not so much as examine the matter. He said to me, he had often picqueered out (that was his word) on *Skeldon*, and some other Bishops; by whose answers he could not but conclude, that they were much nearer the Church of *Rome*, than some of us young men were.

I carried
Doctor *Still-
ingfleet* to
him.

Stillingfleet had a little before this time published a book of the idolatry and fanaticism of the Church of *Rome*. Upon that the Duke said, he asked *Skeldon*, if it was the doctrine of the Church of *England*, that Roman Catholicks were idolaters: Who answered him, it was not; but that young men of parts would be popular; and such a charge was the way to it. He at that time shewed me the Duchess's paper, that has been since printed: It was all writ with her own hand. He gave me leave to read it twice over: But would not suffer me to copy it. And upon the mention made in it of her having spoke to Bishops concerning some of her scruples, and that she had such answers from them, as confirmed and heightened them, I went from him to *Morley*, as was said formerly, and had from him the answer there set down. I asked the Duke's leave to bring Doctor *Stillingfleet* to him. He was averse to it; and said, it would make much noise, and could do no good. I told him, even the noise would have a good effect: It would shew he was not so obstinate, but that he was willing to hear our divines. I pressed it much: For it became necessary to me, on my own account, to clear my self from the suspicion of Popery, which this extraordinary favour had drawn upon me. I at last prevailed with the Duke to consent to it: And he assigned an hour of audience. *Stillingfleet* went very readily, tho' he had no hopes of success. We were about two hours with him, and went over most of the points of controversy. *Stillingfleet* thought, the point that would go the easiest, and be the best understood by him, was the Papal pretensions to a power over Princes, in deposing them, and giving their dominions to others: And upon that, he shewed him, that Popery was calculated to make the Pope the sovereign of all Christendom. The Duke shifted the discourse from

one point to another; and did not seem to believe the matters of fact, and history alledged by us. So we desired, he would call for some Priests, and hear us discourse of those matters with them in his presence. He declined this; and said, it would make a noise. He assured us, he desired nothing, but to follow his own conscience, which he imposed on no body else, and that he would never attempt to alter the established religion. He loved to repeat this often. But when I was alone with him, I warned him of the great difficulties his religion was like to cast him into. This was no good argument to make him change: But it was certainly a very good argument to make him consider the matter so well, that he might be sure he was in the right. He objected to me the doctrine of the Church of *England* in the point of submission, and of passive obedience. I told him, there was no trusting to a disputable opinion: There were also distinctions and reserves, even in those who had asserted these points the most: And it was very certain, that when men saw a visible danger of being first undone, and then burnt, they would be inclined to the shortest way of arguing, and to save themselves the best way they could: Interest and self-preservation were powerful motives. He did very often assure me, he was against all violent methods, and all persecution for conscience sake, and was better furnished to speak well on that head, than on any other. I told him, all he could say that way would do him little service: For the words of Princes were looked on as arts to lay men asleep: And they had generally regarded them so little themselves, that they ought not to expect that others should have great regard to them. I added, he was now of a religion, in which others had the keeping of his conscience, who would now hide from him this point of their religion, since it was not safe to own it, till they had it in their power to put it in practice: And whenever that time should come, I was sure, that the principles of their Church must carry him to all the extremities of extirpation. I carried a volume of Judge *Crook's* to him, in which it is reported, that King *James* had once in Council complained of a slander cast on him, as if he was inclined to change his religion; and had solemnly vindicated himself from the imputation; and prayed, that if any should ever spring out of his loins that should maintain any other religion than that which he truly maintained and professed, that God would take him out of the world. He read it: But it made no impression. And when I urged him with some things in his father's book, he gave me the account of it that was formerly mentioned. He entered into great freedom with me about all his affairs: And he shewed me the journals he took of business every day with his own

1673. own hand: A method he said, that the Earl of *Clarendon* had set him on. The Duchess had begun to write his life. He shewed me a part of it in a thin volume in folio. I read some of it, and found it writ with a great deal of spirit. He told me, he intended to trust me with his journals, that I might draw a history out of them. And thus, in a few weeks time, I had got far into his confidence. He did also allow me to speak to him of the irregularities of his life, some of which he very freely confessed: And when I urged him, how such a course of life did agree with the zeal he shewed in his religion; he answered, must a man be of no religion, unless he is a saint? Yet he bore my freedom very gently, and seemed to like me the better for it. My favour with him grew to be the observation of the whole Court. Lord *Ancram* said, I might be what I pleased, if I would be a little softer in the points of religion. Sir *Ellis Leightoun* brought me a message from F. *Sheldon*, and some of his Priests, assuring me, they heard so well of me, that they offered me their service. He pressed me to improve my present advantages to the making my fortune: The See of *Durham* was then vacant: And he was confident, it would be no hard matter for me to compass it. But I had none of those views, and so was not moved by them. The Duke of *Buckingham* asked me, what I meant in being so much about the Duke? If I fancied I could change him in point of religion, I knew him and the world very little: If I had a mind to raise my self, a sure method for that was, to talk to him of the Reformation, as a thing done in heat and haste, and that in a calmer time it might be fit to review it all. He said, I needed go no farther; for such an intimation would certainly raise me. And when I was positive not to enter into such a compliance, he told me, he knew Courts better than I did: Princes thought their favours were no ordinary things: They expected great submissions in return: Otherwise they thought they were despised: And I would feel the ill effects of the favour I then had, if I did not strike into some compliances: And, since I was resolved against these, he advised me to withdraw from the Court; the sooner the better. I imputed this to his hatred of the Duke: But I found afterwards the advice was sound and good. I likewise saw those things in the Duke's temper, from which I concluded, I could not maintain an interest in him long. He was for subjects submitting in all things to the King's notions; and thought, that all who opposed him, or his Ministers in Parliament, were rebels in their hearts; and he hated all popular things, as below the dignity of a King. He was much sharpened at that time by the proceedings of the House of Commons.

The Duke's marriage opposed by the Commons. In the former session it was known, that he was treating a marriage

riage with the Archduchess: And yet no address was made to the King to hinder his marrying a Papist. His honour was not then engaged: So it had been seasonable, and to good purpose to have moved in it then. But now he was married by proxy, and Lord *Peterborough* had brought the Lady to *Paris*. Yet the House of Commons resolved to follow the pattern the King of *France* had lately set. He treated with the Elector Palatine for a marriage between his brother and the Elector's daughter; in which one of the conditions agreed to was, that she should enjoy the freedom of her religion, and have a private Oratory for the exercise of it. When she came on her way as far as *Metz*, an order was sent to stop her, till she was better instructed: Upon which she changed, at least as to outward appearance. It is true, the Court of *France* gave it out that the Elector had consented to this method, for the saving his own honour. And he had given the world cause to believe, he was capable of that, tho' he continued openly to deny it. The House of Commons resolved to follow this precedent, and to make an address to the King, to stop the Princess of *Modena's* coming to *England*, till she should change her religion. Upon this the Duke moved the King to prorogue the Parliament for a week: And a Commission was ordered for it. The Duke went to the House on that day, to press the calling up the Commons before they could have time to go on to business. Some Peers were to be brought in. The Duke pressed Lord *Shaftsbury* to put that off, and to prorogue the Parliament. He said coldly to him, there was no haste. But the Commons made more haste: For they quickly came to a vote for stopping the marriage. And by this means they were engaged, (having put such an affront on the Duke,) to proceed farther. He presently told me, how the matter went, and how the Lord Chancellor had used him: He was confident the King would take the Seals from him, if he could not manage the sessions so as to procure him money, of which there was indeed small appearance. I told him, I looked on that as a fatal thing, if the Commons began once to affront him: That would have a sad train of consequences, as soon as they thought it necessary for their own preservation to secure themselves from falling under his revenges. He said, he was resolved to stand his ground, and to submit to the King in every thing: He would never take off an enemy: But he would let all the world see, that he was ready to forgive every one, that should come off from his opposition, and make applications to him. When the week of the prorogation was ended, the session was opened by a speech of the King's, which had such various strains in it, that it was plain it was made by different persons. The Duke told me, that Lord *Clarendon*

1673. during his favour, had penned all the King's speeches; but that now they were composed in the Cabinet, one Minister putting in one period, while another made another; so that all was not of a piece. He told me, Lord *Arlington* was almost dead with fear: But Lord *Shaftsbury* reckoned himself gone at Court, and acted more roundly. In his speech he studied to correct his *Delenda est Carthago*, applying it to the *Loevestein* party, whom he called the *Carthaginians*: But this made him as ridiculous, as the other had made him odious. The House of Commons took up again the matter of the Duke's marriage, and moved for an address about it. But it was said, the King's honour was engaged. Yet they addressed to him against it. But the King made them no answer. By that time I had obtained a licence of Secretary *Coven-try* for my book, which the King said should be printed at his charge.

A Parlia-
ment in Scot-
land.

But now I must give an account of a storm raised against my self, the effects of which were very sensible to me for many years. The Duke of *Lauderdale* had kept the *Scotish* Nation in such a dependance on himself, that he was not pleased with any of them that made any acquaintance in *England*, and least of all in the Court: Nor could he endure, that any of them should apply themselves to the King, or the Duke, but thro' him. So he looked on the favour I had got into with a very jealous eye. His Duchess questioned me about it. Those who know what Court jealousies are will easily believe, that I must have said somewhat to satisfy them, or break with them. I told her, what was very true as to the Duke, that my conversation with him was about religion; and that with the King I had talked of the course of life he led. I observed a deep jealousy of me in them both; especially, because I could not go with them to *Scotland*. I said, I would follow, as soon as the Secretary would dispatch me. And as soon as that was done I took post, and by a great fall of snow was stopt by the way. But I unhappily got to *Edenburgh* the Night before the Parliament met. Duke *Hamilton*, and many others, told me how strangely Duke *Lauderdale* talked of my interest at Court; as if I was ready to turn Papist. Duke *Hamilton* also told me, they were resolved next day to attack Duke *Lauderdale*, and his whole administration in Parliament. I was troubled at this; and argued with him against the fitness of it all I could. But he said he was engaged: The Earls of *Rothes*, *Argile*, and *Tweeddale*, and all the Cavalier party, had promised to stick by him. I told him, what afterwards happened, that most of these would make their own terms, and leave him in the lurch: And the load would lye on him. When I saw the thing was past remedy, I resolved to go home, and follow

my

my studies; since I could not keep Duke *Lauderdale* and him any longer in a good understanding. 1673.

Next day, when the Parliament was opened, the King's letter was read, desiring their assistance in carrying on the war with *Holland*, and assuring them of his affection to them in very kind words. This was seconded by Duke *Lauderdale* in a long speech. And immediately it was moved to appoint a Committee to prepare an answer to the King's letter, as was usual. Duke *Hamilton* moved, that the state of the Nation might be first considered, that so they might see what grievances they had: And he hinted at some. And then, as it had been laid, about twenty men, one after another, spoke to several particulars. Some mentioned the salt, others the tobacco, and the brandy: Some complained of the administration of justice, and others of the coin. With this the Duke of *Lauderdale* was struck, as one dead; for he had raised his credit at Court by the opinion of his having all *Scotland* in his hand, and in a dependance on him: So a discovery of this want of credit with us he saw must sink him there. He had not looked for this; tho' I had warned him of a great deal of it. But he reflecting on that, and on the credit I had got at Court, and on the haste I made in my journey, and my coming critically the night before the session opened; he laid all this together, and fancied I was sent upon design, as the agent of the party, and that the licensing my book was only a blind: He believed Sir *Robert Murray* had laid it, and that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had managed it. And because it was a common artifice of King *Charles's* Ministers, to put the miscarriage of affairs upon some accident that had not been foreseen by them, but should be provided against for the future; he assured the King, that I had been the incendiary, that I had my uncle's temper in me, and that I must be subdued, otherwise I would embroil all his affairs. The King took all things of that kind easily from his Ministers, without hearing any thing to the contrary: For he was wont to say, all apologies were lies: Upon which one said to him once, then he would always believe the first lye. But all this was much encreased, when Duke *Lauderdale* upon his coming up told the King, that I had boasted to his wife of the freedom that I had used with him upon his course of life. With this the King was highly offended: Or at least he made much use of it, to justify many hard things that he said of me: And for many years he allowed himself a very free scope in talking of me. I was certainly to blame for the freedom I had used with the Duchess of *Lauderdale*: But I was surprized by her question: And I could not bring my self to tell a lye: So I had no other shift ready to satisfy her. But the Duke kept up still a very good opinion of me. I went home to *Glasgow*, where

A party
formed a,
gainst Lau-
derdale.

1673. where I prosecuted my studies till the *June* following, when I went again to *London*.

He offers to redress grievances in Council.

Duke *Lauderdale* put off the session of Parliament for some time; and called a Council, in which he said, great complaints had been made in Parliament of grievances: He had full authority to redress them all in the King's name: Therefore he charged the Privy Counsellors to lay all things of that kind before that board, and not to carry them before any other assembly, till they saw what redress was to be had there. Duke *Hamilton* said, the regular way of complaints was to make them in Parliament, which only could redress them effectually; since the putting them down by the authority of Council, was only laying them aside for a while, till a fitter opportunity was found to take them up again. Upon this Duke *Lauderdale* protested, that he was ready in the King's name to give the subject ease and freedom, and that those who would not assist and concur with him in this were wanting in duty and respect to the King; and since he saw the matter of the salt, the tobacco, and the brandy, had raised much clamour, he would quash these. But the party had a mind to have the instruments of their oppression punished, as well as the oppression itself removed; and were resolved to have these things condemned by some exemplary punishments, and to pursue Duke *Lauderdale* and his party with this clamour.

1674.

A dispute raised about the Lords of the Articles.

Next session of Parliament new complaints were offered. Duke *Lauderdale* said, these ought to be made first to the Lords of the Articles, to whom all petitions and motions ought to be made first; and that they were the only Judges, what matters were fit to be brought into Parliament. The other side said, they were only a Committee of Parliament, to put motions into the form of Acts; but that the Parliament had still an entire authority to examine into the state of the Nation. In this debate, they had the reason of things on their side: But the words of the Act favoured Duke *Lauderdale*. So he lodged it now where he wished it might be, in a point of prerogative. He valued himself to the King on this, that he had drawn the Act that settled the power of the Lords of the Articles; who being all upon the matter named by the King, it was of great concern to him to maintain that, as the check upon factious spirits there; which would be no sooner let go, than the Parliament of *Scotland* would grow as unquiet, as a House of Commons was in *England*: That was a consideration which at this time had great weight with the King. I now return to give an account of this year's session in *England*.

The proceedings in the Parliament of *England*.

In the beginning of it, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Shaftsbury*, and *Arlington*, and Secretary *Coventry*, offered an advice to the

the King, for sending the Duke for some time from the Court, as 1674. a good expedient both for himself and the Duke. The King hearkened so far to it, that he sent them to move it to the Duke. He was highly incensed at it: He said, he would obey all the King's orders, but would look on those as his enemies, who offered him such advices. And he never forgave this to any of them; no not to *Conventry*, for all his good opinion of him. He pressed the King vehemently to take the seals from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. So it was done: And they were given to *Finch*, then Attorney General, made afterwards Earl of *Nottingham*. He was a man of probity, and well versed in the laws. He was long much admired for his eloquence: But it was laboured and affected: And he saw it as much despised before he died. He had no sort of knowledge in foreign affairs: And yet he loved to talk of them perpetually: By which he exposed himself to those who understood them. He thought he was bound to justify the Court in all debates in the House of Lords, which he did with the vehemence of a pleader, rather than with the solemnity of a senator. He was an incorrupt Judge: And in his Court he could resist the strongest applications even from the King himself, tho' he did it no where else. He was too eloquent on the bench, in the House of Lords, and in common conversation. One thing deserves to be remembred of him: He took great care of filling the Church livings that belonged to the Seal with worthy men: And he obliged them all to residence. Lord *Shaftsbury* was now at liberty to open himself against the Court; which he did with as little reserve as decency.

The House of Commons were resolved to fall on all the Ministry. They began with Duke *Lauderdale*, and voted an address to remove him from the King's Councils and presence for ever. They went next upon the Duke of *Buckingham*: And, it being moved in his name, that the House would hear him, he was suffered to come to the House. The first day of his being before them he fell into such a disorder, that he pretended he was taken ill, and desired to be admitted again. Next day he was more composed. He justified his own designs, laying all the ill counsels upon others, chiefly on Lord *Arlington*, intimating plainly that the root of all errors was in the King and the Duke. He said, hunting was a good diversion, but if a man would hunt with a brace of lobsters, he would have but ill sport. He had used that figure to my self; but had then applied it to Prince *Rupert* and Lord *Arlington*: But it was now understood to go higher. His speech signified nothing towards the saving of himself: But it lost him the King's favour so entirely, that he never recovered it afterwards. Lord *Arlington* was next attack'd: He appeared also before the Commons, and spoke much

1674. better than was expected: He excused himself, but without blaming the King: And this had so good an effect, that tho' he, as Secretary of State, was more exposed than any other, by the many warrants and orders he had signed, yet he was acquitted, tho' by a small majority. But the care he took to preserve himself, and his success in it, lost him his high favour with the King, as the Duke was out of measure offended at him: So he quitted his post, and was made Lord Chamberlain.

A peace
concluded
with the
States.

The House of Commons was resolved to force the King to a peace with the *Dutch*. The Court of *France* recalled *Croissy*, finding that the Duke was offended at his being led by Lord *Arlington*. *Rouvigny* was sent over: A man of great practice in business, and in all intrigues. He was still a firm Protestant, but in all other respects a very dextrous Courtier, and one of the greatest Statesmen in *Europe*. He had the appointments of an Ambassador, but would not take the character, that he might not have a Chapel, and Mass said in it. Upon his coming over, as he himself told me, he found all the Ministers of the Allies were perpetually plying the Members of the House of Commons with their memorials. He knew he could gain nothing on them: So he never left the King. The King was in great perplexity: He would have done any thing, and parted with any persons, if that would have procured him money for carrying on the war. But he saw little appearance of that. He found he was indeed at the mercy of the States. So Lord *Arlington* pressed the *Spanish* Ministers to prevail with the States, and the Prince of *Orange*, to get a proposition for a peace to be set on foot. And that it might have some shew of a peace both beg'd and bought, he proposed that a sum of money should be offered the King by the States, which should be made over by him to the Prince for the payment of the debt he owed him. *Rouvigny* press'd the King much to give his Parliament all satisfaction in points of religion. The King answered him, if it was not for his brother's folly, (*La Sottise de mon Frere*,) he would get out of all his difficulties. *Rouvigny* drew a memorial for informing the House of Commons of the modesty of his master's pretensions: For now the *French* King was sensible of his errors in making such high demands, as he had made at *Utrecht*; and was endeavouring to get out of the war on easier terms. The States committed a great error in desiring a peace with *England*, without desiring at the same time, that the King should enter into the alliance for reducing the *French* to the terms of the Triple Alliance. But the Prince of *Orange* thought, that if he could once separate the King from his alliance with *France*, the other point would be soon brought about. And the States were much set on the having a peace with *England*, hoping then both to be freed

freed of the great trouble of securing the coast at a vast charge, 1674. and also by the advantage of their fleet to ruine the trade, and to insult the coast of *France*. The States did this winter confer a new and extraordinary dignity on the Prince of *Orange*. They made him Hereditary Stadtholder. So that this was entailed on him, and his issue male. He had in a year and a half's time changed the whole face of their affairs. He had not only taken *Naerden*, which made *Amsterdam* easy: But by a very bold undertaking he had gone up the *Rhine* to *Bon*, and had taken it in a very few days: And in it had cut off the supplies that the *French* sent down to their garrisons on the *Rhine* and the *Isel*. So that the *French* finding they could not subsist longer there, were now resolved to evacuate all those places, and the three Provinces of which they were possessed; which they did a few months after. An alliance was also made with the Emperor. And by this means both the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, were brought to a peace with the States. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* was likewise returning to the alliance with the States: For in the treaty, to which he was forced to submit, with *Turenne* for a truce of a year, he had put an article, reserving to himself a liberty to act in concurrence with the Empire, according to such resolutions as should be taken in the Diet. This change of the affairs of the States had got the Prince of *Orange* the affections of the people to such a degree, that he could have obtained every thing of them that he would have desired: And even the loss of so important a place as *Mastricht* was not at all charged on him. So he brought the States to make applications to the King in the sty'e of those who beg'd a peace, tho' it was visible they could have forced it. In conclusion, a project of a peace with *England* was formed, or rather the peace of *Breda* was writ over again, with the offer of 2 or 300000 *l.* for the expence of the war. And the King signed it at Lord *Arlington's* office.

He came up immediately into the drawing room; where seeing *Rouvigny* he took him aside, and told him, he had been doing a thing that went more against his heart, than the losing of his right hand: He had signed a peace with the *Dutch*, the project being brought him by the *Spanish* Embassador: He saw nothing could content the House of Commons, or draw money from them: And Lord *Arlington* had pressed him so hard, that he had stood out till he was weary of his life: He saw it was impossible for him to carry on the war without supplies, of which it was plain he could have no hopes. *Rouvigny* told him, what was done could not be helped: But he would let him see how faithfully he would serve him on this occasion: He did not doubt but his master would submit all his pretensions to him, and make him the arbiter and mediator of the peace.

The King became the mediator of the peace.

1674. peace. This the King received with great joy; and said, it would be the most acceptable service that could be done him. The *French* resolved upon this to accept of the King's mediation. And so the King got out of the war, very little to his honour, having both engaged in it upon unjust grounds, and managed it all along with ill conduct, and bad success: And now he got out of it in so poor and so dishonourable a manner, that with it he lost his credit both at home and abroad. Yet he felt little of all this. He and his brother were now at their ease. Upon this, the Parliament was quickly prorogued: And the Court delivered it self up again to its ordinary course of sloth and luxury. But Lord *Arlington*, who had brought all this about, was so entirely lost by it, that tho' he knew too much of the secret to be ill used, yet he could never recover the ground he had lost.

The Duchess's character.

The Duchess of *York* came over that winter. She was then very young, about sixteen, but of a full growth. She was a graceful person, with a good measure of beauty, and so much wit and cunning, that during all this reign she behaved her self in so obliging a manner, and seemed so innocent and good, that she gained upon all that came near her, and possessed them with such impressions of her, that it was long before her behaviour after she was a Queen could make them change their thoughts of her. So artificially did this young *Italian* behave her self, that she deceived even the eldest and most jealous persons, both in the Court and Country. Only sometimes a satyrical temper broke out too much, which was imputed to youth and wit not enough practised to the world. She avoided the appearances of a zealot, or a meddler in business; and gave her self up to innocent cheerfulness; and was universally esteemed and beloved, as long as she was Duchess.

Coleman's character.

She had one put about her to be her Secretary, *Coleman*; who became so active in the affairs of the party, and ended his life so unfortunately, that since I had much conversation with him, his circumstances may deserve that his character should be given, tho' his person did not. I was told, he was a Clergyman's son: But he was early caught by the Jesuits, and bred many years among them. He understood the art of managing controversies, chiefly that great one of the authority of the Church, better than any of their Priests. He was a bold man, resolved to raise himself, which he did by dedicating himself wholly to the Jesuits: And so he was raised by them. He had a great easiness in writing in several languages; and writ many long letters, and was the chief correspondent the party had in *England*. He lived at a vast expence. And talked in so positive a manner, that it looked like one who knew he was well supported. I soon saw into his temper; and I warned the Duke of it: For I looked on him, as a man much liker to spoil business, than to carry

ry it on dextrously. He got into the confidence of *P. Ferrier* the King of *France's* confessor; and tried to get into the same pitch of confidence with *P. de la Chaise*, who succeeded him in that post. He went about every where, even to the jayls among the criminals, to make profelytes. He dealt much both in the giving and taking of bribes. But now the affairs of *England* were calmed, I look again to *Scotland*, which was yet in a storm. 1674.

The King writ to Duke *Hamilton* to come up. And when he and Lord *Tweedale* arrived, they were so well received, that they hoped to carry their point. But the King's design in this was, that, if he could have brought the House of Commons to have given money, he was resolved to have parted with Duke *Lauderdale*, and have employed them. And his kind usage of them was on design to persuade the Commons to use himself better, by shewing that he was ready to comply with them. He gave them so good a hearing, that they thought they had fully convinced him: And he blamed them only for not complaining to himself of those grievances. But, as soon as he saw it was to no purpose to look for money from the House of Commons, and had signed the peace, he sent them down with full assurances that all things should be left to the judgment of the Parliament. They came down thro' the greatest fall of snow that has been in all my life time. When they got home, instead of a session, there was an order for a prorogation; which gave such an universal discontent, that many offered at very extravagant propositions, for destroying Duke *Lauderdale* and all his party. Duke *Hamilton*, who told me this some years after, when an Act of Grace was published, was neither so bad nor so bold as to hearken to these. The King writ him a cajoling letter, desiring him to come up once more, and to refer all matters to him: And he assured him, he would make up all differences. The affairs of Scotland.

In the mean while Duke *Lauderdale* took all possible methods to become more popular. He connived at the insolence of the Presbyterians, who took possession of one of the vacant Churches of *Edenburgh*, and preached in it for some months. The Earl of *Argile* and Sir *James Dalrimple* were the men on whom the Presbyterians depended most. Duke *Lauderdale* returned to his old kindness with the former: And Lord *Argile* was very ready to forget his late unkindness. So matters were made up between them. *Darlimple* was the President of the session, a man of great temper, and of a very mild deportment, but a cunning man. He was now taken into the chief confidence. He told the Presbyterians, if they would now support Duke *Lauderdale*, this would remove the prejudice the King had against them, as enemies to his service. This wrought on many of them. The Parliament was prorogued.

What influence soever this might have on the Presbyterians, the

1674. strange conduct with relation to them provoked the Clergy out of measure. Some hot men, that were not preferred as they thought they deserved, grew very mutinous, and complained that things were let fall into much confusion. And they raised a grievous outcry for the want of a National Synod to regulate our worship and government: And so moved in the Diocesan Synods, that a petition should be offered to the Privy Council, setting forth the necessity of having a National Synod. I liked no part of this. I knew the temper of our Clergy too well, to depend much on them. Therefore I went out of the way on purpose when our Synod was to meet. Petitions were offered for a National Synod, which was thought an innocent thing. Yet, it being done on design to heighten the fermentation the Kingdom was in, great exceptions were taken to it. One Bishop, and four of the Clergy, were turned out by an order from the King, pursuant to the Act asserting the Supremacy. After a year, upon their submission, they were restored. Tho' I was not at all concerned in this, (for I was ever of *Nazianzen's* opinion, who never wished to see any more Synods of the Clergy,) yet the King was made believe, that I had laid the whole matter, even tho' I did not appear in any part of it.

A great distraction in Scotland.

Another disorder broke out, which had greater effects. A cause being judged in the supreme Court of Session, the party appealed to the Parliament. This was looked on as a high contempt, done on design to make the Parliament a Court of judicature, that so there might be a necessity of frequent Parliaments. So the Judges required all the lawyers to condemn this, as contrary to law. And they had the words of a law on their side: For there lay no such appeal: as stopt process, nor was there a writ of error in their law: But upon petitions, Parliaments had, tho' but seldom, reviewed and reversed the judgments of the Courts. So the debate lay about the sense of the word *Appeal*. Sir *George Lockhart*, brother to the Ambassador, was the most learned lawyer, and the best pleader I have ever yet known in any Nation; and he had all the lawyers almost in a dependance on him. He was engaged with the party, and resolved to stand it out. The King sent down an order to put all men from the bar, that did not condemn appeals. And, when that wrought not on them, they were by proclamation banished *Edenburgh*, and twelve miles about it: And a new day was assigned them for making their submission; the King in a very unusual style declaring, on the word of a Prince, that, if they submitted not by that day, they should never be again admitted to their practice. They stood it out: And the day lapsed without their submitting. Yet afterwards they renounced appeals in the sense of the *Roman* law: And, notwithstanding the unusual threatening in the proclamation, they were again restored to practice.

tice. But this made a stop for a whole year in all legal proceedings. 1674.

The government of the city of *Edenburgh* was not so compliant, as was expected. So Duke *Lauderdale* procured a letter from the King to turn out twelve of the chief Magistrates, and to declare them for ever incapable of all publick trusts: So entirely had he forgot his complaints formerly made against incapacity, even when pass'd in an Act of Parliament. The boroughs of *Scotland* have by law a privilege of meeting once a year in a body, to consider of trade, and of by-laws relating to it. At a convention held this year a petition was agreed on, and sent to the King, complaining of some late Acts that hindered trade, for the repeal of which there was great need of a session of Parliament: They therefore prayed, that when the King sent down a Commissioner to hold a session, he might be instructed in order to that repeal. This was judged a legal thing by the lawyers there; for this was a lawful assembly: They did not petition for a Parliament, but only for instructions to the session. Yet it was condemned as seditious: And those who promoted it were fined and imprisoned for it. Thus Duke *Lauderdale* was lifted up out of measure, and resolved to crush all that stood in his way. He was made Earl of *Guilford* in *England*, and had a pension of 3000*l*: And he let himself loose into a very ungoverned fury. When Duke *Hamilton*, and some other Lords came up, the King desired they would put their complaints in writing. They said, the laws were so oddly worded, and more oddly executed, in *Scotland*, that the modestest paper they could offer might be condemned as leasing-making, and misrepresenting the King's proceedings: So they would not venture on it. The King promised them, that no ill use should be made of it to their prejudice. But they did not think it safe to trust him; for he seemed to be entirely delivered up to all Duke *Lauderdale*'s passions.

It is no wonder then that I could not stand before him; tho' at my coming up the Duke of *York* received me with great kindness, and told me, how he had got out of great difficulties, and added, that the King was very firm to him: He commended likewise his new Duchess much: He was troubled at our disorders: He was firm to Duke *Lauderdale*: But he would have endeavoured to reconcile matters, if there had been room for it. He told me, the King was highly incensed against me; and was made believe, that I was the chief spring of all that had happened: He himself believed me more innocent; and said, he would endeavour to set me right with him: And he carried me to the King, who received me coldly. Some days after, when the Duke was a hunting, the Lord Chamberlain told me, he had orders to strike my name out of the list of the Chaplains; and that the King forbid me the Court, and expected I should go back

Lauderdale's
proceedings
there.

I was dis-
graced.

1674. back to *Scotland*. The Duke seemed troubled at this, and spoke to the King about it: But he was positive. Yet he admitted me to say to him what I had to offer in my own justification. I said all that I thought necessary; and appealed to Duke *Hamilton*, who did me justice in it. But the King said, he was afraid I had been too busy; and wished me to go home to *Scotland*, and be more quiet. The Duke upon this told me, that, if I went home without reconciling my self to Duke *Lauderdale*, I should be certainly shut up in a close prison, where I might perhaps lye too long. This I look'd on as a very high obligation: So I resigned my employment, and resolved to stay in *England*. I preached in many of the Churches of *London*; and was so well receiv'd, that it was probable I might be accepted of in any that was to be disposed of by a popular election. So a Church falling to be given in that way, the electors had a mind to choose me: But yet they were not willing to offend the Court. The Duke spoke to Duke *Lauderdale*, and told him that he had a mind I should be settled in *London*, and desired he would not oppose it. Duke *Lauderdale* said, all this was a trick of the party in *Scotland*, to settle me, that I might be a correspondent between the factions in both Kingdoms. Yet, upon the Duke's undertaking that I should not meddle in those matters, he was contented that the King should let the electors know, he was not against their choosing me. Upon this Duke *Lauderdale*, seeing what a root I had with the Duke, sent a message to me, that, if I would promise to keep no farther correspondence with Duke *Hamilton*, I should again be restored to his favour. I said, I had promised the Duke to meddle no more in *Scottish* affairs: But I could not forsake my friends, nor turn against them. By this he judged I was inflexible. So he carried a story to the King the very night before the election, that upon enquiry was found to be false, when it was too late to help what was done. Upon that, the King sent a severe message to the electors. So I missed that. And some time after a new story was invented, of which *Sharp* was indeed the author, by which the King was made believe that I was possessing both Lords and Commons against Duke *Lauderdale*. Upon that, the King ordered *Coventry* to command me to leave *London*, and not to come within twenty miles of it. The Duke told me what the particulars were, which were all false: For Lord *Faulconbridge* and Lord *Carlisle* were the Lords, into whom it was said I was infusing those prejudices. Now I was known to neither of them; for, tho' they had desired my acquaintance, I had declined it. So I told all this to Secretary *Coventry*, who made report of it to the King in the Duke's presence: And those Lords justified me in the matter. I hoped the King would upon all this recall his order. But he would not do it. So I asked to have it in writing. The Secretary

tary knew it was against law: So he would not do it. But I was forbid the Court. The Duke brought Duke *Lauderdale* and me once together, to have made us friends. But nothing would do, unless I would forsake all my friends, and discover secrets. I said, I knew no wicked ones: And I could not break with persons, with whom I had lived long in great friendship. The Duke spoke to the Lord Treasurer, to soften Duke *Lauderdale* with relation to me; and sent me to him. He undertook to do it; but said afterwards, Duke *Lauderdale* was intractable. 1674.

This violent and groundless prosecution lasted some months. And during that time I said to some, that Duke *Lauderdale* had gone so far in opening some wicked designs to me, that I perceived he could not be satisfied, unless I was undone. So I told what was mentioned before of the discourses that pass'd between him and me. This I ought not to have done, since they were the effects of confidence and friendship. But such a course of provocation might have heated a cooler and elder man than I was, being then but thirty, to forget the caution that I ought to have used. The persons who had this from me, resolved to make use of it against him, in the next session of Parliament: For which the Earl of *Danby* and he were preparing, by turning to new methods.

Lord *Danby* set up to be the patron of the Church-party, and of the old Cavaliers: And Duke *Lauderdale* joined himself to him. It was said, the King had all along neglected his best and surest friends: So a new measure was taken up, of doing all possible honours to the memory of King *Charles I.*, and to all that had been in his interests. A statue of brass on horse back, that had been long neglected, was bought, and set up at *Charing-cross*: And a magnificent funeral was designed for him. The building of *St. Paul's* in *London* was now set on foot with great zeal. *Morley* and some of the Bishops were sent for: And the new Ministry settled a scheme with them, by which it was offered to crush all the designs of Popery. The Ministers expressed a great zeal in this; and openly accused all the former Ministers for neglecting it so long. But, to excuse this to the Duke, they told him, it was a great misfortune, that the Church party and the Dissenters were now run into one; that the Church party must have some content given them; and then a test was to be set on foot, that should for ever shut out all Dissenters, who were an implacable sort of people. A Declaration renouncing the lawfulness of resistance in any case whatsoever, and an engagement to endeavour no alteration in Church or State, was designed to be a necessary qualification of all that might choose, or be chosen Members of Parliament. If this could be carried, the King's party would be for ever separated from the Dissenters, and be so much the more united to him. In order to this, it was necessary to put out severe

The Ministers turned to the Church party.

1674. orders of Council against all convicted or suspected Papists. The Duke acquainted me with this scheme. He disliked it much. He thought, this would raise the Church party too high. He looked on them as intractable in the point of Popery. Therefore he thought, it was better to keep them under by supporting the Papists. He looked on the whole project, as both knavish and foolish. And upon this he spoke severely of Duke *Lauderdale*, who he saw would do any thing to save himself: He had been all along in ill terms both with *Sheldon* and *Morley*: But now he reconciled himself to them: He brought *Sharp* out of *Scotland*, who went about assuring all people, that the party set against him was likewise set against the Church. This, tho' notoriously false, passed for true among strangers. And, *Leightoun* coming up at the year's end to quit his Archbishoprick of *Glasgow*, *Burnet* had made such submissions that he was restored to it. So that wound, which had been given to Episcopacy in his person, was now healed. And *Leightoun* retired to a private house in *Sussex*, where he lived ten years in a most heavenly manner, and with a shining conversation. So now Duke *Lauderdale* was at the head of the Church party.

Correspondence with
Holland discovered.

The Court was somewhat disturbed with discoveries that were made at this time. When Sir *Joseph Williamson* came back from *Cologne*, he secretly met with *Wicquefort*, who has published a work about Embassadors. He was the *Dutch* Secretary, that translated the intelligence that came from *England*. And sometimes the originals were left in his hands. *Williamson* prevailed with him to deliver these to him. Most of them were writ by the Lord *Howard's* brother, who upon his brother's death was afterwards Lord *Howard*. He was a man of wit and learning, bold and poor, who had run thro' many parties in religion. In *Cromwell's* time he was rebaptized, and had preached in *London*. He set up in opposition to *Cromwell*, as a great Common-wealth's man, and did some service in the Restoration. But he was always poor, and ready to engage in any thing that was bold. He went over in the beginning of the war, and offered to serve *De Wit*. But he told me, he found him a dry man. As soon as the Prince was raised, he waited on him, and on *Fagel*; and undertook not only to send them good intelligence, but to make a great party for them. He pressed the Prince to make a descent on *England*, only to force the King to call a Parliament, and to be advised by it. And he drew such a *Manifesto*, as he believed would be acceptable to the Nation. He, and one of the *Du Mou-lins*, that was in Lord *Arlington's* office, joined together, and gave the States very good intelligence. *Du Moulin*, fearing that he was discovered, took the alarm in time, and got beyond sea. Most of the papers that *Wicquefort* delivered were of *Howard's* writing. So

upon his examination in the Tower, it appeared they had his letters against him. And, when notice was sent of this to *Holland, Wicquefort* was called on to bring before them all the original letters that were trusted to him. And, upon his not doing it, he was clapt up. And the States sent word to the King, that, if any person suffered in *England* on the account of the letters betray'd by him, his head should go for it. *Halewyn* told me, when it was put to the Judges to know what sort of crime this could be made, since the papers were given up after the peace was concluded, (otherwise the betraying the secrets of the State to enemies was a manifest crime,) they came to this resolution, that as by the *Roman* law every thing was made capital that was *contra salutem Populi Romani*, so the delivering up such papers was a capital crime. This threatning saved *Howard*. But yet *Wicquefort* was kept very long in prison, and ruined by it. He had a sort of a character from one of the Princes of *Germany*, upon which he insisted. But the States thought, that his coming in to their service was the throwing up of that character. Upon this occasion *Castairs*, mentioned in the year 1672, was sent over from *Holland* to *England*. And he was seized on with a paper of instructions, that were drawn so darkly, that no wonder if they gave a jealousy of some ill designs then on foot. The Prince said, when asked about it, that it was only meant for a direction for carrying on the levies of some regiments that the King had allowed the *Dutch* to make in *Scotland*, which the King did the better to excuse his letting so many continue in the *French* service. Howsoever, mention being made of money to be paid, and of men to be raised, and a complement being ordered to be made to Duke *Hamilton*, this looked suspicious. *Howard* had confessed all he knew upon promise of pardon. So that and this laid together gave the Court some apprehensions. Duke *Lauderdale* made use of it to heighten the King's ill opinion of the party against him. And, because Lieutenant General *Drummond* was of all the military men he that had the best capacity, and the greatest reputation, he moved that he might be secured. The method he took in doing it shewed, that he neither suspected him, nor regarded the law. The ancient method was to require men to render themselves prisoners by such a day. This was a snare to many, who, tho' innocent, yet hating restraint went out of the way, and were proceeded against in an out-lawry: But an Act of Parliament had been made, condemning that method for the future. Yet Duke *Lauderdale* resolved to follow it. And *Drummond*, knowing his innocence, rendred himself as required; and was kept a year in a very cold and inconvenient prison, at *Dunbarton*, on the top of a high rock. This, coming after a whole life of loyalty and zeal, was thought a very extraordinary reward to such high pretensions.

1674.

Jealousies of
the Prince of
Orange.

Drummond
was ordered
to prison.

One

1674.

One thing on this occasion may be fit to be told. Lord *Kincardin* had served Duke *Lauderdale* faithfully, even longer than he could do with a good conscience: For he had stuck to him, and was left by him with the King, when he went to *Scotland*, who knew well with how much zeal he had supported his interest, and excused his faults. When Duke *Lauderdale* was hotly pushed at, he then promised to all his friends, that he would avoid all former errors, if he got out of his trouble: And that made Lord *Kincardin* so earnest to serve him. But, when he saw into how much fury he was running, he tried to have persuaded him to more temper; but found it was in vain. Then he confessed to me, that I had judged truer than he had done; for I believed he would grow worse than ever. When Lord *Kincardin* found, he could not hinder things in private, he opposed them at Council: And so they broke with him. He came up to justify himself to the King, who minded those matters very little; but thought it was necessary to give a full scope to Duke *Lauderdale*'s motions, who had told the King there was a spirit of rebellion that run thro' all sorts of people, and that was to be subdued by acts of power, tho' perhaps neither legal nor just: And when that evil spirit was once broken, then it would be fit to return to more legal and moderate counsels. So Lord *Kincardin* found, there was no arguing with the King upon particulars. Therefore he beg'd leave to stay some time at Court, that he might not be obliged to oppose that, which the King was made believe his service required. The King consented to this; and upon all occasions used him very well. Duke *Lauderdale* could not bear that, and pressed the King often to command him home; which he refused to do. Once he urged it with much vehemence: And the King answered as positively, that he saw no reason for it, and he would not do it. Upon this he came home as in a fit of distraction, and was gathering together all his commissions to deliver them up to the King. Upon that the Marquis of *Athol*, who was then in high favour with him, went to the King; and told him that he had sent Duke *Lauderdale* home half dead, and half mad; and beg'd the King to take pity on him. So the King sent a message to Lord *Kincardin*, ordering him to go home. This Lord *Athol* himself told me afterwards.

The battel
of *Senef*.

Towards the end of summer the battel of *Senef* was fought: In the beginning of which the *French* had a great advantage: But the Prince of *Conde* pushed it too far: And the Prince of *Orange* engaged the whole army with so much bravery, that it appeared that the *Dutch* army was now brought to another state than he had found it in. He charged himself in many places, with too great a neglect of his person, considering how much depended upon it. He once

was engaged among a body of *French*, thinking they were his own men, and bid them charge: They told him, they had no more powder: He, perceiving they were none of his men, with great presence of mind got out of their hands, and brought up a body of his army to charge them; who quickly routed them. The action in the afternoon recovered the loss that was made in the morning; and possessed all the world, the Prince of *Conde* in particular, with a great esteem of the Prince's conduct and courage. I will say little of foreign affairs; because there are many copious accounts of them in print; and I can add little to them. With relation to the battel of *Senef*, the Prince himself told me that the day before he saw a Capuchin, that came over from the *French* army, and had a long conversation with *Zouch*, the Emperor's General; who behaved himself so ill on the day of battel, that the Prince said to his son at night, that his father had acted so basely, that, if it had not been for the respect he bore the Emperor, he would have shot him thro' the head. He was disgraced on this. But the success of the campaign was lost by it. They had a noble army; and might have done much more than they did. *Grave* was retaken in the end of the campaign. So the Provinces were now safe on that side. And the Prince had gained so much credit with the States, that he was now more than ever the master of their counsels.

The alarm that those discoveries from *Holland* gave our Court, made Lord *Arlington* offer at one trial more for recovering the King's confidence. He offered to go over to *Holland* with the Earl of *Osford*: For they fancied they had a great interest in the Prince, by their having married two of *Beverwardt's* daughters: And the Prince had always a particular affection to Lord *Osford*. Lord *Arlington* said, he would go to the bottom of every thing with the Prince; and did not doubt, but he would bring him into an entire dependance on his uncle, and particularly dispose him to a general peace; on which the King was much set, it being earnestly desired by the *French*. It was likewise believed, that he had leave to give the Prince the hope of marrying her, whom he afterwards married. The Duke told me, he knew nothing of the matter: He had heard, Lord *Arlington* had talked, as if the managing that was his chief errand: And upon that he had asked the King, who assured him that he had a positive order not so much as to speak of that matter. Yet, whether notwithstanding this he had a secret order, or whether he did it without order, he certainly talked a great deal of it to the Prince, as a thing which he might depend on, if he would in all other things be governed by the King.

Sir *William Temple* had been sent over the summer before, as Ambassador: And his chief instructions were, to dispose all people

Arlington
went to *Holland*.

Temple sent
Ambassador
to *Holland*.

1674. ples minds, chiefly the Prince's, to a peace. But the Prince had avoided the seeing him till the end of the campaign. Lord *Arlington* had thrown him off, when he went into the *French* interest: And *Temple* was too proud to bear contempt, or forget such an injury soon. He was a vain man, much blown up in his own conceit, which he shewed too indecently on all occasions. He had a true judgment in affairs, and very good principles with relation to government; but in nothing else. He seemed to think that things were as they are from all eternity: At least he thought religion was fit only for the mob. He was a great admirer of the sect of *Confusius* in *China*, who were atheists themselves, but left religion to the rabble. He was a corrupter of all that came near him. And he delivered himself up wholly to study ease and pleasure. He entred into a close friendship with Lord *Danby*, who depended much on him: And was directed in all his notions as to foreign affairs by him; for no man ever came into the Ministry, that understood the affairs of *Europe* so little as he did.

I will henceforth leave the account of our affairs beyond sea wholly to *Temple's* letters, in which they are very truly and fully set forth. And in them it appears, that the Prince of *Orange*, even while so young, and so little practised in affairs, had so clear and so just a view of them, that nothing could misguide him; and that the bad prospect he had from the ill condition of affairs did not frighten him to accept of any mean or base conditions of peace. His fidelity to his country, and the publick interest, was so firm, that no private considerations of his own could bias him, or indeed be much considered by him. These letters give him a character that is so sublime, as well as so genuine, that it raises him much above all the performances of rhetorick or panegyrick. I will mention very little that is to be found in them. *Holland* was in great expectation, when they saw two such men, as the Earls of *Offory* and *Arlington*, come over, together with the Earl of *Danby's* eldest son, tho' the last only made the shew a little greater. Lord *Arlington* for some days insisted vehemently on the Prince's dismissing *Du Moulin*, who had discovered the secrets of his office to him. In this the Prince complied: And *Du Moulin* was sent to one of their plantations. As to all other things, Lord *Arlington* talked to him in the strain of a governour; and seemed to presume too much on his youth, and on his want of experience. But, instead of prevailing on the Prince, he lost him so entirely, that all his endeavours afterwards could never beget any confidence in him. So he came back; and reckoned this was his last essay, which succeeding so ill, he ever after that withdrew from all business. He made himself easy to the King, who continued to be still very kind to him.

1675.
 Affairs in
 England.

At *Easter* a piece of private news came from *France*, which the Duke

Duke was much delighted with, because it did an honour to the order of the Jesuits, to whom he had devoted himself. The new Confessor had so pressed the King of *France* in Lent to send away his Mistress, *Montespan*, that he prevailed at last. She was sent to a Nunnery. And so the King received the Sacrament, as was said, in a state of contrition. This was writ to the Duke, and set out with such circumstances, as the *French* usually do every thing that relates to their King. The Duke was much pleased with it. He told me, he had related it with all its circumstances to the King in the Duchess of *Portsmouth's* hearing; and said, they both heard it with great uneasiness, and were much out of countenance at it. The Duke himself was then in the best temper I had ever known him in. He was reading *Nurembergius* of the difference of things temporal and things eternal: And we had much good discourse on that subject. Lord *Arlington* ran so much in his mind, that he once said to me, if Lord *Arlington* would read that book, he would not meddle in so many affairs as he did. I saw he was very jealous of him, and of his interest in the King. Thus I have given a full account of my acquaintance with the Duke.

I lost his favour soon after this. For in *April* 1675 a session of Parliament was held, as preparatory to one that was designed next winter, in which money was to be asked: But none was now asked; it being only called to heal all breaches, and to beget a good understanding between the King and his people. The House of Commons fell upon Duke *Lauderdale*. And those who knew what had pass'd between him and me, moved that I should be examined before a Committee. I was brought before them. I told them how I had been commanded out of town. But tho' that was illegal, yet, since it had been let fall, it was not insisted on. I was next examined concerning his design of arming the *Irish* Papists. I said, I, as well as others, had heard him say, he wished the Presbyterians in *Scotland* would rebel, that he might bring over the *Irish* Papists to cut their throats. I was next examined concerning the design of bringing a *Scotish* army into *England*. I desired to be excused, as to what had passed in private discourse; to which I thought I was not bound to answer, unless it were high treason. They pressed me long: And I would give them no other answer. So they all concluded, that I knew great matters; and reported this specially to the House. Upon that I was sent for, and brought before the House. I stood upon it as I had done at the Committee, that I was not bound to answer; that nothing had passed that was high treason; and as to all other things, I did not think myself bound to discover them. I said farther, I knew Duke *Lauderdale* was apt to say things in a heat, which he did not intend to do. And, since he had used my self so ill, I thought

I was examined by the House of Commons.

my

1675. my self the more obliged not to say any thing that looked like revenge for what I had met with from him. I was brought four times to the bar. At last I was told, the House thought they had a right to examine into every thing that concerned the safety of the Nation, as well as into matters of treason: And they looked on me as bound to satisfy them: Otherwise they would make me feel the weight of their heavy displeasure, as one that concealed what they thought was necessary to be known. Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the discourse formerly mentioned. They laid great weight on this, and renewed their address against Duke *Lauderdale*.

I was much blamed for what I had done. Some, to make it look the worse, added, that I had been his Chaplain, which was false; and that I had been much obliged to him, tho' I had never received any real obligation from him, but had done him great services, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the disclosing of what had pass'd in confidence; tho' I make it a great question, how far even that ought to bind a man, when the designs are very wicked, and the person continued still in the same post, and capacity of executing them. I have told the matter as it was, and must leave my self to the censure of the reader. My love to my country, and my private friendships carried me perhaps too far; especially since I had declared much against Clergymen's meddling in secular affairs, and yet had run my self so deep in them.

This broke me quite with the Court, and in that respect proved a great blessing to me. It brought me out of many temptations; the greatest of all being the kindness that was growing upon me from the Duke, which might have involved me into great difficulties, as it did expose me to much censure; all which went off upon this occasion. And I applied my self to my studies, and my function, being then settled preacher at the Rolls, and soon after Lecturer of *St. Clements*. I lived many years under the protection of *St. Harbottle Grimstone*, Master of the Rolls, who continued steady in his favour to me, tho' the King sent Secretary *Williamson* to desire him to dismiss me. He said, he was an old man, fitting himself for another world, and he found my ministry useful to him; so he prayed that he might be excused in that. He was a long, and very kind patron to me. I continued ten years in that post, free from all necessities: And, I thank God, that was all I desired. But, since I was so long happy in so quiet a retreat, it seems but a just piece of gratitude, that I should give some account of that venerable old man.

Sir Harbottle
Grimstone's
character.

He was descended from a long-lived family; for his great grandfather lived till he was ninety eight, his grand-father to eighty six, and his father to seventy eight, and himself to eighty two. He had

to the last a great soundness of health, of memory, and of judgment. 1675. He was bred to the study of the law, being a younger brother. Upon his elder brother's death he threw it up. But falling in love with Judge *Crook's* daughter, the father would not bestow her on him, unless he would return to his studies; which he did with great success. That Judge was one of those who delivered his judgment in the Chequer-chamber against the ship money, which he did with a long and learned argument. And Sir *Harbottle's* father, who served in Parliament for *Essex*, lay long in prison, because he would not pay the loan-money. Thus both his family, and his wife's, were zealous for the interest of their country. In the beginning of the long Parliament he was a great asserter of the laws; and inveigh'd severely against all that had been concerned in the former illegal oppression. His principle was, that allegiance and protection were mutual obligations; and that the one went for the other. He thought the law was the measure of both; and that when a legal protection was denied to one that paid a legal allegiance, the subject had a right to defend himself. He was much troubled, when preachers asserted a divine right of regal government. He thought it had no other effect, but to give an ill impression of them as aspiring men: No body was convinced by it: It inclined their hearers rather to suspect all they said besides: It looked like the sacrificing their country to their own preferment; and an encouraging of Princes to turn tyrants. Yet when the long Parliament engaged into the league with *Scotland*, he would not swear the Covenant. And he discontinued sitting in the House till it was laid aside. Then he came back, and joined with *Hollis*, and the other Presbyterians, in a high opposition to the Independents, and to *Cromwell* in particular, as was told in the first book. And he was one of the secluded Members, that were forced out of the House. He followed afterwards the practice of the law, but was always looked at as one who wished well to the ancient government of *England*. So he was chosen Speaker of that House that called home the King; and had so great a merit in that whole affair, that he was soon after, without any application of his own, made Master of the Rolls: In which post he continued to his death with a high reputation, as he well deserved it. For he was a just Judge; very slow, and ready to hear every thing that was offered, without passion or partiality. I thought his only fault was, that he was too rich: And yet he gave yearly great sums in charity, discharging many prisoners by paying their debts. He was a very pious and devout man, and spent every day at least an hour in the morning, and as much at night, in prayer and meditation. And even in winter, when he was obliged to be very early on the bench, he took care to rise so soon, that he had always the command of that time, which he gave to those exercises. He was much sharpened against Popery; but had always a tender-

1675. ness to the Dissenters, tho' he himself continued still in the communion of the Church. His second wife, whom I knew, was niece to the great Sir *Francis Bacon*: And was the last heir of that family. She had all the high notions for the Church and the Crown, in which she had been bred; but was the humblest, the devoutest, and best tempered person I ever knew of that sort. It was really a pleasure to hear her talk of religion: She did it with so much elevation and force. She was always very plain in her clothes: And went oft to jayls, to consider the wants of the prisoners, and relieve, or discharge them; and by the meanness of her dress she pass'd but for a servant trusted with the charities of others. When she was travelling in the country, as she drew near a village, she often ordered her coach to stay behind till she had walked about it, giving orders for the instruction of the children, and leaving liberally for that end. With two such persons I spent several of my years very happily. But I now return to the session of Parliament.

*Danby at-
tack'd, but in
vain.*

In the House of Commons the business against Duke *Lauderdale* was taken up warmly at three several times: And three several addresses were made to the King against him. The King's answer was, that he would protect no man against law and justice; but would condemn none without special matter well made out. There was no money offered: So addresses were feeble things. The next attempt was against the Earl of *Danby*, who had begun to invert the usual methods of the Exchequer. But the majority were for him: So that charge came to nothing. Only those who begun it formed a party against him, that grew in conclusion to be too hard for him. He took a different method from those who were in the Ministry before him. They had taken off the great and leading men: And left the herd as a despised company, who could do nothing, because they had none to head them. But Lord *Danby* reckoned that the major number was the surer game: So he neglected the great men, who he thought raised their price too high; and reckoned, that he could gain ten ordinary men, cheaper than one of those. This might have succeeded with him, if they that did lead his party had been wise and skilful men. But he seemed to be jealous of all such, as if they might gain too much credit with the King. The chief men that he made use of were of so low a size, that they were baffled in every debate. So that many, who were inclined enough to vote in all obedience, yet were ashamed to be in the vote on the side that was manifestly run down in the debate.

*Seimour's
character.*

The ablest man of his party was *Seimour*, who was the first Speaker of the House of Commons that was not bred to the law. He was a man of great birth, being the elder branch of the *Seimour* family; and was a graceful man, bold and quick. But he had a sort of a pride so peculiar to himself, that I never saw any thing like it.

He

He had neither shame nor decency with it. He was violent against the Court, till he forced himself into good posts. He was the most assuming Speaker that ever sat in the chair. He knew the House, and every man in it so well, that by looking about he could tell the fate of any question. So, if any thing was put, when the Court party was not well gathered together, he would have held the House from doing any thing, by a wilful mistaking or mistating the question. By that he gave time to those, who were appointed for that mercenary work, to go about and gather in all their party. And he would discern when they had got the majority. And then he would very fairly state the question, when he saw he was sure to carry it.

A great many of the Court grew to be so uneasy, especially when they saw the King was under the influence of *French* and Popish counsels, that they were glad to be out of the way at critical times. On some occasions they would venture to vote against the Court: Of which the memorable answer of *Harvey's*, who was Treasurer to the Queen, was a noted instance. He was one whom the King loved personally: And yet upon a great occasion he voted against that which the King desired. So the King chid him severely for it. Next day, another important question falling in, he voted as the King would have him. So the King took notice of it at night; and said, you were not against me to day. He answered, no, Sir, I was against my conscience to day. This was so gravely delivered, that the King seemed pleased with it: And it was much talked of. While things went thus in the House of Commons, there was the greatest and longest debate in the House of Lords, that has been in all my time. They sat upon it often till midnight.

It was about the test that Lord *Danby* had contrived, as was formerly mentioned. Lord *Danby*, and Lord *Finch*, and some of the Bishops, were the chief arguers for it. They said, it was necessary that a method should be found out, to discriminate the good subjects from the bad: We had been lately involved in a long civil war, occasioned by the ill principles that some had taken up with relation to government: It was fit to prevent the return of such miseries: The King had granted a very full indemnity, and had observed it religiously: But there was no reason, while so much of the old leaven still remained, to leave the Nation exposed to men of such principles: It was not fit to make a Parliament perpetual: Yet that was a less evil, than to run the hazard of a bad election; especially when jealousies and fears had been blowed about the Nation: A good constitution was to be preserved by all prudent methods: No man was to be pressed to take this test: But, as they, who were not willing to come into such an engagement, ought to have the modesty to be contented with the favour and connivance of the Government, so, if that did not teach them good manners, it might be fit

Debates concerning a test.

1675. fit to use severer tools. To all this great opposition was made. It was plain, the Duke did not like it: But the King was so set on it, that he did not declare himself against it. But all the Papists were against it: They thought the bringing any test in practice, would certainly bring on one that would turn them out of the House. The Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Buckingham*, *Hollis*, *Hallifax*, and all those who were thought the Country party, opposed this mightily. They thought, there ought to be no tests, beyond the oath of allegiance, upon the elections to Parliament: That it being the great privilege of *English* men, that they were not to be taxed but by their representatives; it was therefore thought a disinheriting men of the main part of their birthright, to do any thing that should shut them out from their votes in electing: All tests in publick assemblies were thought dangerous, and contrary to publick liberty: For if a Parliament thought any law inconvenient for the good of the whole, they must be supposed still free to alter it: And no previous limitation could bind up their legislature: A great deal was said, to shew that the peace of the world was best secured by good laws, and good government; and that oaths or tests were no security: The scrupulous might be fettered by them: Yet the bulk of the world would boldly take any test, and as boldly break thro' it; of which the late times had given large proofs: The matter of this test was very doubtful: For, tho' generally speaking the King's person and his power were not to be distinguished, yet that was not universally true: An infant King, or a lunatick, were exceptions: As also a King in his enemies hands; which was the case of *Henry VI*, for whose power his own party fought even against his person: So an exception was to be understood; otherwise the proposition, that affirmed it was a traiterous position to separate them, was not true: Nor could it be reasonable to bind up men against alterations: Every new law was an alteration: It was not easy to define how far the power of making alterations might go, and where it must stop: These things were best left at large: Upon the whole matter, as they were against any Parliamentary tests, so they were more particularly against this. Lord *Shaftsbury* distinguished himself more in this session, than ever he had done before. He spoke once a whole hour, to shew the inconvenience of Condemning all resistance upon any pretence whatsoever. He said, it might be proper to lay such ties upon those who served in the militia, and in Corporations, because there was still a superior power in Parliament to declare the extent of the oath: But it might be of very ill consequence to lay it on a Parliament: Since there might be cases, tho' so far out of view that it was hard to suppose them, in which he believed no man would say, it was not lawful to resist. If a King would make us a Province, and tributary to *France*, and subdue the Nation by a *French* army, or to the Papal

Papal authority, must we be bound in that case tamely to submit? 1675.
Upon which he said many things, that did cut to the quick. And yet, tho' his words were watched, so that it was resolved to have sent him to the Tower if any one word had fallen from him that had made him liable to such a censure, he spoke both with so much boldness and so much caution, that tho' he provoked the Court extremely no advantage could be taken against him. The Court carried every question in favour of the test, tho' with great opposition, and a protestation made upon every step that was carried. So that the bill was in a fair way to have pass'd: And very probably it would have pass'd in the House of Commons, when by an unlooked for emergent the session was broke.

Ever since the end of King *James I's*. reign petitions of appeal were brought to the House of Lords from decrees in Chancery. This rose from a parity of reason, because writs of error lay from the Courts of law to the House of Lords. And since the business of the Chancery grew to be so extended and comprehensive, it was not thought safe to leave it to the Lord Chancellor's conscience. So this practice, tho' so lately begun, grew on by degrees to be the main business of the House of Lords. A petition of appeal was brought against a Member of the House of Commons. The Lords received it, and made an order upon it. The Member being served with it, brought it into the House of Commons. And they voted it a breach of privilege, for the Lords to meddle with one of their House. The Lords on the other hand said, they were bound to do justice to all: And no privilege could lye against that: And, since they never sate but when the Commons sate likewise, if a privilege from that House could stop their proceedings, there must be a failure in justice: And since no privilege was ever pretended in the case of a writ of error, it could not lye against an appeal. So they resolved to proceed in the cause. The Commons pass'd a vote against any lawyers that should plead at the Lords bar in this cause. But the Lords commanded the Council to go on; with which they complied. And as they went from the Lords bar, they were by an order from the House of Commons sent to the Tower. But they were by another order from the Lords set at liberty. So the two Houses being as it were at war, it was necessary to put an end to the session.

This was very uneasy to the Court: For they saw it was a very sure method to break a session of Parliament, every time that it was taken up. I am not sure, if this was laid, or if it happened by accident. Lord *Shaftsbury* said, it was laid by himself. But others assured me, it happened in course, tho' it produced great effects: For there never was a strength in the Court to raise this debate of the test in any subsequent session. And as this made the Court apprehend, they might by the prosecution of the same appeal loose the next session,

A dispute
about ap-
peals and
privileges.

The session
broke up on
it.

1675. *W*ion, since the prorogation did only discontinue Parliamentary proceedings, but not Judiciary ones; so they feared this might go so far as to force a dissolution of the present Parliament: To which the Court would be very hardly brought, after they had practised so long upon the Members, and knew them all so well.

In this session, on a day that grievances were to be gone upon, *Grimstone* said, that considering the extent of privilege, he looked on a standing Parliament as the greatest grievance of the Nation; so many men being exempted from justice, and from the demands of their creditors, for so long, and so indefinite a time. This motion was let fall at that time. But it was not forgot. And it was likely to be taken up, when new opportunities should be offered. The summer went over without any considerable accidents at home.

A session of
Parliament.

A new session met next winter. And at the first opening it the King laid before the Commons the great difficulties he was in by the anticipations of his revenues. It was then generally thought, that the King was in such straits, that, if money could not be obtained, he must turn to other counsels, and to other Ministers. The debate went high in the Committee of the whole House. It was offered on the one side to shew, that the King had not enough in his hands to maintain the government, and to secure the Nation: Tho' our neutrality at that time made trade flow in upon us, so that the Customs rose higher than ever. On the other hand it was said, that if anticipations were once admitted as a reason for a supply, the Court would never want that reason. It was fitter to examine by whose means, or on what design those anticipations were made. At last the question was put. And, the vote being then stated, and the previous question being then put, whether the main question should be then put, or not, the votes were equal. So Sir *Charles Harbord*, who was in the chair, gave it for putting the main question. But, some of the Country side coming in between the two questions, the main question was lost by two or three. So near was the Court to the carrying so great a point. *Harbord* was much blamed for his rashness. He said, the duty of the chair was always to set matters forward: And so he ought to have given it for putting the main question: And, if the same equality had continued, he said, he would have given it for the Court. He was a very rich and covetous man, who knew *England* well: And his parts were very quick about him in that great age, being past eighty. A lively repartee was made by his own son to him in the debate. He had said, the right way of dealing with the King, and of gaining him to them, was, to lay their hands on their purses, and to deal roundly with him. So his son said, he seconded his motion: But he meant, that they should lay their hands on their purses, as he himself did, and hold them well shut, that no money should go out of them. The Earl of *Danby* was much

much disappointed at this. Yet he took heart, since it was brought so near, that he reckoned he would make the next session sure. The petition of appeal, that had broke the former session, was now brought on again before the Lords. The Court tried their whole strength to keep it off, till they saw what might be expected from the Commons. So, upon the miscarriage of the great vote in the House of Commons, the Lords went on upon the petition: And, the Commons opposing them vigorously, as before, it was visible that the Parliament must be prorogued. 1675.

Upon this it was proposed in the House of Lords to address the King for dissolving the present Parliament. It was manifest the two Houses could no longer maintain the correspondence that was necessary. In a new Parliament this must fall to the ground: But it could not while this lasted. It was said, a standing Parliament changed the constitution of *England*. The King did no more consult with his people, nor know them: But he had now a cabal of single persons to deal with. The people were now cut off from their liberty of electing; and so had no more a true representative. It was said, that a Parliament of a long continuance would be either an engine to sell the liberties of their country, or would by rendring themselves popular join with the people against the Crown. In either case it was like to be destructive to the constitution. So it was moved, that an address should be made to the King for dissolving the Parliament. And, to the wonder of all men, the Duke joined in it. The majority of the temporal Lords were for it. But the bench of Bishops was against it: And so it was not carried. The thing became the universal subject of discourse. It was infused into the Members of the House of Commons, that, if they would not be more tractable, and help the King out of his necessities, he was sure a new Parliament would give him money, and make him easy; and that the rather for having dissolved them. This wrought on many of them, who had been chosen while the Nation was in a fit, or rather a fury of loyalty. They knew, they could never hope to be chosen again. Many of them were ruined in their fortunes, and lived upon their privileges, and upon their pensions. They had got it among them for a maxim, which contributed not a little to our preservation while we were in such hands, that, as they must not give the King too much at a time, least there should be no more use of them, so they were to take care not to starve the Court, least they themselves should be starved by that means. They were indeed generally both against Popery and *France*. And, to redeem their credit for the money that they were ready to give somewhat too lavishly, they said, when they went into their countries, that it was on design to fix the King to an *English* interest, and the Protestant religion. And they had talked so high on those heads, that the

The characters of some Parliament men.

1675. the Court it self could not manage them, when any thing relating to these came before them. Some of them were high for the prerogative: Others high for the Church: And all the mercenary men were careful of themselves. In opposition to these a great party was formed, who declared more heartily for the Protestant religion, and for the interest of *England*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, opened many of their eyes, and let them know the designs of the Court. And indeed they were then so visible, that there was enough seen, without such secret intelligence, to convince the most incredulous. Sir *William Coventry* had the greatest credit of any man in the House. He never meddled personally with any Minister. He had a perfect understanding of affairs. So he laid open the errors of the government with the more authority, because he mixed no passion nor private resentments with it. His brother usually answered him with much life in a repartee, but not with the weight and force with which he spoke. Colonel *Birch* was a man of a peculiar character. He had been a carrier at first, and retained still, even to an affectation, the clownishness of his education. He got up in the progress of the war to be a Colonel, and to be concerned in the Excise. And at the Restoration he was found to be so useful in managing the Excise, that he was put in a good post. He was the roughest and boldest speaker in the House; and talked in the language and phrases of a carrier, but with a beauty and eloquence that was always acceptable. I heard *Coventry* say, he was the best speaker to carry a popular assembly before him that he had ever known. He spoke always with much life and heat. But judgment was not his talent. *Waller* was the delight of the House: And even at eighty he said the liveliest things of any among them: He was only concerned to say that which should make him be applauded. But he never laid the business of the House to heart, being a vain and empty, tho' a witty, man. He deserves the character of being one of the great refiners of our language and poetry. He was for near sixty years one of the best of all our writers that way. The two men of quality that were the most considered were, the Lord *Russell*, and the Lord *Cavendish*. Lord *Russell* was a man of great candor, and of a general reputation; universally beloved, and trusted; of a generous and obliging temper. He had given such proofs of an undaunted courage, and of an unshaken firmness, that I never knew any man have so entire a credit in the Nation as he had. He quickly got out of some of the disorders into which the Court had drawn him. And ever after that his life was unblemish'd in all respects. He had from his first education an inclination to favour the Non-conformists; and wished the laws could have been made easier to them, or they more pliant to the law. He was a slow man, and of little discourse: But he had a true judgment, when he

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considered things at his own leisure. His understanding was not defective: But his vertues were so eminent, that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had been found in the other. Lord *Cavendish*, afterwards Earl, and then Duke, of *Devonshire* was too much a libertine both in principle and practice. He went off from the Court at first upon resentments for some disappointments there. He was ambitious, and had the courage of a hero, with an unusual proportion both of wit and knowledge. He had a great softness in his exteriour deportment. *Littleton* and *Powle* were the men that laid the matters of the House with the greatest dexterity and care. *Powle* was very learned in precedents, and Parliament journals, which goes a great way in their debates: And, when he had time to prepare himself, he was a clear and strong speaker. *Littleton* was the ablest and the vehementest arguer of them all. He commonly lay quiet till the end of a debate: And he often ended it, speaking with a strain of conviction and authority, that was not easily resisted. I lived the very next door to him for several years: And we spent a great deal of our time every day together. He told me all their management: And commonly, when he was to put his whole strength to argue any point, he used to talk it over with me, and to set me to object all that I could against him. He lived wholly in *London*. So matters were most in his hands during the intervals of Parliament. And by his means it was, that I arrived at such knowledge of their intrigues. He was a wise and worthy man, had studied much modern history, and the present state and interest of *Europe*. Sir *Thomas Lee* was a man that valued himself upon artifice and cunning, in which he was a great master, without being out of countenance when it was discovered. *Vaughan*, the chief Justice's son, was a man of great integrity, had much pride, but did great service. These were the chief men that preserved the Nation from a very deceitful and practising Court, and from a corrupt House of Commons. And by their skill and firmness they, from a small number who began the opposition, grew at last to be the majority.

All this I thought fit to lay together, and to fill as it were an empty place in my history: For, as our main business lay in preparing for, or managing a session of Parliament, so we had now a long interval, of above a year, between this session in winter 1675, and the next session of Parliament, which was not till the spring in 1677. The *French* were much set on procuring a peace. And they, seeing how much the Parliament was set on engaging the King in the Alliance, prevailed with him to discontinue the session; for which no doubt he had round sums of money sent to him.

About this time *Lockhart* the Ambassador in *France* died. The farther he saw into the designs of the Court, he grew the more un-

An account of some passages of *Lockhart's* courage in *France*.

1676.

easy in the post he was in, tho' he acted in it with great spirit and resolution, both with relation to his own master, and to the *French* King: Of which I will set down two passages, that may be very instructive to Embassadors. In this time of neutrality the *French* privateers took many *English* ships, pretending they were *Dutch* only with *English* passes. One of these was taken by a privateer, that, as was believed, *Pepys*, then secretary to the *English* Admiralty, and in great favour with the Duke, had built; and, as was said, out of the King's stores. The merchants proved in Council, that the ship was *English*. So *Lockhart* had an order to demand her: And he pressed it so effectually, that an order was sent from the Court of *France* to discharge her. But, before that was executed, the King was prevailed on by *Pepys*, to tell the *French* Embassador, that he did not concern himself in that ship: He believed merchants were rogues, and could bring witnesses to prove whatsoever they had a mind to: So the Court of *France* might do what they pleased in that matter. This was writ to *Versailles* a day or two after the former order was sent. But upon it a new one went to *Dunkirk*, where the ship lay, to stop her. This came before she could get out. So *Lockhart*, being informed of that, went to Court, and complained heavily. He was told, what the King himself had said about it. He answered resolutely, that the King spoke to them only by him. Yet he wrote upon this to the Court of *England*, desiring to be recalled, since he could serve no longer with honour, after he had been so disowned. Upon this the King wrote him a letter with his own pen, excusing the matter the best he could; and justified him in what he had done. And upon that secret orders were sent, and the ship was discharged. The other was a higher point, considering the bigotry of the King of *France*. *Lockhart* had a *French* Popish servant, who was dying, and sent for the Sacrament. Upon which it was brought with the procession ordinary in such cases. *Lockhart*, hearing of this, ordered his gates to be shut. And upon that many were enflamed, and were running to force his gates: But he ordered all his family to stand to their arms, and, if any force was offered, to fire. There was a great noise made of this. But no force was offered. He resolved to complain first: And so went to Court, and expostulated upon it. He said, his house was his master's house: And here a publick triumph was attempted on his master's religion, and affronts were offered him: He said, if a Priest had brought the Sacrament privately, he would have connived at it: But he asked reparation for so publick an injury. The King of *France* seemed to be highly displeased at this, calling it the greatest indignity that had ever been done to his God during his reign. Yet the point did not bear arguing: So *Lockhart* said nothing to that. When *Lockhart* went from him, *Pomponne* followed him, sent after him by the King, and told him,

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1676.

he would force the King to suffer none of his subjects to serve him. He answered, he would order his coach-man to drive the quicker to *Paris*, to prevent that; and left *Pompone* to guess the meaning. As soon as he came to his house, he ordered all his *French* servants to be immediately paid off, and dismiss'd. The Court of *England* was forced to justify him in all this matter. A publick letter of thanks was writ to him upon it. And the Court of *France* thought it fit to digest it. But the *French* King look'd on him ever after with great coldness, if not with aversion. Soon after that he fell into a languishing, which after some months carried him off. I have ever look'd on him as the greatest man that his country produced in this age, next to Sir *Robert Murray*.

The Earl of *Danby* began now to talk against the *French* inter-
est with open mouth. *Rouvigny* staid but two years in *England*: For, Management in France.
tho' he served his master's interests but too well, yet the Popish party could not bear the want of a Chapel in the *French* Embassador's house. So he was recalled: And *Courtin* was sent in his room. Before he parted, he talked roundly with Lord *Danby*: He said, he was going into popular interests against those of his master's honour, who having engaged the King of *France* in the war, and being forced to leave him to fight it out alone, ought not to turn against him; especially, since the King of *France* referred every thing to him as the arbiter and mediator of the peace: He remembered him of the old Duke of *Buckingham's* fate, who thought to become popular by breaking the *Spanish* match; and it was his ruin: He said, the King of *France* was the King's best friend, and truest ally: And if he made the King forsake him, and depend on his Parliament, being so tempered as they were then, both the King and he might come to repent it, when it was too late. I had all this from himself. To this Lord *Danby* replied, that he spoke as a faithful servant to his own master, and that he himself would act as a faithful servant to his master. *Courtin* spoke a great deal to the same purpose, in the Prince of *Condé's* presence, when I had the honour to wait on him. He told me, there was a strange reverse in things: Lord *Danby* was at that time suffering for being in the *French* interest: And Lord *Montague* was popular as being against it: Whereas, to his knowledge, during his employment in *England*, Lord *Danby* was an enemy to their interest, as much as Lord *Montague* was for it. I can say nothing as to one point, whether any great sums came over from *France* all this while, or not. Some watched the rising and falling of the exchange, by which men skilful in those matters can judge, when any great sum passes from one Kingdom to another, either in specie, or by bill: But they could never find out any thing to make them conclude it was done. Lord *Montague* told me, he tried often to get into that secret, but in vain: He often said
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1676. to the King, that, if he would trust him, he could make better bargains for him, than others had made: But the King never answered him a word on that head: And he believed, that what sums soever came over, they were only to the Duchess of *Portsmouth*, or to the King's privy purse; and that the *French* Embassador had the sole managing of that matter, the King perhaps not being willing to trust any of his own subjects with so important and so dangerous a secret. In all companies the Earl of *Danby* was declaring openly against *France*, and Popery. And the See of *London* falling then void by *Henchman's* death, he brought *Compton*, brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, to succeed him. He was made Bishop of *Oxford*, upon *Crew's* being promoted to *Duresme*.

The character of some Bishops.

Compton carried arms for some years. When he was pass'd thirty, he took orders. He was an humble and modest man. He applied himself more to his function, than Bishops had commonly done. He went much about his diocese; and preached, and confirmed in many places. His preaching was without much life or learning: For he had not gone thro' his studies with the exactness that was fitting. He was a great patron of the Converts from Popery, and of those Protestants, whom the bad usage they were beginning to meet with in *France* drove over to us: And by these means he came to have a great reputation. He was making many complaints to the King, and often in Council, of the insolence of the Papists, and of *Coleman's* in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to dismiss *Coleman* out of his service. Yet he continued still in his confidence. But with these good qualities *Compton* was a weak man, willful, and strangely wedded to a party. He was a property to Lord *Danby*, and was turned by him as he pleased. The Duke hated him. But Lord *Danby* persuaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any person, so the giving way to it helped to lay the jealousies of the Church party. About a year after that, *Sheldon* dying, *Compton* was persuaded that Lord *Danby* had tried with all his strength to promote him to *Canterbury*; tho' that was never once intended. There were none of the order, that were in any sort fitted to fill that See, whom the Court could trust.

Sancroft, Dean of *St. Paul's*, was raised to it. He was a man of solemn deportment, had a fullen gravity in his looks, and was considerably learned. He had put on a monastick strictness, and lived abstracted from company. These things, together with his living unmarried, and his being fixed in the old maxims of high loyalty, and a superstitious valuing of little things, made the Court conclude, that he was a man, who might be entirely gained to serve all their ends; or, at least, that he would be an unactive speculative man, and give them little opposition in any thing that they might attempt, when they had more promising opportunities. He was a dry,

dry, cold man, reserved, and peevish; so that none loved him, and few esteemed him: Yet the high church party were well pleased with his promotion. 1676.

As Lord *Danby* thus raised his creatures in the Church, so he got all men turned out of their places, that did not entirely depend on him: And went on in his credit with the King, still assuring him, that, if he would leave things to his conduct, he would certainly bring about the whole Cavalier party again to him. And such was the corruption and poverty of that party, that, had it not been that *French* and Popish counsels were so visible in the whole course of our affairs, he had very probably gained them to have raised the King's power, and to have extirpated the Dissenters, and to have brought things very near to the state they were in, in King *Charles I's* time, before the war.

All this while the Papists were not idle. They tried their strength with the King to get the Parliament dissolved: In which their hopes carried them so far, that *Coleman* drew a declaration for justifying it. Their design in this was, once to divide the King and his people: For they reckoned the new Parliament would not be so easy to him as this was. For how angry soever this was at him, and he sometimes at them, yet they saw that a severe Act against Popery, or some steps made against *France*, would dispose them to forget all former quarrels, and to give money. And as the King always wanted that, and loved to be easy, so the prospect of it was ever in his view. They feared, that at some time or other this might make him both sacrifice Popery, and forsake *France*. So they took all possible methods to engage the King to a more entire dependance on *France*, and to a distrust of his own people. They were labouring for a general peace in all Courts, where they had any interest. The Prince of *Orange's* obstinacy was the common subject of their complaints. Lord *Shaftsbury* tried, upon the Duke's concurring in the vote for an address to have the Parliament dissolved, if he could separate him from the Earl of *Danby*. And he sent a message to him by the Lord *Stafford*, that his voting as he did in that matter had gained much on many who were formerly his enemies: He wished he would use his interest with the King to get that brought about: And he durst undertake, that a new Parliament should be more inclinable to grant the Papists a toleration, than they would ever find this would prove. The projects of the Papists.

But the Duke and Lord *Danby* were too firmly united to be easily divided: For whatever Lord *Danby* gave out, he made the Duke believe, that all that he intended would really turn to his service. *Coleman's* intrigues. *Coleman* was very busy in writing many letters to all places, but chiefly to the Court of *France*. He was in all his dispatches setting forth the good state of the Duke's affairs, and the great strength he was

1676. daily gaining. He was either very sanguine, if he believed this himself, or very bold in offering to impose it so positively on others. He was always full of assurances, that, if a peace could be brought about, so that the King of *France* was set at liberty to assist them with his purse, and his force, they were never in such hopes in succeeding in the great design of rooting out this pestilent heresy, that had so long over-run these northern Kingdoms, as now. He had a friend, one Sir *William Throgmorton*, of whom he intended to make great use. He and his wife had prevailed with him and his Lady to change their religion. And so he sent them over to *France*, recommending him to the King's confessor, *F. Ferrier*, as a man that might do them great service, if he could be made one of theirs. So *Ferrier*, looking on him as a man of importance, applied himself to turn him, which was soon done. And the confessor, to raise the value of his convert, spoke of him to the King in such a strain, that he was much considered. When his Lady abjured, the Duke of *Orleans* led her up to the altar. He took great state on him, and soon spent all he had. He was a busy man between the two Courts. But, before he got into any considerable post, *Ferrier* died: And the new confessor did not take such care of him as his predecessor had done. So he was forced to quit his high living, and retire to a private house. And he sent his Lady into a monastery. Yet he continued still to be *Coleman's* agent, and correspondent. He went often to see an *English* Lady, that was of their religion, Lady *Brown*. And, being one day with her, he received a deep wound by a knife struck into his thigh, that pierced the great artery. Whether the Lady did it to defend her self, or he to shew the violence of his passion, was not known. It was not possible to stop the bleeding. Yet the Lady would have him carried out of her house. He died in the house of one *Hollman*, an eminent man of their religion, then at *Paris*. The whole matter was carried off in such secrecy, that *Lockhart*, then at *Paris*, could never penetrate farther into it. I had this from his Lady after his death.

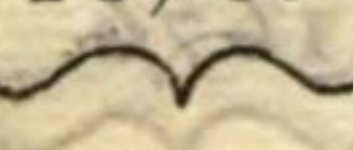
Coleman quickly found out another correspondent, that was more useful to him than he whom he lost could ever have been, *F. St. German*, a Jesuit, who was sent over with the Duchess, and pass'd for her confessor, tho' I have been assured that was a mistake. He had all the heat of his order in him, and was apt to talk very boldly. I was sometimes in company with him. He was complained of in Council by the Bishop of *London* for some practice on one that was come over a convert, whom he was between threatening and persuasion working on, in order to the sending him back. This came to be discovered. Upon which he fled. And on him *Coleman* fixed for his chief correspondent. *Howard* was about this time by Cardinal *Altieri's* means promoted to be a Cardinal. And upon that the King

King and Duke sent complements to *Rome*. This opened a nego- 1676.
tiation with that Court, that was put in the hands of the *Internuncio*
at *Brussels*. So it was proposed, that a sum of money should be giv-
en the King, if in return of that some suitable favours for those of
their religion could be obtained. *Coleman* was sent over by the Duke
to *Brussels*, to treat about it, none being in the secret, but the Lord
Arundell. Yet, as he understood it, the King himself knew of it.
When he went thither, he found the sum offered was so small, and
the conditions demanded were so high, that he made no progress
in the negotiation. Whatsoever *Coleman* did in the main business,
he took good care of himself. All his letters were full of their be-
ing able to do nothing for want of money. And he made the *French*
Embassador believe, he could do his master great service, if he was well
supplied. He got once 2500 guineas from him, to gain his master
some friends. But he applied it all to furnish out his own expence.
He was at that time so lifted up, that he had a mind to pass for the
head of the party. And of this I will give one instance, in which
I my self had a share.

Sir *Philip Terwhit*, a Papist, had married a zealous Protestant, who
suspecting his religion charged him with it. But he denied it before
marriage; and carried that so far, that he received the Sacra-
ment with her in her own Church. After they were married, she
found that he had deceived her: And they lived untowardly toge-
ther. At this time some scruples were put in her head, with which
she acquainted me, and seemed fully satisfied with the answers that I
gave her. She came afterwards to me, and desired, I would come
to her house, and talk of all those matters with some that her hus-
band would bring to meet us. I told her, I would not decline the
thing, if desired, tho' I seldom knew good come of such conferences.
She made the same proposition to Dr. *Stillingfleet*; and he gave the
same answer. So a day was set, and we went thither, and found ten
or twelve persons, that were not known to us. We were scarce set
down, when *Coleman* came in, who took the whole debate upon him. A confe-
I writ down a very exact account of all that pass'd, and sent it to
them, and had their additions to it: And I printed it. The thing made
a great noise, and was a new indication of *Coleman's* arrogance. Soon
after that the Lady, who continued firm upon this conference, was
possessed with new scruples about the validity of our ordinations. I
got from her the paper that was put in her hand, and answered it:
And she seemed satisfied with that likewise. But afterwards the
uneasiness of her life prevailed more on her, than her scruples
did; and she changed her religion.

Some time after I had printed the Memoirs of the Dukes of
Hamilton, which were favourably received, the reading of these got
me the acquaintance and friendship of Sir *William Jones*, then At-
torney

I undertook
to write the
history of
our Refor-
mation.

1676.  torney General. He was raised to that high post merely by merit, and by his being thought the greatest man of the law: For, as he was no flatterer, but a man of a morose temper, so he was against all the measures that they took at Court. They were weary of him, and were raising Sir *John King* to vie with him: But he died in his rise, which indeed went on very quick. *Jones* was an honest, and wise man. He had a roughness in his deportment, that was very disagreeable: But he was a good natured man at bottom, and a faithful friend. He grew weary of his employment, and laid it down: And, tho' the Great Seal was offered him, he would not accept of it, nor return to business. The quickness of his thoughts carried his views far. And the sourness of his temper made him too apt both to suspect and to despise most of those that came to him. My way of writing history pleas'd him: And so he press'd me to undertake the history of *England*. But *Sanders's* book, that was then translated into *French*, and cried up much in *France*, made all my friends press me to answer it, by writing the history of the Reformation. So now all my thoughts were turned that way. I laid out for MSS, and searched into all offices. I got for some days into the *Cotton* library. But Duke *Lauderdale*, hearing of my design, and apprehending it might succeed in my hands, got *Dolben*, Bishop of *Roche-ster*, to divert Sir *John Cotton* from suffering me to search into his library. He told him, I was a great enemy to the prerogative, to which *Cotton* was devoted, even to slavery. So he said, I would certainly make an ill use of all I had found. This wrought so much on him, that I was no more admitted, till my first volume was published. And then, when he saw how I had composed it, he gave me free access to it.

The Earl of
Essex's cha-
racter.

At this time the Earl of *Essex* was brought over from being Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whose friendship to me was afterwards such, that I think my self obliged to stop, and to give some account of him. He was the Lord *Capell's* son. His education was neglected by reason of the war. But, when he was at man's age, he made himself master of the *Latin* tongue, and made a great progress in mathematicks, and in all the other parts of learning. He knew our law and constitution well, and was a very thoughtful man. He began soon to appear against the Court. The King imputed it to his resentments: So he resolved to make use of him. He sent him Embassador to *Denmark*, where his behaviour in the affair of the flag gained him much reputation: Tho' he said to me there was nothing in it. That King had ordered the Governour of *Croonenburgh* to make all ships that pass'd strike to him. So when Lord *Essex* was sailing by, he sent to him, either to strike to him, or to sail by in the night, or to keep out of his reach: Otherwise he must shoot, first with powder, but next with ball. Lord *Essex* sent him a resolute answer, that the Kings of *England* made others strike

to

to them, but their ships struck to none: He would not steal thro' in the dark, nor keep out of his reach: And if he shot at him, he would defend himself. The Governour did shoot at him, but on design shot over him. This was thought great bravery in him: Yet he reckoned, it was impossible the Governour would endeavour to sink a ship that brought over an Embassador. While he was there, the King died, which made a great change in the Court. For that King had made one of his servants Stadtholder; which was indeed a strange thing, he himself being upon the place. He was but a mean person, and was advanced by the favour the Queen bore him. Lord *Effex*'s first business was to justify his behaviour in refusing to strike. Now at his going from *England* Sir *John Cotton* had desired him to take some volumes of his library that related to *Danish* affairs; which he took, without apprehending that he should have great occasion to use them: But this accident made him search into them. And he found very good materials to justify his conduct; since by formal treaties it had been expressly stipulated, that the *English* ships of war should not strike in the *Danish* seas. This raised his character so high at Court, that it was writ over to him, that he might expect every thing he should pretend to at his return. The change of government that he saw in *Denmark*, and the bringing it about with so little difficulty, made a great impression on him; since one of the freest Nations in the world was on a sudden brought under a most arbitrary form of government. Many of the ancient Nobility seemed uneasy under the change. And even the Chancellor himself, tho' raised by favour from very mean beginnings, could not forbear to lament even to him the change of their constitution.

His employment in *Denmark*.

Upon his return from *Denmark*, he was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. He could never understand how he came to be raised to that post; for he had not pretended to it: And he was a violent enemy to Popery; not so much from any fix'd principle in religion, in which he was too loose, as because he looked on it as an invasion made on the freedom of human nature. In his government of *Ireland* he exceeded all that had gone before him; and is still considered as a pattern to all that come after him. He studied to understand exactly well the constitution, and interest of the Nation. He read over all their Council books; and made large abstracts out of them, to guide him, so as to advance every thing that had been at any time set on foot for the good of the Kingdom. He made several volumes of tables of the state, and persons that were in every county and town; and got true characters of all that were capable to serve the publick. And he preferred men always upon merit, without any application from themselves; and watched over all about him, that there should be no bribes going among his servants. The revenue of *Ireland* was then in the Earl of *Ranelagh*'s management;

And his government of *Ireland*.

1676. who was one of the ablest men that Island had bred, capable of all affairs, even in the midst of a loose run of pleasure, and much riot. He had the art of pleasing masters of very different tempers and interests so much, that he continued above thirty years in great posts. He had undertaken to furnish the King with money for the building of *Windsor* out of the revenue of *Ireland*. And it was believed the Duchess of *Portsmouth* had a great yearly pension out of his office. By this means payments in *Ireland* were not regularly made. So the Earl of *Effex* complained of this. The King would not own how much he had from Lord *Ranelagh*, but press'd Lord *Effex* to pass his accounts. He answered, he could not pass them as accounts: But, if the King would forgive Lord *Ranelagh*, he would pass a discharge, but not an ill account. The King was not pleased with this, nor with his exactness in that government: It reproached his own too much. So he took a resolution about this time to put the Duke of *Ormond* in it again. Upon this occasion the Earl of *Effex* told me, that he knew the King did often take money into his privy purse, to defraud his Exchequer: For he reckoned that what was carried thither, was not so much his own, as his privy purse was. And *Coventry* told Lord *Effex*, that there was once a Plantation-cause at the Council board: And he was troubled to see the King espouse the worst side: And upon that he went to him, and told him secretly, that it was a vile cause which he was supporting: The King answered him, he had got good money for doing it.

About this time there was a proposition made for farming the revenue of *Ireland*. And Lord *Danby* seemed for some time to favour one set of men, who offered to farm it. But on the sudden he turned to another. The secret of this broke out, that he was to have great advantages by the second proposition. The matter was brought to the Council table: And some were examined to it upon oath. Lord *Widrington* did confess that he made offer of a round sum to Lord *Danby*, but said that he did not accept of it. Lord *Hallifax* was yet of the Council. So he observed that the Lord Treasurer had rejected that offer very mildly; but not so as to discourage a second attempt: It would be somewhat strange, if a man should ask the use of another man's wife, and if the other should indeed refuse it, but with great civility. This nettled Lord *Danby*, who upon that got him to be dismiss'd from that board: At which the Duke was much pleased, who hated Lord *Hallifax* at that time, more even than the Earl of *Shaftsbury* himself; for he had fallen severely on the declaration for toleration in the House of Lords. He said, if we could make good the Eastern complement, *O King live for ever*, he could trust the King with every thing; but since that was so much a complement, that it could never become real, he could not be implicate in his confidence. Thus matters went on all 1676, and to the begin-

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ning of the 1677, when another session of Parliament was held. I 1676.
have brought within this year several things that may be of use to enlighten the reader as to the state of things, tho' perhaps of their own nature they were not important enough to deserve to be told. But in so bare a year, as this proved to be, it seemed no impertinent digression, to bring all such matters into the reader's way.

I shall next give some account of *Scottish* affairs. The Duke of *Lauderdale* had mastered the opposition made to him so entirely, The affairs of Scotland. that men were now tho' silent, not quiet. The field Conventicles increased mightily. Men came to them armed. And upon that great numbers were outlawed: And a writ was issued out, that was indeed legal, but very seldom used, called Intercommoning: Because it made all that harboured such persons, or did not seize them, when they had it in their power, to be involved in the same guilt. By this means many, apprehending a severe prosecution, left their houses, and went about like a sort of Banditti, and fell under a fierce and savage temper. The Privy Council upon this pretended they were in a state of war. And upon an old statute, that was almost quite forgot, it was set on foot, that the King had a power to take any Castle that lay convenient for his forces, and put a garrison in it. So twelve houses were marked out: Of which two were the chief dwelling houses of two Peers. The rest were the houses of gentlemen, that had gone into the party against Duke *Lauderdale*. And, tho' these were houses of no strength, and not at all properly situated for the suppressing of Conventicles, yet they were taken. Soldiers were put in them. And the countries about were required to furnish those small garrisons with all things necessary. This was against the express words of the law that had lately settled the militia. Great opposition was made to it. Yet it was kept up above a year, till the houses were quite ruined by the rude soldiers, who understood that the more waste they made it would be the more acceptable. At last it was let fall.

Another thing happened, scarce worth mentioning, if it was not for the effects that followed on it. One *Carstairs*, a loose and vicious gentleman, who had ruined his estate, undertook to *Sharp* to go about in disguise to see those Conventicles, and to carry some with him to witness against such as they saw at them; in which he himself was not to appear: But he was to have a proportion of all the fines that should be set upon this evidence: And he was to have so much for every one of their teachers that he could catch. He had many different disguises, and passed by different names in every one of them. He found *Kirkton*, an eminent preacher among them, who was as cautious as the rest were bold, and had avoided all suspicious and dangerous meetings. *Carstairs*, seeing him walking on the streets of *Edinburgh*, told him, there was a person that was sick, and sent him to beg a visit from him. He suspecting nothing went

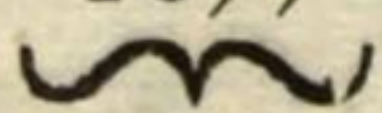
with

1676. with him. *Carstairs* brought him to his own lodgings: And there he told him, he had a warrant against him, which he would execute, if he would not give him money to let him alone. *Kirkton* said, he had not offended, and was willing to go to prison till his innocence should appear. *Carstairs* really had no warrant: But, as was afterwards discovered, he had often taken this method, and had got money by it. So he went out to procure a warrant, and left *Kirkton* lock'd up in his chamber. *Kirkton* called to the people of the house: And told them, how he was trepan'd. And he got one of them to seek *Baillie* of *Ferriswood*, his brother-in-law, who was a Gentleman of great parts, but of much greater vertue. *Carstairs* could not find nine Privy Counsellors to sign a warrant, which were the number required by law. Yet, when he came back, he pretended he had a warrant, and would force *Kirkton* to go to prison upon it. *Kirkton* refused to obey any such warrant, till he saw it. And upon that *Carstairs* struggled, and pulled him to the ground, and fate on him, the other crying out murther. At that time *Baillie* came to the door: And, hearing him cry out, he called to *Carstairs* to open the door: And, that not being done, he forced it, and found *Carstairs* sitting upon *Kirkton*. He drew his sword, and made him come off him. He then asked him, what warrant he had to use him as he did. He said, he had a warrant to carry him to prison: But he refused to shew it. *Baillie* offered to assist in executing it, if he had any: But he persisted in this, that he was not bound to shew it. *Baillie* made *Kirkton* to go out; and followed him, no violence being used; for which he had many witnesses, whom the noise had brought together. And he said, he was resolved to sue *Carstairs* for this riot. But before the next Council day a warrant was signed by nine Privy Counsellors, but antedated, for the committing of *Kirkton*, and of six or seven more of their preachers. Lord *Atbol* told me, he was one of those who signed it, with that false date to it. So *Baillie* was cited before the Council: *Carstairs* produced his warrant, which he pretended he had at the time that *Kirkton* was in his hands, but did not think fit to shew, since that would discover the names of others, against whom he was also to make use of it. *Baillie* brought his witnesses to prove his behaviour. But they would not so much as examine them. It was said, that upon *Carstairs* saying he had a warrant *Kirkton* was bound to go to jail; and that, if it had been found that he was carried thither without a warrant, the jailor would not have received him. Duke *Hamilton*, and Lord *Kinkardin*, were yet upon the Council. And they argued long against this way of proceeding, as liker a Court of Inquisition, than a legal government. Yet *Baillie* was fined 500 l, and condemn'd to a year's imprisonment. And upon this an occasion was taken to turn Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kinkardin* out of the Council, as enemies to the Church, and as favourers of Conventicles.

The Parliament of *England* had been prorogued for about 1677
a year and some months, by two different prorogations. One
of these was for more than a year. So upon that it was made
a question, whether by that the Parliament was not dissolv-
ed. The argument for it was laid thus. By the ancient
laws a Parliament was to be held *once a year, and oftener if*
need be: It was said, the words, *if need be*, in one act, which
were not in another that enacted an annual Parliament with-
out that addition, did not belong to the whole period, by
which a session was only to be held once a year if it was
needful; but belonged only to the word *oftener*: So that the
law was positive for a Parliament once a year: And if so,
then any act contrary to that law was an unlawful act: By
consequence, it could have no operation: From whence it
was inferred, that the prorogation which did run beyond a
year, and by consequence made that the Parliament could
not sit that year, was illegal; and that therefore the Parlia-
ment could not sit by virtue of such an illegal act. Lord
Shaftsbury laid hold on this with great joy, and he thought
to work his point by it. The Duke of *Buckingham* was for
every thing that would embroil matters. The Earl of *Salis-*
bury was brought into it, who was a high spirited man, and
had a very ill opinion of the Court. Lord *Wharton* went also
into it. And Lord *Hollis* writ a book for it: But a fit of
the gout kept him out of the way. All the rest of the par-
ty was against it. They said, it was a subtilty: And it was
very dangerous to hang so much weight upon such weak
grounds. The words, *if need be*, had been understood to
belong to the whole act: And the long Parliament did not
pretend to make annual Parliaments necessary, but insisted
only on a triennial Parliament: If there had been need of
a Parliament during that long prorogation, the King by pro-
clamation might have dissolved it, and called a new one.
All that knew the temper of the House of Commons were
much troubled at this dispute, that was like to rise on such
a point. It was very certain the majority of both Houses,
who only could judge it, would be against it. And they
thought such an attempt to force a dissolution, would make
the Commons do every thing that the Court desired. Lord
Hallifax set himself much against this; and did it not with-
out expressing great sharpness against Lord *Shaftsbury*, who
could not be managed in this matter. So, upon the first open-
ing the session, the debate was brought on: And these Lords
stood against the whole House. That matter was soon de-
cided by a question.

A question
raised in
England a-
bout the le-
gality of a
prorogation.

The House
that moved
it sent to the
Tower.

1677


The Lords
that moved
it sent to the
Tower.

But then a second debate rose, which held for two days, whether these Lords were not liable to censure, for offering a debate, that might create great distractions in the subject's minds, concerning the legality of Parliament. Lord *Hallifax* with the rest of the party argued against it strongly. They said, if an idle motion was made, and checked at first, he that made it might be censured for it, tho' it was seldom, if ever, to be practised in a free Council, where every man was not bound to be wise, nor to make no impertinent motion: But when the motion was entertained, and a debate followed, and a question was put upon it, it was destructive to the freedom of publick Councils, to call any one to an account for it: They might with the same justice call them to an account for their debates and votes: So that no man was safe, unless he could know where the majority would be: Here would be a precedent to tip down so many Lords at a time, and to garboil the House, as often as any party should have a great majority. It was said on the other hand, here was a design to put the Nation into great disorder, and to bring the legality of a Parliament into dispute. So it was carried to oblige them to ask pardon as delinquents: Otherwise it was resolved to send them to the Tower. They refused to ask pardon; and so were sent thither. The Earl of *Salisbury* was the first that was called on: For the Duke of *Buckingham* went out of the House. He desired, he might have his servants to wait on him: And the first he named was his cook; which the King resented highly, as carrying in it an insinuation of the worst sort. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* made the same demand. But the Lord *Wharton* did not ask for his cook. The Duke of *Buckingham* came in next day; and was sent after them to the Tower. And they were ordered to continue prisoners during the pleasure of the House, or during the King's pleasure. They were much visited. So to check that, tho' no complaint was made of their behaviour, they were made close prisoners, not to be visited without leave from the King, or the House: And particular observations were made of all those that asked leave. This was much cried out on: And the Earl of *Danby's* long imprisonment afterwards, was thought a just retaliation for the violence with which he drove this on. Three of the Lords lay in the Tower for some months: But they were set at liberty upon their petitioning the King. Lord *Shaftsbury* would not petition: But he moved in the King's Bench that he might be discharged. The King's justice,

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justice, he said, was to be dispensed in that Court. The Court said, he was committed by an order from the House of Lords, which was a Court superior to them: So they could take no cognizance of the matter. Lord *Danby* censured this motion highly, as done in contempt of the House of Lords; and said, he would make use of it against him next session of Parliament. Yet he was often forced to make the same motion at that bar: And he complained of the injustice of the Court for refusing to bail or discharge him, tho' in that they followed the precedent, which at this time was directed by himself.

The debate about the dissolution of the Parliament, had the effect in the House of Commons that was foreseen: For the Commons were much inflamed against Lord *Shaftsbury*, and his party. They at first voted 600000 *l.* for the building thirty ships: For they resolved to begin with a popular bill. A clause was put in the bill by the Country party, that the money should be accounted for to the Commons, in hope that the Lords would alter that clause, and make it accountable to both Houses; which was done by the Lords, and conferences were held upon it. The Lords thought, that, since they paid their share of the tax, it was not reasonable to exclude them from the accounts. The Commons adhered to their clause: And the bill was in great danger of being lost. But the King prevailed with the Lords to recede. An additional excise, that had been formerly given, was now falling: So they continued that for three years longer. And they were in all things so compliant, that the Court had not for many years had so hopeful a session as this was. But all was changed of a sudden.

The King of *France* was then making one of his early campaigns in *Flanders*; in which he at first took *Valencien- nes*, and then divided his Army in two. He with one besieged *Cambray*: And the other commanded by his brother besieged *St. Omer*. But, tho' I intend to say little of foreign affairs, yet where I came to the knowledge of particulars that I have not seen in any printed relations, I will venture to set them down. *Turenne's* death was a great blow to the King of *France*; but not to his Ministers, whom he despised, and who hated him. But the King had such a personal regard to him, that they were afraid of opposing him too much. He was both the most cautious, and the most obliging General that ever commanded an Army. He had the art of making every man love him, except those that thought they

1677

Proceedings
in Parlia-
ment.

Affairs in
Flanders.

1677 they came in some competition with him: For he was apt to treat them with too much contempt. It was an extraordinary thing that a random cannon shot should have killed him. He sat by the balance of his body a while on the saddle, but fell down dead in the place: And a great design he had, which probably would have been fatal to the German Army, died with him. The Prince of Condè was sent to command the Army to his great affliction: For this was a declaration, that he was esteemed inferior to *Turenne*, which he could not well bear, tho' he was inferior to him in all that related to the command; unless it was in a day of battle, in which the presence of mind, and vivacity of thought, which were wonderful in him, gave him some advantage. But he had too much pride, to be so obliging as a General ought to be. And he was too much a slave to pleasure, and gamed too much, to have that constant application to his business that the other had. He was entirely lost in the King's good opinion, not only by reason of his behaviour during his minority. But, after that was forgiven, once when the King was ill, not without apprehensions, he sent for him, and recommended his son to his care, in case he should die at that time. But he, instead of receiving this, as a great mark of confidence, with due acknowledgments, expostulated upon the ill usage he had met with. The King recovered; but never forgot that treatment, and took all occasions to mortify him; which the Ministers knew well, and seconded him in it: So that, bating the outward respect due to his birth, they treated him very hardly in all his pretensions.

The French King declined a battle when offered by the Prince of Orange.

The French King came down to *Flanders* in 76, and first took *Condè*, and then besieged *Bouchain*. The siege went on in form: And the King lay with an Army covering it, when on a sudden the Prince of *Orange* drew his Army together, and went up almost to the King's camp, offering him battle. All the Marshals and Generals concluded that battle was to be given, and that the war would be that day ended. The King heard all this coldly. *Schomberg* was newly made a Marshal, and had got great honour the year before against the Prince of *Orange*, in raising the siege of *Maestrickt*. He commanded in a quarter at some distance. The King said, he would come to no resolution, till he heard his opinion. *Louvois* sent for him by a confident person, whom he ordered to tell him what had happen'd; and that, in any opinion he was to give, he must consider the King's person. So, when he came to the King's tent, a council of war

war was called: And *Schomberg* was ordered to deliver his opinion first. He said, the King was there on design to cover the siege of *Bouchain*: A young General was come up on a desperate humour to offer him battle: He did not doubt, but it would be a glorious decision of the war: But the King ought to consider his own designs, and not to be led out of these by any bravado, or even by the great hope of success: The King ought to remain in his post, till the place was taken: Otherwise he suffered another man to be the master of his counsels and actions. When the place was taken, then he was to come to new counsels: But till then he thought he was to pursue his first design. The King said *Schomberg* was in the right: And he was applauded that day, as a better Courtier than a General. I had all this from his own mouth.

To this I will add a pleasant passage, that the Prince of *Condè* told young *Rouvigny*, now Earl of *Galloway*. The King of *France* has never yet fought a battle; and has a mighty notion of that matter: And, it seems, he apprehends the danger of it too much. Once he was chiding the Prince of *Conti* for his being about to fight a combat with a man of quality. The King told him, he ought to consider the dignity of his blood, and not put himself on the level with other subjects; and that his uncle had declined fighting on that very account. The Prince of *Conti* answered, my uncle might well have done so, after he had won two battles; but I, who have yet done nothing, must pretend to no such distinction. The King told this answer to the Prince of *Condè*, who saw he was nettled with it. So he said to him, that his nephew had in that spoke like a young man: For winning of a battle was no great matter; since, tho' he who commanded had the glory of it, yet it was the subalterns that did the business: In which he thought he pleased the King; and for which he laughed heartily at him, when he told the story. The late King told me, that in these campaigns the *Spaniards* were both so ignorant and so backward, so proud and yet so weak, that they would never own their feebleness, or their wants, to him. They pretended they had stores, when they had none; and thousands, when they scarce had hundreds. He had in their counsels often desired, that they would give him only a true state of their garrisons and magazines. But they always gave it false. So that for some campaigns all was lost, merely because they deceived him in the strength they pretended they had. At last he believed nothing they said, but sent his own officers to examine every thing. *Monterey* was a wise man, and a good

1677 Governor, but was a coward. *Villa Hermosa* was a brave man, but ignorant and weak. Thus the Prince had a sad time of it every campaign. But none was so unhappy as this: In which, upon the loss of *Valenciennes*, he looking on *St. Omer* as more important than *Cambray*, went thither, and ventured a battle too rashly. *Luxembourg*, with a great body of horse, came into the Duke of *Orleans's* Army, just as they were engaging. Some regiments of marines, on whom the Prince depended much, did basely run away. Yet the other bodies fought so well, that he lost not much, besides the honour of the day. But upon that *St. Omer* did immediately capitulate, as *Cambray* did some days after. It was thought, that the King was jealous of the honour his brother had got in that action; for he never had the command of an army after that time: And, courage being the chief good quality that he had, it was thought his having no occasion given him to shew it flowed from some particular reason.

Cambray and
St. Omer
taken.

The House
of Com-
mons press-
ed the King
to engage in
the war.

These things happening during this Session of Parliament, made great impression on all peoples minds. Sir *W. Coventry* opened the business in the House of Commons; and shewed the danger of all these Provinces falling under the power of *France*; which must end in the ruin of the United Provinces, if a timely stop were not put to the progress the *French* were making. He demonstrated, that the interest of *England* made it necessary for the King to withdraw his mediation, and enter into the alliance against *France*: And the whole House went into this. There were great complaints made of the regiments that the King kept in the *French* army, and of the great service that was done by them. It is true, the King suffered the *Dutch* to make levies. But there was another sort of encouragement given to the levies for *France*, particularly in *Scotland*; where it looked liker a press than a levy. They had not only the publick jails given them to keep their men in: But, when these were full, they had the castle of *Edenburgh* assigned them, till ships were ready for their transport. Some, that were put in prison for Conventicles, were, by order of Council, delivered to their officers. The *Spanish* Embassador heard of this, and made great complaints upon it. So a Proclamation was ordered, prohibiting any more levies. But Duke *Lauderdale* kept it up some days, and writ down to hasten the levies away; for a Proclamation was coming down against them. They were all shipped off, but had not sailed, when the Proclamation came down: Yet it was kept up, till they sailed away. One of the ships was driven back by stress of weather: But no care was

taken to execute the Proclamation. So apparently was that Kingdom in a *French* management. 1677

The House of Commons pressed the King, by repeated addresses, to fall into the interest of *Europe*, as well as into his own. The King was uneasy at this, and sent them several angry messages. Peace and war, he said, were undoubtedly matters within his prerogative, in which they ought not to meddle. And the King in common discourse remembered often the Parliament's engaging his father and grandfather in the affairs of *Germany*, and to break the match with *Spain*, which proved fatal to them: And he resolved not to be served in such a manner. Upon this occasion, Lord *Danby* saw his error, of neglecting the leading men, and reckoning upon a majority, such as could be made: For these leading men did so entangle the debates, and over-reached those on whom he had practised, that they, working on the aversion that the *English* Nation naturally has to a *French* interest, spoiled the hopefulest Session the Court had had of a great while, before the Court was well aware of it. The King, who was yet firmly united with *France*, dismissed them with a very angry speech, checking them for going so far in matters that were above them, and that belonged only to him: Tho' they brought to him many precedents in the Reigns of the highest spirited of all our Kings, in which Parliaments had not only offered general advices, about the entering into wars, but even special ones, as to the conduct that was to be held in them. The whole Nation thought it a great happiness, to see a Session, that Lord *Shaftsbury's* willfulness had, as it were, driven in to the Court, end with doing so little mischief; far contrary to all mens expectations.

When the Session was over, Lord *Danby* saw his ruin was inevitable, if he could not bring the King off from a *French* interest: Upon which he set himself much to it. And, as he talked with an extraordinary zeal against *France* on all occasions, so he pressed the King much to follow the advices of his Parliament. The King seemed to insist upon this, that he would once have a peace made, upon the grounds that he had concerted with *France*: And, when that was done, he would enter next day into the Alliance. But he stood much upon this; that having once engaged with *France* in the war, he could not with honour turn against *France*, till it was at an end. This was such a refining in a point of honour, which that King had not on all other occasions considered so much, that all men believed there was somewhat else at the bottom. The

1677 The Earl of *Danby* continued to give, by Sir *William Temple*, all possible assurances to the Prince of *Orange*, pressing him likewise to make some compliances on his side. And he gave him great hopes of bringing about a marriage with the Duke's Daughter; which was universally desired by all the Protestant party, both at home and abroad. Great offers were made to the Duke to draw him into the Alliance. He was offered the command of the whole force of the Allies. And he seemed to be wrought on by the prospect of so great an authority. There was a party that were still very jealous of Lord *Danby* in all this matter. Some thought, all this was artifice; that a war would be offered to the next Session, only to draw money from the Parliament, and thereby to raise an army; and that, when the army was raised, and much money given to support it, all would be sold to *France* for another great sum; and that the Parliament would be brought to give the money to pay an army for some years, till the Nation should be subdued to an entire compliance with the Court. It was given out, that this must be the scheme by which he maintained himself in the King and the Duke's confidence, even when he declared himself an open enemy to that which they were still supporting. This he did with so little decency, that at *Sancroft's* consecration dinner, he began a health, to the confusion of all that were not for a war with *France*. He got the Prince of *Orange* to ask the King's leave to come over at the end of the campaign: With which the Court of *France* was not pleased; for they suspected a design for the marriage. But the King assured *Barillon*, who was lately sent over Ambassador in *Courtin's* place, that there was not a thought of that; and that the Prince of *Orange* had only a mind to talk with him: And he hoped, he should bring him into such measures, as should produce a speedy peace.

The Prince
of *Orange*
came into
England.

The campaign ended unsuccessfully to the Prince: For he sat down before *Charleroy*, but was forced to raise the siege. When that was over, he came to *England*, and staid some time in it, talking with his two uncles about a peace. But they could not bring him up to their terms. After a fruitless stay for some weeks, he intended to go back without proposing marriage. He had no mind to be denied: And he saw no hope of succeeding, unless he would enter more entirely into his uncle's measures. Lord *Danby* pressed his staying a few days longer, and that the management of that matter might be left to him. So next *Monday* morning, after he had taken care, by all his creatures about the King, to put him

him in a very good humour, he came to the King, and told him, he had received Letters from all the best friends his Majesty had in *England*, and shewed a bundle of them; (in which he was pretty sure the King would not trouble himself to read them; probably they were written as he had directed.) They all agreed, he said, in the same advice, that the King should make a marriage between the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke's daughter: For they all believed he came over on that account: And, if he went away without it, no body would doubt, but that he had proposed it, and had been denied. Upon which the Parliament would certainly make addressees to the King for it. And if the marriage was made upon that, the King would lose the grace and thanks of it: But if it was still denied, even after the addressees of both Houses, it would raise jealousies that might have very ill consequences. Whereas, if the King did it of his own motion, he would have the honour of it: And, by so doing, he would bring the Prince into a greater dependance on himself, and beget in the Nation such a good opinion of him, as would lay a foundation for a mutual confidence. This he enforced with all the topicks he could think on. The King said, the Prince had not so much as proposed it: Lord *Danby* owned he had spoke of it to himself; and said, that his not moving it to the King was only, because he apprehended he was not like to succeed in it. The King said next, my brother will never consent to it. Lord *Danby* answered, perhaps not, unless the King took it upon him to command it: And he thought it was the Duke's interest to have it done, even more than the King's: All people were now possess'd of his being a Papist, and were very apprehensive of it: But if they saw his daughter given to one that was at the head of the Protestant interest, it would very much soften those apprehensions, when it did appear that his religion was only a personal thing, not to be derived to his children after him. With all this the King was convinced. So he sent for the Duke, Lord *Danby* staying still with him. When the Duke came, the King told him he had sent for him, to desire he would consent to a thing that he was sure was as much for his interest, as it was for his own quiet and satisfaction. The Duke, without asking what it was, said, he would be ready always to comply with the King's pleasure in every thing. So the King left it to the Lord *Danby* to say over all he had said on that head to himself. The Duke seemed much concerned. But the King said to him; Brother, I desire it of you for my sake, as well as your own:

1677
~He married
the Duke's
daughter.

And upon that the Duke consented to it. So Lord *Danby* sent immediately for the Prince, and in the King's name ordered a Council to be presently summoned. Upon the Prince's coming, the King, in a very obliging way, said to him; Nephew, it is not good for man to be alone, I will give you a help meet for you: And so he told him he would bestow his niece on him. And the Duke, with a seeming heartiness, gave his consent in very obliging terms: The King adding, Nephew, remember that love and war do not agree well together. In the mean while the news of the intended marriage went over the Court and Town. All, except the *French* and the Popish party, were much pleased with it. *Barillon* was amazed. He went to the Duchess of *Portsmouth*; and got her to send all her creatures to desire to speak to the King: She writ him likewise several Billets to the same purpose. But Lord *Danby* had ordered the Council to be called: And he took care, that neither the King nor the Duke should be spoke to, till the matter was declared in Council. And when that was done, the King presented the Prince to the young Lady, as the person he designed should be her husband. When *Barillon* saw it was gone so far, he sent a courier to the Court of *France* with the news: Upon whose arrival *Mountague*, that was then our Ambassador there, was sent for. When he came to *Versailles*, he saw the King the most moved, that he had ever observed him to be. He asked him, when was the marriage to be made? *Mountague* understood not what he meant. So he explained all to him. *Mountague* protested to him, that he knew nothing of the whole matter. That King said, he always believed the journey would end in this: And he seemed to think that our Court had now forsaken him. He spoke of the King's part in it more decently; but expostulated severely on the Duke's part, who had now given his daughter to the greatest enemy he had in the world. To all this *Mountague* had no answer to make. But next night he had a courier with letters, from the King, the Duke, and the Prince, to the King of *France*. The Prince had no mind to this piece of courtship: But his uncle obliged him to it, as a civility due to kindred and blood. The King assured the King of *France*, that he had made the match on design to engage the Prince to be more tractable in the treaty, that was now going on at *Nimeguen*. The King of *France* received these letters civilly; but did not seem much satisfied with them. *Mountague* was called over soon after this, to get new instructions. And Lord *Danby* asked him, how the King of *France* received the news of the marriage.

marriage. He answered, as he would have done the loss of an army; and that he had spoke very hardly of the Duke, for consenting to it, and not at least acquainting him with it. Lord *Danby* answered, he wronged him; for he did not know of it an hour before it was published, and the King himself not above two hours. All this relation I had from *Mountague* himself. It was a master-piece indeed, and the chief thing in the Earl of *Danby's* ministry, for which the Duke never forgave him.

Upon the general satisfaction that this marriage gave the whole Nation, a new session of Parliament was called in the beginning of the year 78: To which the King declared the sense he had of the dangerous state their neighbours were in, and that it was necessary he should be put in a posture to bring things to a balance. So the House was pressed to supply the King in so plentiful a manner, as the occasion did require. The Court asked money, both for an army, and a fleet. Sir *William Coventry* shewed the great inconvenience of raising a land army, the danger that might follow on it, the little use could be made of it, and the great charge it must put the Nation to: He was for hiring bodies from the *German* Princes, and for assisting the *Dutch* with money: And he moved to recall our troops from *France*, and to employ them in the *Dutch* Service: He thought, that which did more properly belong to *England*, was to set out a great fleet, and to cut off the *French* trade every where; for they were then very high in their manufactures and trade; their people were ingenious as well as industrious; they wrought hard, and lived low; so they sold cheaper than others could do; and it was found, that we sent very near a million of our money in specie every year for the balance of our trade with them. But the King had promised so many Commissions to men of quality in both Houses, that this carried it for a land army. It was said, what hazard could there be from an army commanded by men of estates, as this was to be? A severe act pass'd prohibiting all importation of the *French* manufactures or growth for three years, and to the next session of Parliament after that. This was made as strict as was possible: And for a year after it was well look'd to. But the merchants found ways to evade it: And the Court was too much *French*, not to connive at the breach of it. In the preamble of this Act it was set forth, that we were in an actual war with *France*. This was excepted to, as not true in fact. But the Ministry affirmed we were already engaged so far with the Allies, that it was really a war, and that

1678 that our troops were already called from *France*. *Coventry* in some heat said, the King was engaged, and he would rather be guilty of the murder of forty men, than to do any thing to retard the progress of the war. The oddness of the expression made it to be often objected afterwards to him. A poll bill was granted, together with the continuance of the additional customs, that were near falling off. Six hundred thousand pound was also given for a land army, and for a fleet. All the Court party magnified the design of raising an army. They said, the employing hired troops was neither honourable nor safe. The *Spaniards* were willing to put *Ostend* and *Newport* in our hands: And we could not be answerable for these places, if they were not kept by our own people.

Supplies given towards the war.

8501

The French take *Ghent*.

At this time the King of *France* made a step that struck terror into the *Dutch*, and enflamed the *English* out of measure. *Louvois* till then was rather his father's assistant, than a minister upon his own foot. He at this time gained the credit with the King, which he maintained so long afterwards. He proposed to him the taking of *Ghent*; and thought that the King's getting into such a place, so near the *Dutch*, would immediately dispose them to a peace. But it was not easy to bring their army so soon about it, without being observed: So the execution seemed impossible. He therefore laid such a scheme of marches and countermarches, as did amuse all the Allies. Sometimes the design seemed to be on the *Rhine*: Sometimes on *Luxemburgh*. And while their forces were sent to defend those places, where they apprehended the design was laid, and that none of the *French* Generals themselves did apprehend what the true design was, all on the sudden *Ghent* was invested: And both town and citadel were quickly taken. This was *Louvois*'s master-piece. And it had the intended effect. It brought the *Dutch* to resolve on a peace. The *French* King might have taken *Bruges*, *Ostend* and *Newport*. But he only took *Ypres*; for he had no mind to provoke the *English*. He was sure of his point by the fright this put the *Dutch* in. We were much alarmed at it. And the Duke of *Monmouth* was immediately sent over with some of the Guards.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

But the Parliament grew jealous, as they had great cause given them, both by what was then doing in *Scotland*, and by the management they observed at Court. And now I must look Northward to a very extraordinary scene that opened there. Duke *Lauderdale* and his Duchess went to *Scotland* the former year. Her design was to marry her Daughters into two of the great Families of *Scotland*, *Argile* and *Murray*,

which

which she did. But, things being then in great disorder, by reason of the numbers and desperate tempers of those who were intercommoned, *Sharp* pretended, he was in great danger of his life; and that the rather, because the person that had made the attempt on him was let live still. Upon this I must tell what had past three years before this. *Sharp* had observed a man that kept shop at his door, who look'd very narrowly at him always as he pass'd by: And he fancied, he was the man that had shot at him six years before. So he ordered him to be taken up, and examined. It was found, he had two pistols by him, that were deeply charged, which encreased the suspicion. Yet the man denied all. But *Sharp* got a friend of his to go to him, and deal with him to make a full confession: And he made solemn promises, that he would procure his pardon. His friend answered, he hoped he did not intend to make use of him to trepan a man to his ruin. Upon that, with lifted up hands, *Sharp* promised by the living God, that no hurt should come to him, if he made a full discovery. The person came again to him, and said, if a promise was made in the King's name, the prisoner would tell all. So it was brought before the Council. Lord *Rothes*, *Halton*, and *Primerose* were ordered to examine him. *Primerose* said, it would be a strange force of eloquence, to persuade a man to confess, and be hanged. So Duke *Lauderdale*, being the King's Commissioner, gave them power to promise him his life. And as soon as these Lords told him this, he immediately kneeled down, and confessed the fact, and told the whole manner of it. There was but one person privy to it, who was then dead. *Sharp* was troubled to see so small a discovery made: Yet they could not draw more from him. So then it was considered, what should be done to him. Some moved the cutting off his right hand. Others said, he might learn to practise with his left hand, and to take his revenge; therefore they thought both hands should be cut off. Lord *Rothes*, who was a pleasant man, said, how shall he wipe his breech then. This is not very decent to be mentioned in such a work, if it were not necessary; for when the truth of the promise now given was afterwards called in question, this jest was called to mind, and made the whole matter to be remembred. But *Primerose* moved, that since life was promised, which the cutting off a limb might endanger, it was better to keep him prisoner during life in a castle they had in the *Bass*, a rock in the mouth of the *Frith*: And thither he was sent. But it was thought necessary to make him repeat his confession in a Court of Judicature: So he was brought into the Justitiary Court, upon an inditement

1678 for the crime, to which it was expected he should plead guilty. But the Judge, who hated *Sharp*, as he went up to the bench, passing by the prisoner said to him, Confess nothing, unless you are sure of your limbs as well as of your life. Upon this hint he, apprehending the danger, refused to confess: Which being reported to the Council, an act was past mentioning the promise and his confession, and adding, that since he had retracted his confession, they likewise recalled the promise of pardon: The meaning of which was this, that, if any other evidence was brought against him, the promise should not cover him: But it still was understood, that this promise secured him from any ill effect by his own confession. The thing was almost forgot after four years, the man being in all respects very inconsiderable. But now *Sharp* would have his life. So Duke *Lauderdale* gave way to it: And he was brought to *Edinburgh* in order to his trial. *Nisbit*, who had been the King's Advocate, and was one of the worthiest and learnedest men of the age, was turned out. And *Mackenzie* was put in his place, who was a man of much life and wit, but he was neither equal nor correct in it: He has published many books, some of law, but all full of faults; for he was a slight and superficial man. *Lockhart* was assigned counsel for the prisoner. And now that the matter came again into peoples memory, all were amazed at the proceeding. *Primerose* was turned out of the place of Lord Register, and was made Justice General. He fancied orders had been given to raze the Act that the Council had made: So he turned the books, and he found the Act still on record. He took a copy of it, and sent it to *Mitchell's* Counsel: That was the prisoner's name. And, a day or two before the trial, he went to Duke *Lauderdale*, who, together with *Sharp*, Lord *Rothes*, and Lord *Halton*, were summoned as the prisoner's witnesses. He told him, many thought there had been a promise of life given. Duke *Lauderdale* denied it stiffly. *Primerose* said, he heard there was an Act of Council made about it, and he wished that might be looked into. Duke *Lauderdale* said, he was sure it was not possible, and he would not give himself the trouble to turn over the books of Council. *Primerose*, who told me this, said his conscience led him to give Duke *Lauderdale* this warning of the matter, but that he was not sorry to see him thus reject it. The trial was very solemn. The confession was brought against him, as full evidence: To which *Lockhart* did plead, to the admiration of all, to shew that no extrajudicial confession could be allowed in a Court. The hardships of a prison, the hopes of life, with other practices, might draw confessions from men, when they were perhaps drunk, or out of their senses.

senses. He brought upon this a measure of learning, that amazed the audience, out of the lawyers of all civilized Nations. And, when it was opposed to this, that the Council was a Court of Judicature, he shewed, that it was not the proper Court for crimes of this nature, and that it had not proceeded in this as a Court of Judicature. And he brought out likewise a great deal of learning upon those heads. But this was overruled by the Court, and the confession was found to be judicial. The next thing pleaded for him was, that it was drawn from him upon hope and promise of life: And to this *Sharp* was examined. The person he had sent to *Mitchell* gave a full evidence of the promises he had made him: But *Sharp* denied them all. He also denied he heard any promise of life made him by the Council: So did the Lords *Lauderdale*, *Roths*, and *Halton*, to the astonishment of all that were present. *Lockhart* upon that produced a copy of the Act of Council, that made express mention of the promise given, and of his having confessed upon that. And the prisoner prayed that the books of Council, which lay in a room over that in which the Court sat, might be sent for. *Lockhart* pleaded, that since the Court had judged that the Council was a Judicature, all people had a right to search into their registers; and the prisoner, who was like to suffer by a confession made there, ought to have the benefit of those books. Duke *Lauderdale*, who was in the Court only as a witness, and so had no right to speak, stood up, and said, he and those other noble persons were not brought thither to be accused of perjury; and added, that the books of Council were the King's secrets, and that no Court should have the perusing of them. The Court was terrified with this, and the Judges were divided in opinion. *Primerose*, and one other, was for calling for the books. But three were of opinion, that they were not to furnish the prisoner with evidence, but to judge of that which he brought. And here was only a bare copy, not attested upon oath, which ought not to have been read. So, this defence being rejected, he was cast and condemned.

As soon as the Court broke up, the Lords went up stairs, and to their shame found the Act recorded, and signed by Lord *Roths*, as President of the Council. He pretended, he signed every thing that the clerk of Council put in the book without reading it. And it was intended to throw it on him. But he, to clear himself, searched among his papers, and found a draught of the Act in *Nisbit's* hand. So, he being rich, and one they had turned out, they resolved to put it upon him, and to fine him deeply. But he examined the *Sederunt* in the book,

And condemnation;

1678 book, and spoke to all who were there at the board, of whom
 ~~~~~ nine happened to be in Town, who were ready to depose up-  
 on oath, that when the Council had ordered this Act to be  
 drawn, the clerk of the Council desired the help of the King's  
 Advocate in penning it, which he gave him; and his draught was  
 approved by the Council. And now Lord *Rothes's* jest was re-  
 membred. Yet Duke *Lauderdale* still stood to it, that the pro-  
 mise could only be for interceeding with the King for his par-  
 don, since the Council had not the power of pardoning in  
 them. Lord *Kincardin* acted in this the part of a Christian to  
 an enemy. Duke *Lauderdale* had writ to him, he being then  
 serving for him at Court, that he referred the account of *Mit-*  
*chell's* business to his brother's letters; in which the matter was  
 truly related, that upon promise of life he had confessed the  
 fact; and he concluded, desiring him to ask the King, that he  
 would be pleased to make good the promise. These letters I  
 saw in Lord *Kincardin's* hand. Before the trial he sent a Bi-  
 shop to Duke *Lauderdale*, desiring him to consider better of  
 that matter, before he would upon oath deny it: For he was  
 sure he had it under his, and his brother's hand, tho' he could  
 not yet fall upon their letters. But Duke *Lauderdale* despised  
 this. Yet, before the execution he went to his house in the  
 countrey, and there found the letters, and brought them  
 in with him, and shewed them to that Bishop. All this made  
 some impression on Duke *Lauderdale*: And he was willing to  
 grant a reprieve, and to refer the matter to the King. So a  
 petition was offered to the Council: And he spoke for it. But  
*Sharp* said, that was upon the matter the exposing his person  
 to any man that would attempt to murder him, since favour  
 was to be shewed to such an assassin. Then said Duke *Lauder-*  
*dale*, in an impious jest, Let *Mitchell* glorify God in the grass  
 market, which was the place where he was to be hanged. This  
 action, and all concern'd in it, were look'd at by all people  
 with horror. And it was such a complication of treachery, per-  
 jury, and cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known.  
 Yet Duke *Lauderdale* had a Chaplain, *Hickes*, afterwards Dean  
 of *Worcester*, who published a false and partial relation of this  
 matter, in order to the justifying of it. *Primerose* not only gave  
 me an account of this matter, but sent me an authentick re-  
 cord of the trial, every page signed by the clerk of the Court;  
 of which I have here given an abstract. This I set down the more  
 fully, to let my readers see to what a height in wickedness men  
 may be carried, after they have once thrown off good princi-  
 ples. What *Sharp* did now to preserve himself from such prac-  
 tices was probably that which, both in the just judgment of God,  
 † and



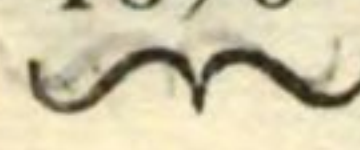
and the enflamed fury of wicked men, brought him two years after to such a dismal end. 1678

This made way to more desperate undertakings. Conventicles grew in the West to a very unsufferable pitch: They had generally with them a troop of armed and desperate men, that drew up, and sent parties out to secure them. Duke *Lauderdale* upon this threatned he would extirpate them, and ruin the whole countrey, if a stop was not put to those meetings. The chief men of those parts upon that went into *Edenburgh*: They offered to guard and assist any that should be sent to execute the laws against all offenders; and offered to leave some as Hostages, who should be bound body for body for their security: They confessed there were many Conventicles held among them in a most scandalous manner: But, tho' they met in the fields, and many of them were armed, yet, when their sermons were done, they dispersed themselves: And there was no violent opposition made at any time to the execution of the law: So, they said, there was no danger of the publick peace of the countrey. Those conventicling people were become very giddy and furious: And some hot and hair-brained young preachers had the chief following among them, who infused wild principles in them, which were disowned by the chief men of the party. The truth was, the countrey was in a great distraction: And that was chiefly occasioned by the strange administration they were then under. Many grew weary of their countrey, and even of their lives. If Duke *Lauderdale*, or any of his party, brought a complaint against any of the other side, how false or frivolous soever, they were summoned upon it to appear before the Council, as sowers of sedition, and as men that spread lies of the Government: And upon the slightest pretences they were fined and imprisoned. When very illegal things were to be done, the common method was this: A letter was drawn for it to be signed by the King, directing it upon some colour of law or ancient practice: The King signed whatsoever was thus sent to him: And when his letter was read in Council, if any of the lawyers or others of the board offered to object to it, he was brow-beaten, as a man that opposed the King's service, and refused to obey his orders. And by these means things were driven to great extremities.

The administration there grew very violent and illegal.

Upon one of those letters, a new motion was set on foot, that went beyond all that had been yet made. All the landlords in the Western Counties were required to enter into bonds for themselves, their wives, children, servants, tenants, and all that lived upon their estates, that they should not go to Conventicles, nor harbour any vagrant teachers, or any Inter-



1678  communed persons; and that they should live in all points according to law under the penalties of the laws. This was generally refused by them: They said, the law did not impose it on them: They could not be answerable for their servants, much less for their tenants: This put it in the power of every servant or tenant to ruin them. Upon their refusing this, Duke *Lauderdale* writ to the King, that the countrey was in a state of rebellion, and that it was necessary to proceed to hostilities for reducing them. So by a letter, such as he sent up, the King left it to him and the Council to take care of the publick peace in the best way they could.

An army of  
Highlanders  
sent to the  
West upon  
free quarter.

Upon this all the force the King had was sent into the west countrey, with some cannon, as if it had been for some dangerous expedition: And letters were writ to the Lords in the Highlands, to send all the strength they could to assist the King's army. The Marquis of *Athol*, to shew his greatness, sent 2400 men. The Earl of *Braidalbin* sent 1700. And, in all, 8000 men were brought into the countrey, and let loose upon free quarter. A Committee of Council was sent to give necessary orders. Here was an Army. But no enemy appeared. The Highlanders were very unruly, and stole, and robbed every where. The gentlemen of the countrey were required to deliver up their arms upon oath, and to keep no horse above four pound price. The gentlemen looked on, and would do nothing. This put Duke *Lauderdale* in such a frenzy, that at Council table he made bare his arms above his elbow, and swore by *Jehovah* he would make them enter into those bonds. Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who were vexed to see such waste made on their estates, in plowing time especially, came to *Edenburgh* to try if it was possible to mollify him. But a Proclamation was issued out, requiring all the inhabitants of those Counties to go to their houses, to be assistant to the King's host, and to obey such orders as should be sent them. And by another Proclamation all men were forbidden to go out of the Kingdom without leave from the Council, on pretence that their stay was necessary for the King's service. These things seemed done on design to force a rebellion; which they thought would be soon quash'd, and would give a good colour for keeping up an army. And Duke *Lauderdale's* party depended so much on this, that they began to divide in their hopes the confiscated estates among them: So that on *Valentine's* day, instead of drawing mistresses, they drew estates. And great joy appeared in their looks upon a false alarm that was brought them of an insurrection: And they were as much dejected, when they knew it was false. It was happy for the publick peace, that



that the people were universally possessed with this opinion: 1678  
For when they saw a rebellion was desired, they bore the present oppression more quietly, than perhaps they would have done, if it had not been for that. All the chief men of the countrey were summoned before the Committee of Council, and charged with a great many crimes, of which they were required to purge themselves by oath: Otherwise they would hold them guilty, and proceed against them as such. It was in vain to pretend, that this was against all law, and was the practice only of the Courts of Inquisition. Yet the gentlemen, being thus forced to it, did purge themselves by oath. And, after all the enquiries that were made, there did not appear one single circumstance to prove that any rebellion was intended. And, when all other things failed so evidently, recourse was had to a writ, which a man who suspects another of ill designs towards him may serve him with: And it was called Law-Boroughs, as most used in Boroughs. This lay against a whole family: The master was answerable, if any one of his household broke it. So, by a new practice, this writ was served upon the whole countrey at the King's suit: And, upon serving the writ, security was to be given, much like the binding men to their good behaviour. Many were put in prison for refusing to give this security.

Duke *Hamilton* had intimation sent him, that it was designed to serve this on him. So he, and ten or twelve of the Nobility, with about 50 gentlemen of quality, came up to complain of all this; which looked like *French*, or rather like *Turkish*, government. The Lords of *Athol* and *Perth*, who had been two of the Committee of Council, and had now fallen off from Duke *Lauderdale*, came up with them to give the King an account of the whole progress of this matter. The clamour this made was so high, that Duke *Lauderdale* saw he could not stand under it. So the Highlanders were sent home, after they had wasted the countrey near two months. And he magnified this as an act of his compassion, that they were so soon dismissed. Indeed all his own party were against him in it. Lord *Argile* sent none of his men down with the other Highlanders. And Lord *Stairs* pretended that by a fall his hand was out of joint: So he signed none of these wild orders.

When the *Scottish* Nobility came to *London*, the King would not see them, because they were come out of the Kingdom in contempt of a Proclamation; tho' they said, that Proclamation, being intended to hinder them from bringing their complaints to the King, was one of their greatest grievances.

Many of the Nobility came up to complain to the King.

But the King would not see them.

But



1678 But it was answered, they ought ought to have asked leave: And, if it had been denied them, they were next to have asked the King's leave: And the King insisted still on this. Only he saw the Lords of *Athol* and *Pertb*. The madness of this proceeding made him conclude, that Duke *Lauderdale's* head was turned. Yet he would not disown, much less punish him for what he had done. But he intended to put *Scotland* in another management, and to set the Duke of *Monmouth* at the head of it. So he suffered him to go to the *Scotish* Lords, and be their intercessor with him. They were all much charmed with the softness of his temper and behaviour. But, tho' he assured them the King would put their affairs in other hands, they looked on that as one of the King's artifices to get rid of them. The matter made great noise: And it was in the time of the session of Parliament here. And all people said, that by the management in *Scotland* it appeared what was the spirit of the Government; and what would be done here, as soon as the designs of the Court were brought to a greater perfection. The Earl of *Danby*, by supporting Duke *Lauderdale*, heightned the prejudices that himself lay under. The Duke did also justify his conduct; which raised higher jealousies of him, as being pleased with that method of government. The chief of the *Scotish* Nobility were heard before the Cabinet-Council. And the Earl of *Nottingham* held them chiefly to the point of coming out of the Kingdom in the face of a Proclamation. They said, such Proclamations were anciently legal, when we had a King of our own among our selves: But now it was manifestly against law, since it barred them from access to the King, which was a right that was never to be denied them. Lord *Nottingham* objected next to them a practice of making the heads of the families or clans in the Highlands to bind for their whole name; and why by a parity of reason might they not be required to bind for their tenants? It was answered, that anciently estates were let so low, that service and the following the landlords was instead of a rent; and then, in the inroads that were made into *England*, landlords were required to bring their tenants along with them: But now lands were let at rack: And so an end was put to that service: In the Highlands the feuds among the families were still so high, that every name came under such a dependance on the head or chief of it for their own security, that he was really the master of them all, and so might be bound for them: But even this was only to restrain depredations and murthers: And it was an unheard of stretch, to oblige men to be bound for others in matters of Religion and Conscience, whether real or pretended.



1678

The whole matter was at that time let fall. And Duke *Lauderdale* took advantage from their absence to desire leave from the King to summon a Convention of Estates; from whom he might more certainly understand the sense of the whole Kingdom. And, what by corrupting the Nobility, what by carrying elections, or at least disputes about them, which would be judged as the majority should happen to be at first, he hoped to carry his point. So he issued out the writs, while they were at *London*, knowing nothing of the design. And these being returnable in three weeks, he laid the matter so, that before they could get home, all the elections were over: And he was master of above four parts in five of that Assembly. So they granted an assessment for three years, in order to the maintaining a greater force. And they wrote a letter to the King, not only justifying, but highly magnifying Duke *Lauderdale's* government. This was so base and so abject a thing, that it brought the whole Nation under great contempt.

A Convention of Estates gives money, and justifies the administration.

And thus I leave the affairs of *Scotland*, which had a very ill influence on the minds of the *English*; chiefly on the House of Commons then sitting, who upon it made a new address against Duke *Lauderdale*. And that was followed by another of a higher strain, representing to the King the ill effects of his not harkning to their address the former year with relation to foreign affairs; and desiring him to change his Ministry, and to dismiss all those that had advised the prorogation at that time, and his delaying so long to assist the Allies. This was carried only by a small majority of two or three. So Lord *Danby* brought up all his creatures, the aged and infirm not excepted: And then the majority lay the other way: And by short adjournments the Parliament was kept sitting till *Midsummer*. Once Lord *Danby*, thinking he had a clear majority, got the King to send a message to the House, desiring an additional Revenue of 300000 *l.* during life. This set the House all in a flame. It was said, here was no demand for a war, but for a revenue, which would furnish the Court so well, that there would be no more need of Parliaments. The Court party thought such a gift as this would make them useless. So the thing was upon one debate rejected without a division. Lord *Danby* was much censured for this rash attempt, which discovered the designs of the Court too barefacedly. At the same time he ordered *Mountague* to treat with the Court of *France* for a peace, in case they would engage to pay the King 300000 *l.* a year for three years. So, when that came afterwards to be known, it was then generally believed, that the design was to keep up and model the army now raised, reckoning there would be money enough to pay them till the Nation should be brought under a military government.

Affairs in England.

The House of Commons grew jealous of the Court.



1678 vernment. And the opinion of this prevailed so, that Lord *Danby* became the most hated Minister that had ever been about the King. All people said now, they saw the secret of that high favour he had been so long in, and the black designs that he was contriving. At this time expresses went very quick between *England* and *France*: And the state of foreign affairs varied every post. So that it was visible we were in a secret negotiation: Of which *Temple* has given so particular an account, that I refer my reader wholly to him. But I shall add one particular, that he has not mentioned: *Mountague*, who was a man of pleasure, was in an intrigue with the Duchess of *Cleveland*, who was quite cast off by the King, and was then at *Paris*. The King had ordered him to find out an astrologer, of whom it was no wonder he had a good opinion; for he had, long before his Restoration, foretold he should enter *London* on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *May* 60. He was yet alive, and *Mountague* found him; And saw he was capable of being corrupted. So he resolved to prompt him, to send the King such hints as should serve his own ends. And he was so bewitched with the Duchess of *Cleveland*, that he trusted her with this secret. But she, growing jealous of a new amour, took all the ways she could think on to ruin him, reserving this of the astrologer for her last shift. And by it she compassed her ends: For *Mountague* was entirely lost upon it with the King, and came over without being recalled. The Earl of *Sunderland* was sent Embassador in his room.

Affairs a-  
broad.

The treaty went on at *Nimeguen*, where *Temple* and *Jenkins* were our Plenipotentiaries. The States were resolved to have a peace. The Prince of *Orange* did all he could to hinder it. But *De Wit's* party began to gather strength again. And they infused a jealousy in all people, that the Prince intended to keep up the war for his own ends. A peace might be now had by restoring all that belonged to the States, and by a tolerable barrier in *Flanders*. It is true, the great difficulty was concerning their allies, the King of *Denmark*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; who had fallen on the *Swede*, upon the King's declaring for *France*, and had beat him out of *Germany*. No peace could be had, unless the *Swede* was restored. Those Princes, who had been quite exhausted by that war, would not consent to this. So they, who had adhered so faithfully to the States in their extremity, pressed them to stick by them. And this was the Prince of *Orange's* constant topick: How could they expect any of their allies should stick to them, if they now forsook such faithful friends? But nothing could prevail. It was given out in *Holland*, that they could not depend on *England*, that Court being so entirely in a *French* interest, that they suspected they would, as they had  
once



once done, sell them again to the *French*. And this was believed to be let out by the *French* ministers themselves, who, to come at their ends, were apt enough to give up even those who sacrificed every thing to them. It was said, the Court of *France* would consider both *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, and repay the charge of the war against *Sweden*. This, it was said, was to force those Princes into a dependance on *France*, who would not continue those payments so much for past as for future services. In the mean while the *French* had block'd up *Mons*. So the Prince of *Orange* went to force them from their posts. *Luxemburgh* commanded there, and seemed to be in full hope of a peace, when the Prince came and attack'd him. And, notwithstanding the advantage of his situation, it appeared how much the *Dutch* army was now superior to the *French*, for they beat them out of several posts. The Prince had no order to stop. He indeed knew that the peace was upon the matter concluded. But no intimation was yet made to him. So it was lawful for him to take all advantages. And he was not apprehensive of a new embroilment, but rather wish'd it. The *French* treasure was so exhausted, and their King was so weary of the war, that no notice was taken of the business of *Mons*. The treaty at *Nimeguen* was finished, and ratified. Yet new difficulties arose, upon the *French* King's refusing to evacuate the places that were to be restored till the *Swede* was restored to all his dominions. Upon this the *English* struck in again: And the King talked so high, as if he would engage anew in the war. But the *French* prevented that, and did evacuate the places. And then they got *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* into their dependance, under the pretence of repaying the charge of the war. But it was more truly, the engaging them into the interests of *France* by great pensions. So a general peace quickly followed. And there was no more occasion for our troops beyond sea. The *French* were so apprehensive of them, that *Rouvigny*, now Earl of *Gallway*, was sent over to negotiate matters. That which *France* insisted most on, was the disbanding the army. And the force of money was so strong, that he had orders to offer six millions of their money, in case the army should be disbanded in *August*. *Rouvigny* had such an ill opinion of the designs of our Court, if the army was kept up, that he insisted on fixing the day for disbanding it; at which the Duke was very uneasy. And matters were so managed, that the army was not disbanded by the day prefixed for it. So the King of *France* sav'd his money. And for this piece of good management *Rouvigny* was much commended. The troops were brought into *England*, and kept up, under the pretence that there was not money to pay them off. So all people look'd on the next session as very critical.



1678 The party against the Court gave all for lost. They believed the Lord *Danby*, who had so often brought his party to be very near the majority, would now lay matters so well as to be sure to carry the Session. And many did so despair of being able to balance his numbers, that they resolved to come up no more, and reckoned that all opposition would be fruitless, and serve only to expose themselves to the fury of the Court. But of a sudden an unlooked for accident changed all their measures, and put the Kingdom into so great a fermentation, that it well deserves to be opened very particularly. I am so well instructed in all the steps of it, that I am more capable to give a full account of it than any man I know. And I will do it so impartially, that no party shall have cause to censure me for concealing, or altering the truth in any one instance. It is the History of that called the Popish Plot.

The Popish Plot.

Three days before *Michaelmas* Dr. *Tonge* came to me. I had known him at Sir *Robert Murray's*. He was a gardiner and a chymist, and was full of projects and notions. He had got some credit in *Cromwell's* time: And that kept him poor. He was a very mean Divine, and seemed credulous and simple. But I had always look'd on him as a sincere man. At this time he told me of strange designs against the King's person; and that *Coniers*, a *Benedictin*, had provided himself of a poniard, with which he undertook to kill him. I was amazed at all this; and did not know whether he was crazed, or had come to me on design to involve me in a concealing of treason. So I went to Dr. *Lloyd*, and sent him to the Secretary's office with an account of that discourse of *Tonge's*, since I would not be guilty of misprision of treason. He found at the office, that *Tonge* was making discoveries there; of which they made no other account, but that he intended to get himself to be made a Dean. I told this next morning to *Littleton* and *Powel*. And they looked on it as a design of Lord *Danby's*, to be laid before the next Session, thereby to dispose them to keep up a greater force, since the Papists were plotting against the King's life: This would put an end to all jealousies of the King, now the Papists were conspiring against his life. But Lord *Hallifax*, when I told him of it, had another apprehension of it. He said, considering the suspicions all people had of the Duke's Religion, he believed every discovery of that sort would raise a flame, which the Court would not be able to manage.

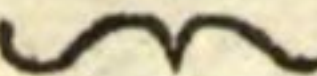
Oates's character.

The day after that *Titus Oates* was brought before the Council. He was the son of an Anabaptist teacher, who afterwards conformed, and got into orders, and took a benefice, as this his son did. He was proud and ill natured, haughty, but ignorant. He had been complained of for some very indecent expressions concerning



cerning the mysteries of the Christian Religion. He was once presented for perjury. But he got to be a Chaplain in one of the King's ships, from which he was dismiss'd upon complaint of some unnatural practices, not to be named. He got a qualification from the Duke of *Norfolk* as one of his Chaplains: And there he fell into much discourse with the Priests that were about that family. He seemed inclined to be instructed in the Popish Religion. One *Hutchinson*, a Jesuit, had that work put on him. He was a weak and light-headed man, and afterwards came over to the Church of *England*. *Hutchinson* was a Curate about the City near a year, and came oft to me, and preached once for me. He seemed to be a sincere devout man, who did not at all love the Order, for he found they were a deceitful and meddling sort of people. They never trusted him with any secrets, but employed him wholly in making converts. He went afterwards back to that Church. So all this was thought a juggle only to cast an odium upon *Oates*. He told me, that *Oates* and they were always in ill terms. They did not allow *Oates* above nine pence a day, of which he complained much. And *Hutchinson* relieved him often. They wished they could be well rid of him; and sent him beyond sea, being in very ill terms with him. This made *Hutchinson* conclude, that they had not at that time trusted *Oates* with their secrets. *Oates* was kept for some time at *St. Omers*; and from thence sent thro' *France* into *Spain*; and was now returned into *England*. He had been long acquainted with *Tonge*; and made his first discovery to him. And he, by the means of one *Kirby*, a Chymist, that was sometimes in the King's laboratory, signified the thing to the King. So *Tonge* had an audience; and told the King a long thread of many passages, all tending to the taking away his life; which the King, as he afterwards told me, knew not what to make of: Yet among so many particulars he did not know but there might be some truth. So he sent him to Lord *Danby*, who intended to make some use of it, but could not give much credit to it, and handled the matter too remissly: For, if at first the thing had been traced quick, either the truth or the imposture of the whole affair might have been made appear. The King ordered Lord *Danby* to say nothing of it to the Duke. In the mean while some letters of an odd strain, relating to plots and discoveries, were sent by the post to *Windsor*, directed to *Beddingfield*, the Duke's Confessor; who, when he had read them, carried them to the Duke, and protested he did not know what they meant, nor from whom they came. The Duke carried them to the King. And he fancied they were writ either by *Tonge* or *Oates*, and sent on design to have them intercepted, to give the more credit to the discovery. The Duke's enemies on the other hand gave out, that he had got some hints of the discovery,



1677  covery, and brought these as a blind to impose on the King. The matter lay in a secret and remiss management for six weeks.

His discovery.

At last, on *Michaelmas* Eve, *Oates* was brought before the Council; and entertained them with a long relation of many discourses he had heard among the Jesuites, of their design to kill the King. He named persons, places, and times, almost without number. He said, many Jesuites had disguised themselves, and were gone to *Scotland*, and held Field-Conventicles, on design to distract the Government there. He said, he was sent first to *St. Omers*, thence to *Paris*, and from thence to *Spain*, to negotiate this design; and that upon his return, when he brought many letters and directions from beyond sea, there was a great meeting of the Jesuites held in *London*, in *April* last, in different rooms in a tavern near *St. Clements*; and that he was employed to convey the resolutions of those in one room to those in another, and so to hand them round. The issue of the consultation was, that they came to a resolution to kill the King by shooting, stabbing, or poisoning him; that several attempts were made, all which failed in the execution, as shall be told when the trials are related. While he was going on, waiting for some certain evidence to accompany his discovery, he perceived they were jealous of him: And so he durst not trust himself among them any more. In all this there was not a word of *Coniers*, of whom *Tonge* had spoke to me. So that was dropt. This was the substance of what *Oates* told the first day. Many Jesuites were upon this seized on that night, and the next day. And their Papers were sealed up next day. He accused *Coleman* of a strict correspondence with *P. de la Chaise*; (whose name he had not right, for he called him *Father Le Shee*;) And he said in general, that *Coleman* was acquainted with all their designs.

*Coleman* and his papers seized.

*Coleman* had a whole day free to make his escape, if he thought he was in any danger. And he had conveyed all his papers out of the way: Only he forgot a drawer under the table, in which the papers relating to 74, 75, and a part of 76 were left. And from these I drew the negotiations, that I have formerly mentioned as directed by him. If he had either left all his papers, or withdrawn all, it had been happy for his party. Nothing had appeared, if all his papers had been put out of the way. But, if all had been left, it might have been concluded, that the whole secret lay in them. But he left enough to give great jealousy. And, no more appearing, all was believed that the witnesses had deposed. *Coleman* went out of the way for a day, hearing that there was a warrant out against him. But he delivered himself the next day to the Secretary of State. When *Oates* and he were confronted, *Oates* did not know him at first: But he named him, when he heard him speak. Yet he only charged him



him upon hear-say. So he was put in a messenger's hands. *Oates* 1678  
named *Wakeman*, the Queen's physician; but did not know him  
at all. And being asked, if he knew any thing against him, he  
answered he did not; adding, God forbid, he should say any  
thing more than he knew, he would not do that for all the  
world. Nor did he name *Langborn* the famous Lawyer, that  
indeed managed all their concerns. The King found him out  
in one thing. He said, when he was in *Spain*, he was carried to  
*Don John*, who promised great assistance in the execution of their  
designs. The King, who knew *Don John* well, asked him what  
a sort of man he was: He answered, he was a tall lean man: Now  
*Don John* was a little fat man. At first he seemed to design to  
recommend himself to the Duke and the Ministers: For he said,  
he heard the Jesuites oft say, that the Duke was not sure enough  
to them: And they were in doubt, whether he would approve of  
their killing the King: But they were resolved, if they found  
him stiff in that matter, to dispatch him likewise. He said,  
they had oft made use of his name, and counterfeited his hand  
and seal, without his knowledge. He said, the Jesuites cherished  
the faction in *Scotland* against Duke *Lauderdale*; and intended to  
murder the Duke of *Ormond*, as a great enemy to all their de-  
signs. And he affirmed, he had seen many letters, in which these  
things were mentioned, and had heard them oft spoke of. He  
gave a long account of the burning of *London*, at which they in-  
tended to have killed the King: But they relented, when they  
saw him so active in quenching the fire, which, as he said, they had  
kindled.

The whole town was all over enflamed with this discovery. *Coleman's*  
It consisted of so many particulars, that it was thought to be letters con-  
above invention. But when *Coleman's* letters came to be read and firm it.  
examined, it got a great confirmation; since by these it appear-  
ed, that so many years before they thought the design for the  
converting the Nation, and rooting out the pestilent heresy that  
had reigned so long in these northern Kingdoms, was very near  
its being executed: Mention was oft made of the Duke's great  
zeal for it: And many indecent reflections were made on the  
King, for his inconstancy, and his disposition to be brought to  
any thing for money: They depended on the *French King's* as-  
sistance: And therefore were earnest in their endeavours to bring  
about a general peace, as that which must finish their design.

On the second day after this discovery, the King went to  
*Newmarket*. This was censured, as a very indecent levity in him,  
to go and see horse-races, when all people were so much pos-  
sessed with this extraordinary discovery, to which *Coleman's* let-  
ters had gained an universal credit. While the King was gone,  
*Tonge* desired to speak with me. So I went to him to *Whitehall*,  
where



1678 where both he and *Oates* were lodged under a guard. I found him so lifted up, that he seemed to have lost the little sense he had. *Oates* came in; and made me a complement, that I was one that was mark'd out to be kill'd. He had before said the same to *Stillingfleet* of him. But he made that honour he which did us too cheap, when he said *Tonge* was to be served in the same manner, because he had translated the Jesuites morals into *English*. He broke out into great fury against the Jesuites; and said, he would have their blood. But I, to divert him from that strain, asked him, what were the arguments that prevailed on him to change his Religion, and to go over to the Church of *Rome*. He upon that stood up, and laid his hands on his breast; and said, God and his holy Angels knew, that he had never changed, but that he had gone among them on purpose to betray them. This gave me such a character of him, that I could have no regard to any thing he either said or swore after that.

*Godfrey* is  
murdered.

A few days after this, a very extraordinary thing happened, that contributed more than any other thing to the establishing the belief of all this evidence. Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* was an eminent Justice of Peace, that lived near *Whitehall*. He had the courage to stay in *London*, and keep things in order during the plague; which gained him much reputation, and upon which he was Knighted. He was esteemed the best Justice of Peace in *England*; and kept the Quarter where he lived in very good order. He was then entring upon a great design of taking up all beggars and putting them to work. He was thought vain, and apt to take too much upon him. But there are so few men of a publick spirit, that small faults, tho' they lessen them, yet ought to be gently censured. I knew him well, and never had reason to think him faulty that way. He was a zealous Protestant, and loved the Church of *England*; but had kind thoughts of the Nonconformists, and was not forward to execute the laws against them. And he, to avoid being put on doing that, was not apt to search for Priests or Mass-houses. So that few men of his zeal lived in better terms with the Papists than he did. *Oates* went to him the day before he appeared at the Council board; and made oath of the narrative he intended to make, which he afterwards published. This seemed to be done in distrust of the Privy Council, as if they might stifle his evidence; which to prevent he put it in safe hands. Upon that *Godfrey* was chid for his presuming to meddle in so tender a matter. And it was generally believed, that *Coleman* and he were long in a private conversation, between the time of his (*Coleman's*) being put in the messenger's hands, and his being made a close prisoner: Which was done as soon as report was made to the Council of the contents of his letters.



letters. It is certain, *Godfrey* grew apprehensive and reserved: 1678  
 For meeting me in the street, after some discourse of the present  
 state of affairs, he said, he believed he himself should be knock-  
 ed on the head. Yet he took no care of himself, and went a-  
 bout according to his own maxim, still without a servant: For  
 he used to say, that the servants in *London* were corrupted by the  
 idleness and ill company they fell into, while they attended on  
 their masters. On the day fortnight from that in which *Oates* had  
 made his discovery, being *Saturday*, he went abroad in the mor-  
 ning, and was seen about one a clock near *St. Clement's Church*; but  
 was never seen any more. He was a punctual man to good hours:  
 So his servants were amazed when he did not come home. Yet,  
 he having an ancient mother that lived at *Hamersmith*, they  
 fancied, he had heard she was dying, and so was gone to  
 see her. Next morning they sent thither, but heard no news of  
 him. So his two brothers, who lived in the City, were sent to.  
 They were not acquainted with his affairs: So they did not know  
 whether he might not have slept aside for debt; since at that  
 time all people were calling in their money, which broke a great  
 many. But, no creditors coming about the house, they on *Tues-*  
*day* published his being thus lost. The Council sate upon it, and  
 were going to order a search of all the houses about the town;  
 but were diverted from it, by many stories that were brought  
 them by the Duke of *Norfolk*. Sometimes it was said, he was in-  
 decently married: And the scene was often shifted of the places  
 where it was said he was. The Duke of *Norfolk's* officiousness  
 in this matter, and the last place he was seen at, being near  
*Arundel* house, brought him under great suspicion. On *Thursday*  
 one came into a Bookseller's shop after dinner, and said, he was  
 found thrust thro' with a sword. That was presently brought as  
 news to me: But the reporter of it was not known. That night  
 late his body was found in a ditch, about a mile out of the town,  
 near *St. Pancras Church*. His sword was thrust thro' him. But no  
 blood was on his clothes, or about him. His shoes were clean.  
 His money was in his pocket. But nothing was about his neck.  
 And a mark was all round it, an inch broad, which shewed he  
 was strangled. His breast was likewise all over marked with  
 bruises: And his neck was broken. All this I saw; for *Dr. Lloyd*  
 and I went to view his body. There were many drops of white  
 wax-lights on his breeches, which he never used himself. And  
 since only persons of quality, or Priests, use those lights, this  
 made all people conclude in whose hands he must have been. And it  
 was visible he was first strangled, and then carried to that place,  
 where his sword was run thro' his dead body. For a while it  
 was given out, that he was a hypocondriacal man, and had kill-  
 ed



1678 ed himself. Of this the King was possessed, till Dr. *Lloyd* went and told him what he had seen. The body lay two days exposed, many going to see it, who went away much moved with the sight. And indeed mens spirits were so sharpened upon it, that we all looked on it as a very great happiness, that the people did not vent their fury upon the Papists about the town.

*Oates* made  
a new discovery.

The Session of Parliament was to be opened within three days: And it may be easily imagined in what a temper they met. The Court party were out of countenance. So the Country party were masters this session. All *Oates's* evidence was now so well believed, that it was not safe for any man to seem to doubt of any part of it. He thought he had the Nation in his hands, and was swelled up to a high pitch of vanity and insolence. And now he made a new edition of his discovery at the bar of the House of Commons. He said, the Pope had declared that *England* was his Kingdom, and that he had sent over commissions to several persons: And had by these made Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* Chancellor, Lord *Powis* Treasurer, Sir *William Godolphin*, then in *Spain*, Privy Seal, *Coleman* Secretary of State, *Bellasis* General, *Petre* Lieutenant General, *Ratcliffe* Major General, *Stafford* Paymaster General, and *Langhorn* Advocate General; besides many other commissions for subaltern officers. These, he said, he saw in *Langhorn's* chamber; and that he had delivered out many of them himself, and saw many more delivered by others. And he now swore, upon his own knowledge, that both *Coleman* and *Wakeman* were in the plot; that *Coleman* had given eighty Guineas to four ruffians, that went to *Windsor* last summer, to stab the King; that *Wakeman* had undertaken to poison him, for which 10000 *l.* was offered him, but that he got the price raised to 15000 *l.* He excused his not knowing them, when confronted with them; and said, that he was then so spent by a long examination, and by not sleeping for two nights, that he was not then master of himself; tho' it seemed very strange, that he should then have forgot that which he made now the main part of his evidence, and should have then objected only reports upon hearsay, when he had such matter against them, as he now said, upon his own knowledge. And it seemed not very congruous, that those who went to stab the King had but twenty guineas apiece, when *Wakeman* was to have 15000 *l.* for a safer way of killing him. Many other things in the discovery made it seem ill digested, and not credible. *Bellasis* was almost perpetually ill of the gout. *Petre* was a weak man, and had never any military command. *Ratcliffe* was a man that lived in great state in the North, and had not stirred from home all the last summer. *Oates* also swore, he delivered a commission to be a Colonel, in May last, to *Howard*, the Earl of *Carlisle's* brother, that had married



ried the Duchefs of *Richmond*. But a friend of mine told me, <sup>1678</sup> he was all that month at *Bath*, lodged in the fame houfe with *Howard*, with whom he was every day engaged at play. He was then miferably ill of the gout, of which he died foon after. *Oates* did alfo charge General *Lambert*, as one engaged in the defign, who was to have a great poft, when fet at liberty. But he had been kept in prifon ever fince the Reftoration; and by that time had loft his memory and fenfe. But it was thought ftrange, that fince *Oates* had fo often faid, what I once heard him fay, that he had gone in among them on defign to betray them, that he had not kept any one of all thefe commiffions to be real proof in fupport of his evidence. He had alfo faid to the King, that whereas others ventured their lives to ferve him, he had ventured his foul to ferve him: And yet he did fuffer the four ruffians to go to *Windsor* to kill him, without giving him any notice of his danger. Thefe were characters ftrong enough to give fufpicion, if *Coleman's* letters, and *Godfrey's* murder, had not feemed fuch authentick confirmations, as left no room to doubt of any thing. *Tillotfon* indeed told me, that *Langborn's* wife, who was ftill as zealous a Proteftant as he was a Papift, came oft to him, and gave him notice of every thing fhe could difcover among them; tho' fhe continued a faithful and dutiful wife to the laft minute of her husband's life. Upon the firft breaking out of the plot, before *Oates* had fpoke a word of commiffions, or had accused *Langborn*, fhe engaged her fon into fome difcourfe upon thofe matters, who was a hot indiscreet Papift. He faid, their defigns were fo well laid, it was impoffible they could mifcarry: And that his father would be one of the greateft men of *England*; for he had feen a commiffion from the Pope, conftituting him Advocate General. This he told me in *Stillingfleet's* hearing.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had got out of the Tower in the former Seflion, upon his fubmiffion, to which it was not eafy to bring him. But when he faw an army raifed, he had no mind to lie longer in prifon. The matter bore a long debate, the motion he had made in the King's bench being urged much againft him. But a fubmiffion always takes off a contempt. So he got out. And now the Duke of *Buckingham* and he, with the Lords *Effex* and *Hallifax*, were the governing men among the Lords. Many hard things were faid againft the Duke. Yet when they tried to carry an Addrefs to be made to the King to fend him away from Court, the majority was againft them.

While things were thus in a ferment at *London*, *Bedlow* delivered himfelf to the magiftrates of *Bristol*, pretending he knew the feeret of *Godfrey's* murder. So he was fent up to *London*. The King told me, that when the Secretary examined him in his

*Bedlow's*  
evidence.



1678 his presence, at his first coming he said he knew nothing of the plot; but that he had heard that 40000 men were to come over from *Spain*, who were to meet as pilgrims at *St. Jago's*, and were to be ship'd for *England*: But he knew nothing of any fleet that was to bring them over. So this was looked on as very extravagant. But he said, he had seen *Godfrey's* body at *Somerset* house; and that he was offered 4000 *l*, by a servant of the Lord *Bellasis*, to assist in carrying it away: But upon that he had gone out of town to *Bristol*, where he was so pursued with horror, that it forced him to discover it. *Bedlow* had led a very vitious life. He had gone by many false names, by which he had cheated many persons. He had gone over many parts of *France* and *Spain*, as a man of quality. And he had made a shift to live on his wits, or rather by his cheats. So a tenderness of conscience did not seem to be that to which he was much subject. But the very next day after this, when he was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, he made a full discovery of his knowledge of the plot, and of the Lords in the tower: For all those against whom *Oates* had informed were now prisoners. The King was upon this convinced, that some had been with *Bedlow* after he had been before him, who had instructed him in this narration, of which he had said the night before that he knew nothing: And yet he not only confirmed the main parts of *Oates's* discoveries, but added a great deal to them. And he now pretended, that his rambling over so many places of *Europe* was all in order to the carrying on this design; that he was trusted with the secret, and had opened many of the letters, which he was employed to carry.

Other proofs  
that seemed  
to support  
the disco-  
very.

Here were now two witnesses to prove the plot, as far as swearing could prove it. And among the papers of the Jesuites, that were seized on when they were clapt up, two letters were found that seemed to confirm all. One from *Rome* mentioned the sending over the patents; of which it was said in the letter, that they guessed the contents, tho' their patrons there carried their matters so secretly, that nothing was known, but as they thought fit. The Jesuites, when examined upon this, said, these were only patents with relation to the offices in their order. Another letter was writ to a Jesuite in the countrey, citing him to come to *London* by the 24th of *April*; which was the day in which *Oates* swore they held their consult, and that fifty of them had signed the resolution of killing the King, which was to be executed by *Grove* and *Pickering*. In the end of that letter it was added, I need not enjoin secrecy, for the nature of the thing requires it. When the Jesuite was examined to this, he said, it was a summons for a meeting according to the rule of their order: And they



being to meet during the sitting of the Parliament, that was the particular reason for enjoining secrecy. Yet, while mens minds were strongly possessed, these answers did not satisfy, but were thought only shifts.

At this time *Carstairs*, of whose behaviour in *Scotland* mention has been made, not having met with those rewards that he expected, came up to *London*, to accuse Duke *Lauderdale*, as designing to keep up the opposition that was made to the laws in *Scotland*, even at the time that he seemed to prosecute Conventicles with the greatest fury; because he had often drawn the chief of their teachers into such snares, that upon the advertisements that he gave they might have been taken, but that Duke *Lauderdale* had neglected it: So he saw, he had a mind that Conventicles should go on, at the same time that he was putting the countrey in such a flame to punish them. This he undertook to prove, by those witnesses of whom on other occasions he had made use. He also confessed the false date of that warrant upon which *Baillie* had been censured. He put all this in writing, and gave it to the Marquis of *Athol*; and pressed him to carry him to Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Kincardin*, that he might beg their pardon, and be assured of their favour. I was against the making use of so vile a man, and would have nothing to do with him. He made application to Lord *Cavendish*, and to some of the House of Commons, to whom I gave such a character of him, that they would see him no more.

*Carstairs's*  
practices.

While he was thus looking about where he could find a lucky piece of villany, he happened to go into an eating house in *Covent garden*, that was over against the shop of one *Staley*, the Popish Banker, who had been in great credit, but was then under some difficulties; for all his creditors came to call for their money. *Staley* happening to be in the next room to *Carstairs*, *Carstairs* pretended he heard him say in *French*, that the King was a rogue, and persecuted the people of God; and that he himself would stab him, if no body else would. The words were writ down, which he resolved to swear against him. So next morning he and one of his witnesses went to him, and told him what they would swear against him, and asked a sum of money of him. He was in much anxiety, and saw great danger on both hands. Yet he chose rather to leave himself to their malice, than be prey'd on by them. So he was seiz'd on: And they swore the words against him: And he was appointed to be tried within five days. When I heard who the witnesses were, I thought I was bound to do what I could to stop it. So I sent both to the Lord Chancellor, and to the Attorney General, to let them know what profligate wretches these witnesses were. *Jones*, the Attorney General, took it ill of me,

*Staley's trial.*



1678 that I should disparage the King's evidence. The thing grew publick, and raised great clamour against me. It was said, I was taking this method to get into favour at Court. I had likewise observed to several persons of weight, how many incredible things there were in the evidence that was given: I wished they would make use of the heat the Nation was in to secure us effectually from Popery: We saw certain evidence to carry us so far, as to graft that upon it: But I wished they would not run too hastily to the taking mens lives upon such testimonies. Lord *Hollis* had more temper, than I expected from a man of his heat. Lord *Hallifax* was of the same mind. But the Earl of *Shaftsbury* could not bear the discourse. He said, we must support the evidence; and that all those who undermined the credit of the witnesses were to be look'd on as publick enemies. And so inconstant a thing is popularity, that I was most bitterly railed at by those who seemed formerly to put some confidence in me. It went so far, that I was advised not to stir abroad for fear of publick affronts. But these things did not daunt me. *Staley* was brought to his trial, which did not hold long. The witnesses gave a full evidence against him: And he had nothing to offer to take away their credit. He only shewed how improbable it was, that in a publick house he should talk such things with so loud a voice as to be heard in the next room, in a quarter of the town where almost every body understood *French*. He was cast: And he prepared himself very seriously for death. Dr. *Lloyd* went to see him in prison. He was offered his life, if he would discover their plots. He protested, he knew of none; and that he had not said the words sworn against him, nor any thing to that purpose. And he died the first of those who suffered on the account of the plot. Duke *Lauderdale*, having heard how I had moved in this matter, railed at me with open mouth. He said, I had studied to save *Staley*, for the liking I had to any one that would murder the King. And he infused this into the King, so that he repeated it in the House of Lords to a company that were standing about him.

Yet so soon could the King turn to make use of a man whom he had censured so unmercifully, that two days after this he sent the Earl of *Dunbarton*, that was a Papist, and had been bred in *France*, and was Duke *Hamilton's* brother, to me, to desire me to come to him secretly, for he had a mind to talk with me. He said, he believed I could do him service, if I had a mind to it. And the See of *Chichester* being then void, he said, he would not dispose of it, till he saw whether I would deserve it, or not. I asked, if he fancied I would be a spy, or betray any body to him. But he undertook to me, that the King should ask me no question, but should in all points leave me to my liberty.



An accident fell in, before I went to him, which took off 1678 much from *Oates's* credit. When he was examined by the House of Lords, and had made the same narrative to them that he had offered to the Commons, they asked him, if he had now named all the persons whom he knew to be involved in the plot? He said, there might be some inferior persons whom he had perhaps forgot, but he had named all the persons of note. Yet, it seems, afterwards he bethought himself: And Mrs. *Elliot*, wife to *Elliot* of the bedchamber, came to the King, and told him, *Oates* had somewhat to swear against the Queen, if he would give way to it. The King was willing to give *Oates* line enough, as he expressed it to me, and seemed to give way to it. So he came out with a new story, that the Queen had sent for some Jesuites to *Somerset* house; and that he went along with them, but staid at the door, when they went in; where he heard one, in a woman's voice, expressing her resentments of the usage she had met with, and assuring them she would assist them in taking off the King: Upon that he was brought in, and presented to her: And there was then no other woman in the room but she. When he was bid describe the room, it proved to be one of the publick rooms of that Court, which are so great, that the Queen, who was a woman of a low voice, could not be heard over it, unless she had strained for it. *Oates*, to excuse his saying that he could not lay any thing to the charge of any besides those he had already named, pretended, that he thought then it was not lawful to accuse the Queen. But this did not satisfy people. *Bedlow*, to support this, swore, that being once at chapel at *Somerset* house, he saw the Queen, the Duke, and some others very earnest in discourse in the closet above; and that one came down with much joy, and said, the Queen had yielded at last; and that one explained this to him beyond sea, and said, it was to kill the King. And, besides *Bedlow's* oath that he saw *Godfrey's* body in *Somerset* house, it was remembred, that at that time the Queen was for some days in so close a retirement, that no person was admitted. Prince *Rupert* came then to wait on her, but was denied access. This raised a strange suspicion of her. But the King would not suffer that matter to go any farther.

The Queen was charged as in the plot.

While examinations were going on, and preparation was making for the trial of the prisoners, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, requiring all members of either House, and all such as might come into the King's Court, or presence, to take a test against Popery; in which, not only Transubstantiation was renounced, but the worship of the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints, as it was practised in the Church of *Rome*, was declared to be idolatrous. This passed in the House of Commons without

A law past for the Test to be taken by both Houses.



1678 without any difficulty. But in the House of Lords, *Gunning*, Bishop of *Ely*, maintained, that the Church of *Rome* was not idolatrous. He was answered by *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*. The Lords did not much mind *Gunning*'s arguments, but passed the bill. And tho' *Gunning* had said, that he could not take that test with a good conscience, yet, as soon as the bill was past, he took it in the croud with the rest. The Duke got a proviso to be put in it for excepting himself. He spoke upon that occasion with great earnestness, and with tears in his eyes. He said, he was now to cast himself upon their favour in the greatest concern he could have in this world. He spoke much of his duty to the King, and of his zeal for the Nation: And solemnly protested, that, whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and that no effect of it should ever appear in the government. The proviso was carried for him by a few voices. And, contrary to all mens expectations, it past in the House of Commons. There was also a proviso put in, excepting nine Ladies about the Queen. And she said, she would have all the Ladies of that religion cast lots, who should be comprehended. Only she named the Duchess of *Portsmouth*, as one whom she would not expose to the uncertainty of a lot; which was not thought very decent in her, tho' her circumstances at that time required an extraordinary submission to the King in every thing.

With a proviso for the Duke.

*Coleman*'s trial.

*Coleman* was brought to his trial. *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore flatly against him, as was mentioned before. He denied, that he had ever seen either the one or the other of them in his whole life: And defended himself by *Oates*'s not knowing him, when they were first confronted, nor objecting those matters to him for a great while after. He also pressed *Oates* to name the day in *August*, in which he had sent the fourscore guineas to the four ruffians. But *Oates* would fix on no day, tho' he was very punctual in matters of less moment. *Coleman* had been out of town almost that whole month. But, no day being named, that served him in no stead. He urged the improbability of his talking to two such men, whom he had by their own confession never seen before. But they said, he was told that they were trusted with the whole secret. His letters to *P. de la Chaise* was the heaviest part of the evidence. He did not deny, that there were many impertinent things in his letters: But, he said, he intended nothing in them, but the King's service and the Duke's: He never intended to bring in the Catholick religion, by rebellion, or by blood, but only by a toleration: And the aid, that was pray'd from *France*, was only meant the assistance of money, and the interposition of that Court. After a long trial, he was convicted:

†

And



And sentence passed upon him to die as a traitor. He continued to his last breath denying every tittle of that which the witnesses had sworn against him. Many were sent to him from both Houses, offering to interpose for his pardon, if he would confess. He still protested his innocence, and took great care to vindicate the Duke. He said, his own heat might make him too forward: For, being persuaded of the truth of his religion, he could not but wish, that all others were not only almost, but altogether, such as he was, except in that chain; for he was then in irons: He confessed, he had mixed too much interest for raising himself in all he did; and that he had received 2500 Guineas from the *French* Embassador, to gain some friends to his master, but that he had kept them to himself: He had acted by order in all that he had done: And he believed the King knew of his employment, particularly that at *Brussels*. But, tho' he seemed willing to be questioned concerning the King, the Committee did not think fit to do it, nor to report what he said concerning it: Only in general they reported, that he spoke of another matter, about which they did not think fit to interrogate him, nor to mention it. *Littleton* was one of the Committee; and gave me an account of all that pass'd that very night. And I found his behaviour made great impression on them all. He suffered with much composedness and devotion; and died much better than he had lived. It was given out at that time, to make the Duke more odious, that *Coleman* was kept up from making confessions, by the hopes the Duke sent him of a pardon at *Tyburn*. But he could not be so ignorant, as not to know that, at that time, it was not in the King's power to pardon him, while the tide went so high.

And execution.

The Nation was now so much alarmed, that all people were furnishing themselves with arms, which heightened the jealousy of the Court. A bill pass'd in both Houses for raising all the Militia, and for keeping it together for six weeks: A third part, if I remember right, being to serve a fortnight, and so round. I found, some of them hoped when that bill past into a law, they would be more masters; and that the Militia would not separate, till all the demands of the two Houses should be granted. The King rejected the bill, when offered to him for his assent.

I waited often on him all the month of *December*. He came to me to *Chiffinck's*, a Page of the back stairs; and kept the time he assigned me to a minute. He was alone, and talked much, and very freely with me. We agreed in one thing, that the greatest part of the evidence was a contrivance. But he suspected, some had set on *Oates*, and instructed him: And he named the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. I was of another mind. I thought the many gross things

The King's thoughts of this whole matter.



1678 in his narrative shewed, there was no abler head than *Oates*, or *Tonge*, in the framing it: And *Oates* in his first story had covered the Duke, and the Ministers so much, that from thence it seemed clear that Lord *Shaftsbury* had no hand in it, who hated them much more than he did Popery. He fancied, there was a design of a rebellion on foot. I assured him, I saw no appearances of it. I told him, there was a report breaking out, that he intended to legitimate the Duke of *Monmouth*. He answered quick, that, as well as he lov'd him, he had rather see him hang'd. Yet he apprehended a rebellion so much, that he seemed not ill pleased that the party should flatter themselves with that imagination, hoping that would keep them quiet in a dependance upon himself: And he suffered the Duke of *Monmouth* to use all methods to make himself popular, reckoning that he could keep him in his own management. He was surpris'd, when I told him that *Coleman* had insinuated that he knew of all their foreign negotiations; or at least he seemed so to me. I pressed him much to oblige the Duke to enter into conferences with some of our Divines, and to be present at them himself. This would very much clear him of jealousy, and might have a good effect on his brother: At least it would give the world some hopes; like what *Henry IV.* of *France*, his grandfather, did, which kept a party firm to him for some time before he changed. He answered, that his brother had neither *Henry IV.*'s understanding, nor his conscience: For he believed, that King was always indifferent as to those matters. He would not hearken to this, which made me incline to believe a report I had heard, that the Duke had got a solemn promise of the King, that he would never speak to him of religion. The King spoke much to me concerning *Oates*'s accusing the Queen, and acquainted me with the whole progress of it. He said, she was a weak woman, and had some disagreeable humours, but was not capable of a wicked thing: And, considering his faultiness towards her in other things, he thought it a horrid thing to abandon her. He said, he looked on falsehood and cruelty as the greatest crimes in the sight of God: He knew, he had led a bad life; (of which he spoke with some sense:) But he was breaking himself of all his faults: And he would never do a base and a wicked thing. I spoke on all these subjects what I thought became me, which he took well. And I encouraged him much in his resolution of not exposing the Queen to perish by false swearing. I told him, there was no possibility of laying the heat that was now raised, but by changing his Ministry. And I told him how odious the Earl of *Danby* was, and that there was a design against him: But I knew not the particulars. He said, he knew that lay at bottom. The Army was  
not



not yet disbanded: And the King was in great straits for money. 1678  
The House of Commons gave a money bill for this. Yet they would not trust the Court with the disbanning the Army: But ordered the money to be brought into the chamber of *London*, and named a Committee for paying off, and breaking the Army. I perceived the King thought I was reserved to him, because I would tell him no particular stories, nor name persons. Upon which I told him, since he had that opinion of me, I saw I could do him no service, and would trouble him no more; but he should certainly hear from me, if I came to know any thing that might be of any consequence to his Person or Government.

This favour of mine lasted all the month of *December* 78. I acquainted him with *Carstairs's* practice against Duke *Lauderdale*, and all that I knew of that matter; which was the ground on which I had gone with relation to *Staley*. The King told Duke *Lauderdale* of it, without naming me. And he sent for *Carstairs*, and charged him with it. *Carstairs* denied it all; but said, that Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kincardin* had pers'd him to do it: And he went to the King and affirmed it confidently to him. He did not name Lord *Athol*, hoping that he would be gentle to him for that reason. The King spoke of this to Duke *Hamilton*, who told him the whole story, as I had done. Lord *Athol* upon that sent for *Carstairs*, and charged him with all this foul dealing, and drew him near a closet, where he had put two witnesses. *Carstairs* said, that somebody had discovered the matter to Duke *Lauderdale*, that he was now upon the point of making his fortune, and that if Duke *Lauderdale* grew to be his enemy, he was undone. He confessed, he had charged Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kincardin* falsely: But he had no other way to save himself. After the Marquis of *Athol* had thus drawn every thing from him, he went to the King with his two witnesses, and the paper that *Carstairs* had formerly put in his hand. *Carstairs* was then with the King, and was, with many imprecations, justifying his charge against the two Lords: But he was confounded, when he saw Lord *Athol*. And upon that his villany appeared so evidently, that the part I had acted in that matter was now well understood, and approved of. *Carstairs* died, not long after, under great horror; and ordered himself to be cast into some ditch as a dog; for he said he was no better. But I could never hear what he said of *Staley's* business.

While all matters were in this confusion, a new incident happened that embroiled them yet more. The Earl of *Danby* had broke with *Mountague*: But he knew what letters he had writ to him, and with what secrets he had trusted him. He apprehended *Mountague* might accuse him: So he resolved to prevent him.

*Danby's* letters to *Mountague* are brought out.

*Jenkins*



1678 *Jenkins*, who was then at *Nimeguen*, writ over, according to a direction sent him, as was believed, that he understood that *Mountague* had been in a secret correspondence, and in dangerous practices with the Pope's Nuntio at *Paris*. This was meant of one *Con*, whom I knew well, who had been long in *Rome*: And most of the letters between *England* and *Rome* past thro' his hands: He was a crafty man, and knew news well, and loved money: So *Mountague* made use of him, and gave him money for such secrets as he could draw from him. Upon *Jenkins's* letter the King sent a message to the House of Commons, letting them know that he was resolved to bring *Mountague* to a trial, for being a confederate with *Rome*, and in the plot to bring in Popery: And at the same time he sent to secure his cabinets and papers. This was a device of Lord *Danby's* to find his own letters, and destroy them; and then to let the prosecution fall: For they knew they had nothing against *Mountague*. But *Mountague* understood the arts of a Court too well to be easily caught; and had put a box, in which those letters were, in sure hands out of the way. A great debate rose upon this matter in the House of Commons. It was thought a high breach of privilege to seize on the papers of a Member of their House, when there was nothing of treason sworn against him. After some hours spent in the debate, during which *Mountague* sat silent very long; at last, when the box was brought to him from the person to whom he had trusted it, he opened it, and took out two of Lord *Danby's* letters, that contained instructions to him to treat with the King of *France* for 300000 *l.* a year for three years, if a peace succeeded, since it would not be convenient for the King to meet a Parliament in all that time, and he was charged to mention no part of this to the Secretary of State. *Winnington*, who from small beginnings, and from as small a proportion of learning in his profession, in which he was rather bold and ready than able, was now come to be Solicitor General, fell severely upon those letters. He said, here was a Minister, who, going out of the affairs of his own province, was directing the King's Embassadors, and excluding the Secretary of State, whose office it was, from the knowledge of it: Here was the faith of *England* to our Allies, and our interest likewise, set to sale for *French* money, and that to keep off a Session of Parliament: This was a design to sell the Nation, and to subvert the Government: And he concluded, that was high treason. Upon which he moved, that Lord *Danby* should be impeached of high treason. The Earl of *Danby's* party was much confounded. They could neither deny nor justify his letters. But they argued, that they could not be high treason, since no such fact was comprehended in any of the statutes of treason.



treason: The letters seemed to be writ by the King's order, who certainly might appoint any person he pleased to send his orders to his Ministers abroad: They reflected on the business of the Earl of *Strafford*, and on constructive treason, which was a device to condemn a man for a fact against which no law did lie. *Mainard*, an ancient and eminent lawyer, explained the words of the Statute of 25 *Edward* III, that the Courts of law could not proceed but upon one of the crimes there enumerated: But the Parliament had still a power, by the clause in that act, to declare what they thought was treason: So an act pass'd, declaring poisoning treason, in King *Henry* VIII.'s time: And, tho' by the Statute it was only treason to conspire against the Prince of *Wales*; yet if one should conspire against the whole Royal Family, when there was no Prince of *Wales*, they would without doubt declare that to be high treason.

After a long debate it was voted by a majority of above seventy voices, that Lord *Danby* should be impeached of high treason. And the impeachment was next day carried up to the Lords. The Earl of *Danby* justified himself, that he had served the King faithfully, and according to his own orders. And he produced some of *Mountague's* letters, to shew that at the Court of *France* he was looked on as an enemy to their interest. He said, they knew him well that judged so of him; for he was indeed an enemy to it: And, among other reasons, he gave this for one, that he knew the *French* King held both the King's person and government under the last degree of contempt. These words were thought very strange with relation to both Kings. A great debate arose in the House of Lords concerning the impeachment; whether it ought to be received as an impeachment of high treason, only because the Commons added the word high treason in it. It was said, the utmost that could be made of it, was to suppose it true: But even in that case they must needs say plainly, that it was not within the Statute. To this it was answered, that the House of Commons, that brought up the impeachment, were to be heard to two points: The one was, to the nature of the crime: The other was, to the trial of it: But the Lords could not take upon them to judge of either of these, till they heard what the Commons could offer to support the charge: They were bound therefore to receive the charge, and to proceed according to the rules of Parliament, which was to commit the person so impeached, and then give a short day for his trial: So it would be soon over, if the Commons could not prove the matter charged to be high treason. The debate went on with great heat on both sides: But the majority was against the commitment.



1678 ment. Upon this, it was visible, the Commons would have complained that the Lords denied them justice. So there was no hope of making up the matter. And upon that the Parliament was prorogued.

The Parli-  
ment was  
prorogued

This was variously censured. The Court condemned *Mountain* for revealing the King's secrets. Others said, that, since Lord *Danby* had begun to fall on him, it was reasonable and natural for him to defend himself. The letters did cast a very great blemish, not only on Lord *Danby*, but on the King; who, after he had entred into alliances, and had received great supplies from his people to carry on a war, was thus treating with *France* for money, which could not be asked or obtained from *France* on any other account, but that of making the Confederates accept of lower terms, than otherwise they would have stood on; which was indeed the selling of the Allies and of the publick faith. All that the Court said in excuse for this was, that, since the King saw a peace was resolved on, after he had put himself to so great a charge to prepare for war, it was reasonable for him to be reimbursed as much as he could from *France*: This was ordinary in all treaties, where the Prince that desired a peace was made to buy it. This indeed would have justified the King, if it had been demanded above board: But such underhand dealing was mean and dishonourable: And it was said, that the States went into the peace with such unreasonable earnestness upon the knowledge, or at least the suspicion, that they had of such practices. This gave a new wound to the King's credit abroad, or rather it opened the old one: For indeed after our breaking both the treaty of *Breda*, and the Tripple Alliance, we had not much credit to lose abroad. None gained so much by this discovery, as Secretary *Coventry*; since now it appeared, that he was not trusted with those ill practices. He had been severely fallen on for the fam'd saying of the murder of forty men. *Birch* aggravated the matter heavily; and said, it seemed he thought the murder of forty men a very small matter, since he would rather be guilty of it, than oppose an Alliance made upon such treacherous views. *Coventry* answered, that he always spoke to them sincerely, and as he thought; and that if an Angel from Heaven should come and say otherwise, (at this they were very attentive to see how he could close a period so strangely begun,) he was sure, he should never get back to Heaven again, but would be a fallen and a lying angel. Now the matter was well understood, and his credit was set on a sure foot.

After the prorogation, the Earl of *Danby* saw the King's affairs, and the state of the Nation required a speedy Session. He saw little hope of recovering himself with that Parliament, in which so great a majority were already so deeply engaged. So he



entred into a treaty with some of the Country party for a new Parliament. He undertook to get the Duke to be sent out of the way against the time of its meeting. Lord *Hollis*, *Littleton*, *Boscawen*, and *Hambden* were spoke to. They were all so apprehensive of the continuance of that Parliament, and that another set of Ministers would be able to manage them as the Court pleased, that they did undertake to save him if he could bring these things about. But it was understood, that he must quit his post, and withdraw from affairs. Upon which they promised their assistance to carry off his impeachment with a mild censure. The Duke went into the advice of a dissolution upon other grounds. He thought, the House of Commons had engaged with so much heat in the matter of the Plot, that they could never be brought off, or be made more gentle in the matter of religion. He thought, a new Parliament would act in a milder strain, and not fly so high; or that they would give no money, and so the King and they would break: For he dreaded nothing so much as the bargains that were made with the present Parliament, in which Popery was always to be the sacrifice. Thus both the Duke and Lord *Danby* joined in advancing a dissolution, which was not resolved on till the *January* following.

In *December*, *Ireland*, *Whitebread*, and *Fenwick*, three Jesuites; and *Grove* and *Pickering*, two of the servant's in the Queen's chapel, were brought to their trial. *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore home against *Ireland*, that in *August* last he had given particular orders about killing the King. *Oates* swore the same against the other two Jesuites. But *Bedlow* swore only upon hear-say against them. So, tho' they had pleaded to their inditement, and the jury was sworn, and the witnesses examined; yet, when the evidence was not found full, their trial was put off to another time, and the jury was not charged with them. This looked, as if it was resolv'd that they must not be acquitted. I complained of this to *Jones*: But he said, they had precedents for it. I always thought, that a precedent against reason signified no more, but that the like injustice had been done before. And the truth is, the Crown has, or at least had, such advantages in trials of treason, that it seems strange how any person was ever acquitted. *Ireland*, in his own defence, proved by many witnesses, that he went from *London* on the second of *August* to *Staffordshire*, and did not come back till the twelfth of *September*. Yet, in opposition to that, a woman swore that she saw him in *London* about the middle of *August*. So, since he might have come up post in one day, and gone down in another, this did not satisfy. *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore against *Grove* and *Pickering*, that they undertook to shoot the King at *Windsor*; that *Grove* was to have 1500 *l.* for it,

The trial of  
F. Ireland  
and some  
others.



1678 it; and that *Pickering* chose thirty thousand masses, which, at a shilling a mass, amounted to the same sum: They attempted it three several times with a pistol: Once the flint was loose: At another time there was no powder in the pan: And the third time the pistol was charged only with bullets. This was strange stuff. But all was imputed to a special providence of God: And the whole evidence was believed. So they were convicted, condemned, and executed. But they denied to the last every particular that was sworn against them.

*Dugdale's evidence.*

This began to shake the credit of the evidence, when a more composed and credible person came in to support it. One *Dugdale*, that had been the Lord *Ashton's* bailiff, and lived in a fair reputation in the country, was put in prison for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. He did then, with many imprecations on himself, deny, that he knew of any plot. But afterwards he made a great discovery of a correspondence that *Evers*, the Lord *Ashton's* Jesuite, held with the Jesuites in *London*; who had writ to *Evers* of the design of killing the King, and desired him to find out men proper for executing it, whether they were gentlemen or not. This, he swore, was writ plain in a letter from *Whitebread*, the Provincial, directed to himself: But he knew it was meant for *Evers*. *Evens*, and *Govan*, another Jesuite, pressed this *Dugdale* to undertake it: They promised he should be canonized for it: And the Lord *Stafford* offered him 500 l, if he would set about it. He was a man of sense and temper; and behaved himself decently; and had somewhat in his air and deportment that disposed people to believe him: So that the King himself began to think there was somewhat in the Plot, tho' he had very little regard either to *Oates* or *Bedlow*. *Dugdale's* evidence was much confirmed by one circumstance. He had talked of a Justice of peace in *Westminster* that was killed, on the *Tuesday* after *Godfrey* was miss'd: So that the news of this must have been writ from *London* on the *Saturday* night's post. He did not think it was a secret: And so he talk'd of it as news in an ale-house. The two persons, he said he spoke it to, remembered nothing of it, the one being the minister of the parish: But several others swore they had heard it. He saw this, as he swore, in a letter writ by *Harcourt* the Jesuite to *Evers*, in which *Godfrey* was named. But he added a strange story to this, which he said *Evers* told him afterwards; that the Duke had sent to *Coleman*, when he was in *Newgate*, to persuade him to discover nothing, and that he desired to know of him, whether he had ever discovered their designs to any other person; and that *Coleman* sent back answer, that he had spoke of them to *Godfrey*, but to no other man: Upon which the Duke gave order to kill him. This was

never



never made publick, till the Lord *Stafford's* trial. And I was amazed to see such a thing break out after so long a silence. It looked like an addition to *Dugdale's* first evidence; tho' he had been noted for having brought out all his discoveries at once. The Earl of *Effex* told me, he swore it in his first examination: But, since it was only upon hear-say from *Evers*, and so was nothing in law, and yet would heighten the fury against the Duke, the King charged *Dugdale* to say nothing of it.

At the same time a particular discovery was made of *Godfrey's* murder. *Prance*, a goldsmith, that wrought for the Queen's chapel, had gone from his house for two or three days, the week before the murder. And one that lodged in his house, calling that to mind, upon *Bedlow's* swearing he saw the body in *Somerset* house, fancied that this was the time in which he was from home, and that he might be concerned in that matter; tho' it appeared afterwards, that his absence was the week before. He said, he went from his own house, fearing to be put in prison, as many were, upon suspicion, or on the account of his religion. Yet upon this information he was seized on, and carried to *Westminster*. *Bedlow* accidentally pass'd by, not knowing any thing concerning him: And at first sight he charged somebody to seize on him; for he was one of those whom he saw about *Godfrey's* body. Yet he denied every thing for some days. Afterwards he confessed, he was concerned in it: And he gave this account of it: *Girald* and *Killy*, two priests, engaged him and three others into it; who were *Green*, that belonged to the Queen's chapel, *Hill*, that had served *Godden*, the most celebrated writer among them, and *Berry*, the porter of *Somerset* house. He said, these all, except *Berry*, had several meetings, in which the priests persuaded them it was no sin, but a meritorious action, to dispatch *Godfrey*, who had been a busy man in taking depositions against them, and that the taking him off would terrify others. *Prance* named an alehouse, where they used to meet: And the people of that house did confirm this of their meeting there. After they had resolved on it, they followed him for several days. The morning before they killed him, *Hill* went to his house to see if he was yet gone out, and spoke to his maid. And, finding he was yet at home, they staid for his coming out. This was confirmed by the maid, who, upon *Hill's* being taken, went to *Newgate*, and, in a croud of prisoners, distinguished him, and said, he was the person that asked for her master the morning before he was lost. *Prance* said, they dogged him into a place near *St. Clement's* Church, where he was kept till night. *Prance* was appointed to be at *Somerset* house at night. And, as *Godfrey* went by the water gate, two of them pretended to be hot in a quarrel. And one



1678 run out to call a Justice of peace, and so pressed *Godfrey* to go in and part them. He was not easily prevailed on to do it. Yet he did at last. *Green* then got behind him, and pulled a cravat about his neck, and drew him down to the ground, and strangled him. Upon that *Girald* would have run him thro': But the rest diverted him from that, by representing the danger of a discovery by the blood's being seen there. Upon that they carried his body up to *Godden's* room, of which *Hill* had the key, *Godden* being then in *France*. Two days after that they removed it to a room cross the upper court, which *Prance* could never describe particularly. And, that not being found a convenient place, they carried it back to *Godden's* lodgings. At last it was resolved to carry it out in the night in a sedan to the remote parts of the town, and from thence to cast it into some ditch. On *Wednesday* a sedan was provided. And one of the centinels swore he saw a sedan carried in: But none saw it brought out. *Prance* said, they carried him out, and that *Green* had provided a horse, on whose back he laid him, when they were got clear of the town: And then he carried him, as he believed, to the place where his body was found. This was a confisting story, which was supported in some circumstances by collateral proofs. He added another particular, that, some days after the fact, those who had been concerned in it, and two others, who were in the secret, appointed to meet at *Bow*, where they talked much of that matter. This was confirmed by a servant of that house, who was coming in and out to them, and heard them often mention *Godfrey's* name. Upon which he stood at the door out of curiosity to hearken: But one of them came out, and threatened him for it. The priests were not found: But *Green*, *Hill*, and *Berry* were apprehended upon it. Yet some days after this, *Prance* desired to be carried to the King, who would not see him, but in Council: And he denied all that he had formerly sworn, and said it was all a fiction. But as soon as he was carried back to prison, he sent the keeper of *Newgate* to the King to tell him, that all he had sworn was true, but that the horror and confusion he was in put him on denying it. Yet he went off from this again, and denied every thing. Dr. *Lloyd* was upon this sent to him to talk with him. At first he denied every thing to him. But Dr. *Lloyd* said to me, that he was almost dead thro' the disorder of his mind, and with cold in his body. But after that Dr. *Lloyd* had made a fire, and caused him to be put in a bed, and began to discourse the matter with him, he returned to his confession; which he did in such a manner, that *Lloyd* said to me, it was not possible for him to doubt of his sincerity in it.

Some condemned for it, who died denying it.

So, he persisting in his first confession, *Green*, *Hill* and *Berry* were brought to their trial. *Bedlow* and *Prance*, with all the circumstances formerly mentioned, were the evidence against them. On the other hand they brought witnesses to prove, that they came home in a

good



good hour on the nights, in which the fact was said to be done. 1678  
Those that lived in *Godden's* lodgings deposed, that no dead body could be brought thither, for they were every day in the room that *Prance* had named. And the centinels of that night of the carrying him out said, they saw no sedan brought out. They were, upon a full hearing, convicted and condemned. *Green*, and *Hill*, died, as they had lived, Papists; and, with solemn protestations, denied the whole thing. *Berry* declared himself a Protestant; and that tho' he had changed his religion for fear of losing his place, yet he had still continued to be one in his heart. He said, he looked on what had now befallen him, as a just judgment of God upon him for that dissimulation. He denied the whole matter charged on him. He seemed to prepare himself seriously for death: And to the last minute he affirmed he was altogether innocent. Dr. *Lloyd* attended on him, and was much persuaded of his sincerity. *Prance* swore nothing against him, but that he assisted in the fact, and in carrying about the dead body. So *Lloyd* reckoned, that, those things being done in the night, *Prance* might have mistaken him for some other person, who might be like him, considering the confusion that so much guilt might have put him in. He therefore believed, *Prance* had sworn rashly with relation to him, but truly as to the main of the fact. The Papists took great advantage from *Berry's* dying a Protestant, and yet denying all that was sworn against him, tho' he might have had his life if he would have confessed it. They said, this shewed it was not from the doctrine of equivocation, or from the power of absolution, or any other of their tenets, that so many died, denying all that was sworn against them, but from their own conviction. And indeed this matter came to be charged on Dr. *Lloyd*, as if he had been made a tool for bringing *Berry* to this seeming conversion, and that all was done on design to cover the Queen. But I saw him then every day, and was well assured that he acted nothing in it, but what became his profession, with all possible sincerity. *Prance* began, after this, to enlarge his discoveries. He said, he had often heard them talk of killing the King, and of setting on a general massacre, after they had raised an Army. *Dugdale* also said, he had heard them discourse of a massacre. The memory of the *Irish* massacre was yet so fresh, as to raise a particular horror at the very mention of this; tho' where the numbers were so great as in *Ireland*, that might have been executed, yet there seemed to be no occasion to apprehend the like, where the numbers were in so great an inequality, as they were here. *Prance* did also swear, that a servant of the Lord *Powis* had told him that there was one in their family who had undertaken to kill the King; but that some days after he told him, they were now gone off from that design. It looked very strange, and added no credit to his other evidence



1678 dence, that the Papists should be thus talking of killing the King, as if it had been a common piece of news. But there are seasons of believing, as well as of disbelieving: And believing was then so much in season, that improbabilities or inconsistencies were little considered. Nor was it safe so much as to make reflections on them. That was called the blasting of the plot, and disparaging the King's evidence: Tho' indeed *Oates* and *Bedlow* did, by their behaviour, detract more from their own credit, than all their enemies could have done. The former talked of all persons with insufferable insolence: And the other was a scandalous libertine in his whole deportment.

*Scroggs* was then Lord Chief Justice.

The Lord Chief Justice at that time was Sir *William Scroggs*, a man more valued for a good readiness in speaking well, than either for learning in his profession, or for any moral virtue. His life had been indecently scandalous, and his fortunes were very low. He was raised by the Earl of *Danby's* favour, first to be a Judge, and then to be the Chief Justice. And it was a melancholy thing to see so bad, so ignorant, and so poor a man raised up to that great post. Yet he, now seeing how the stream run, went into it with so much zeal and heartiness, that he was become the favourite of the people. But, when he saw the King had an ill opinion of it, he grew colder in the pursuit of it. He began to neglect and check the witnesses: Upon which, they, who behaved themselves as if they had been the Tribunes of the people, began to rail at him. Yet in all the trials he set himself, even with indecent earnestness, to get the prisoners to be always cast.

*Jennison's* evidence.

Another witness came in soon after these things, *Jennison*, the younger brother of a Jesuite, and a gentleman of a family and estate. He, observing that *Ireland* had defended himself against *Oates* chiefly by this, that he was in *Staffordshire* from the beginning of *August* till the 12<sup>th</sup> of *September*, and that he had died affirming that to be true, seemed much surprized at it; and upon that turned Protestant. For he said, he saw him in *London* on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *August*, on which day he fixed upon this account, that he saw him the day before he went down in the stage coach to *York*, which was proved by the books of that office to be the 20<sup>th</sup> of *August*. He said, he was come to town from *Windsor*: And hearing that *Ireland* was in town, he went to see him, and found him drawing off his boots. *Ireland* asked him news, and in particular, how the King was attended at *Windsor*? And when he answered, that he walked about very carelessly with very few about him, *Ireland* seemed to wonder at it, and said, it would be easy then to take him off: To which *Jennison* answered quick, God forbid: But *Ireland* said, he did not mean that it could be lawfully done. *Jennison*, in the letter in which he writ this up to a friend in *London*, added, that he remembered an inconsiderable passage or two more, and that perhaps *Smith* (a Priest that had lived with his Father) could help him to one or two more circumstances relating



relating to those matters: But he protested, as he desired the forgiveness of his sins, and the salvation of his soul, that he knew no more; and wished he might never see the face of God, if he knew any more. This letter was printed. And great use was made of it, to shew how little regard was to be had to those denials, with which so many had ended their lives. But this man in the summer thereafter published a long narrative of his knowledge of the plot. He said, himself had been invited to assist in killing the King. He named the four ruffians that went to *Windsor* to do it. And he thought to have reconciled this to his letter, by pretending these were the circumstances, that he had not mentioned in it. *Smith* did also change his religion; and deposed, that, when he was at *Rome*, he was told in general of the design of killing the King. He was afterwards discovered to be a vicious man. Yet he went no farther than to swear, that he was acquainted with the design in general, but not with the persons that were employed in it. By these witnesses the credit of the plot was universally established. Yet, no real proofs appearing, besides *Coleman's* letters and *Godfrey's* murder, the King, by a proclamation, did offer both a pardon and 200 *l.* to any one that would come in, and make further discoveries. This was thought too great a hire to purchase witnesses. Money had been offered to those who should bring in criminals. But it was said to be a new and indecent practice to offer so much money to men, that should merit it by swearing: And it might be too great an encouragement to perjury.

While the witnesses were weakning their own credit, some practices were discovered, that did very much support it. *Reading*, a lawyer of some subtilty, but of no vertue, was employed by the Lords in the Tower to solicit their affairs. He insinuated himself much into *Bedlow's* confidence, and was much in his company: And, in the hearing of others, he was always pressing him to tell all he knew. He lent him money very freely, which the other wanted often. And he seemed at first to design only to find out somewhat that should destroy the credit of his testimony. But he ventured on other practices; and offered him much money, if he would turn his evidence against the Popish Lords only into a hear-say, so that it should not come home against them. *Reading* said, *Bedlow* began the proposition to him; and employed him to see how much money these Lords could give him, if he should bring them off: Upon which, *Reading*, as he pretended afterwards, seeing that innocent blood was like to be shed, was willing, even by indecent means, to endeavour to prevent it. Yet he freed the Lords in the Tower. He said, they would not promise a farthing: Only the Lord *Stafford* said, he would give himself two or three hundred pounds, which he might dispose of as he pleased. While *Reading* was driving the bargain, *Bedlow* was too hard for him at his own trade of craft: For, as he acquainted

Practices  
with the  
witnesses  
discovered.



1678 both Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Essex*, with the whole negotiation, from the first step of it, so he placed two witnesses secretly in his chamber, when *Reading* was to come to him; and drew him into those discourses, which discovered the whole practice of that corruption. *Reading* had likewise drawn a paper, by which he shewed him with how few and small alterations he could soften his deposition, so as not to affect the Lords. With these witnesses, and this paper, *Bedlow* charged *Reading*. The whole matter was proved beyond contradiction. And, as this raised his credit, so it laid a heavy load on the Popish Lords; tho' the proofs came home only to *Reading*, and he was set in the pillory for it. *Bedlow* made a very ill use of this discovery, which happened in *March*, to cover his having sworn against *Whitebread* and *Fenwick* only upon hear-say in *December*: For, being resolved to swear plain matter upon his own knowledge against them, when they should be brought again on their trial, he said, *Reading* had prevailed on him to be easy to them, as he called it; and that he had said to him that the Lords would take the saving of these Jesuites, as an earnest of what he would do for themselves; tho' it was not very probable, that these Lords would have abandoned *Ireland*, when they took such care of the other Jesuites. The truth was, he ought to have been set aside from being a witness any more, since now by his own confession he had sworn falsely in that trial: He had first sworn, he knew nothing of his own knowledge against the two Jesuites, and afterwards he swore copiously against them, and upon his own knowledge. *Wyld*, a worthy and ancient Judge, said upon that to him, that he was a perjured man, and ought to come no more into Courts, but to go home, and repent. Yet all this was past over, as if it had been of no weight: And the Judge was turned out for his plain freedom. There was soon after this another practice discovered concerning *Oates*. Some that belonged to the Earl of *Danby* conversed much with *Oates's* his servants. They told them many odious things that he was daily speaking of the King, which looked liker one that intended to ruin than to save him. One of these did also affirm, that *Oates* had made an abominable attempt upon him not fit to be named. *Oates* smelled this out, and got his servants to deny all that they had said, and to fasten it upon those who had been with them, as a practice of theirs: And they were upon that likewise set on the pillory. And, to put things of a sort together, tho' they happen'd not all at once: One *Tasborough*, that belonged to the Duke's court, entred into some correspondence with *Dugdale*, who was courting a kinswoman of his. It was proposed, that *Dugdale* should sign a paper, retracting all that he had formerly sworn, and should upon that go beyond sea, for which he was promised, in the Duke's name, a considerable reward. He had written the paper, as was desired: But he was too cunning for *Tasborough*, and he proved his practices



practices upon him. He pretended he drew the paper only to draw the other further on, that he might be able to penetrate the deeper into their designs. *Tasborough* was fined, and set in the pillory for tampering thus with the King's evidence. 1678

This was the true state of the plot, and of the witnesses that proved it; which I have open'd as fully as was possible for me: And I had particular occasions to be well instructed in it. Here was matter enough to work on the fears and apprehensions of the Nation: So it was not to be wondred at, if Parliaments were hot, and Juries were easy in this prosecution. The visible evidences that appeared, made all people conclude there was great plotting among them. And it was generally believed, that the bulk of what was sworn by the witnesses was true, tho' they had by all appearance dressed it up with incredible circumstances. What the men of learning knew concerning their principles, both of deposing of Kings, and of the lawfulness of murdering them when so deposed, made them easily conclude, that since they saw the Duke was so entirely theirs, and that the King was so little to be depended on, they might think the present conjuncture was not to be lost. And since the Duke's eldest daughter was already out of their hands, they might make the more haste to set the Duke on the throne. The tempers, as well as the morals, of the Jesuites, made it reasonable to believe, that they were not apt to neglect such advantages, nor to stick at any sort of falshood in order to their own defence. The doctrine of probability, besides many other maxims that are current among them, made many give little credit to their witnesses, or to their most solemn denials, even at their execution. Many things were brought to shew, that by the casuistical divinity taught among them, and published by them to the world, there was no practice so bad, but that the doctrines of probability, and of ordering the intention, might justify it. Yet many thought, that, what doctrines soever men might by a subtilty of speculation be carried into, the approaches of death, with the seriousness that appeared in their deportment, must needs work so much on the probity and candor which seemed rooted in human nature, that even immoral opinions, maintained in the way of argument, could not then resist it. Several of our Divines went far in this charge, against all regard to their dying speeches; of which some of our own Church complained, as inhuman and indecent. Reflections upon the whole evidence.

In *January* a new Parliament was summoned. The elections were carried with great heat, and went almost every where against the Court. Lord *Danby* resolved to leave the Treasury at *Lady-day*. And in that time he made great advantage by several payments which he got the King to order, that were due upon such slight pretences, that it was believed he had a large share of them to himself: 1679

So



1679 So that he left the Treasury quite empty. He persuaded the King to send the Duke beyond sea, that so there might be no colour for suspecting that the counsels were influenced by him. He endeavoured to persuade the Duke, that it was fit for him to go out of the way. If the King and the Parliament came to an agreement, he might depend on the promise that the King would make him, of recalling him immediately: And if they did not agree, no part of the blame could be cast on him; which must happen otherwise, if he staid still at Court. Yet no rhetorick would have prevailed on him to go, if the King had not told him positively, it was for both their service, and so it must be done.

The Duke  
sent beyond  
sea.

Before he went away, the King gave him all possible satisfaction with relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was become very popular, and his creatures were giving it out, that he was the King's lawful son. So the King made a solemn declaration in Council, and both signed it and took his oath on it, that he was never married, nor contracted to that Duke's mother; nor to any other woman, except to his present Queen. The Duke was sent away upon very short warning, not without many tears shed by him at parting, tho' the King shed none. He went first to *Holland*, and then to *Brussels*, where he was but coldly received.

At the opening the Parliament in *March*, the parting with an only brother, to remove all jealousy, was magnified with all the pomp of the Earl of *Nottingham's* eloquence. Lord *Danby's* friends were in some hopes, that the great services which he had done would make matters brought against him to be handled gently. But in the management he committed some errors, that proved very unhappy to him.

*Seimour* and he had fallen into some quarrellings, both being very proud and violent in their tempers. *Seimour* had in the last Session struck in with that heat against Popery, that he was become popular upon it. So he managed the matter in this new Parliament, that tho' the Court named *Meres* yet he was chosen Speaker. The nomination of the Speaker was understood to come from the King, tho' he was not named as recommending the person. Yet a Privy Counsellor named one: And it was understood to be done by order. And the person thus named was put in the chair, and was next day presented to the King, who approved the choice. When *Seimour* was next day presented as the Speaker, the King refused to confirm the election. He said, he had other occasions for him, which could not be dispensed with. Upon this, great heats arose, with a long and violent debate. It was said, the House had the choice of their Speaker in them, and that their presenting the Speaker was only a solemn shewing him to the King, such as was the presenting the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* in the Exchequer; but that the King was bound to confirm their choice. This debate held a week, and created much anger.



1679

A temper was found at last. *Seimour's* election was let fall: But the point was settled, that the right of electing was in the House, and that the confirmation was a thing of course. So another was chosen Speaker. And the House immediately fell on Lord *Danby*. Those who intended to serve him said, the heat this dispute had raised, which was imputed wholly to him, had put it out of their power to do it. But he committed other errors. He took out a pardon under the Great Seal. The Earl of *Nottingham* durst not venture to pass it. So the King ordered the Seal to be put to the pardon in his own presence. And thus, according to Lord *Nottingham's* figure when he was afterwards questioned about it, it did not pass thro' the ordinary methods of production, but was an immediate effect of his Majesty's power of creating. He also took out a warrant to be Marquis of *Caermarthen*. And the King, in a speech to the Parliament, said, he had done nothing but by his order; and therefore he had pardoned him; and, if there was any defect in his pardon, he would pass it over and over again, till it should be quite legal.

Upon this a great debate was raised. Some questioned whether the King's pardon, especially when passed in bar to an impeachment, was good in law: This would encourage ill Ministers, who would be always sure of a pardon, and so would act more boldly, if they saw so easy a way to be secured against the danger of impeachments: The King's pardon did indeed secure one against all prosecution at his suit: But, as in the case of murder an appeal lay, from which the King's pardon did not cover the person, since the King could no more pardon the injuries done his people, than he could forgive the debts that were owing to them; so from a parity of reason it was inferred, that since the offences of Ministers of State were injuries done the publick, the King's Pardon could not hinder a prosecution in Parliament, which seemed to be one of the chief securities, and most essential parts of our constitution. Yet on the other hand it was said, that the power of pardoning was a main article of the King's Prerogative: None had ever yet been annulled: The law had made this one of the trusts of the Government, without any limitation upon it: All arguments against it might be good reasons for the limiting it for the future: But what was already past was good in law, and could not be broke thro'. The temper proposed was, that, upon Lord *Danby's* going out of the way, an Act of banishment should pass against him, like that which had past against the Earl of *Clarendon*. Upon that, when the Lords voted that he should be committed, he withdrew. So a bill of banishment passed in the House of Lords, and was sent down to the Commons. *Winnington* fell on it there in a most furious manner. He said, it was an Act to let all Ministers see what was the worst thing that could happen to them, after they had been engaged in the blackest designs, and

*Danby* pardon'd by the King, but prosecuted by the House of Commons.



1679 had got great rewards of wealth and honour: All they could suffer was, to be obliged to live beyond sea. This enflamed the House so, that those, who intended to have moderated that heat, found they could not stop it. *Littleton* sent for me that night, to try if it was possible to mollify *Winnington*. We laid before him, that the King seemed brought near a disposition to grant every thing that could be desired of him: And why must an attainder be brought on, which would create a breach that could not be healed? The Earl of *Danby* was resolved to bear a banishment; but would come in, rather than be attainted, and plead his pardon: And then the King was upon the matter made the party in the prosecution, which might ruin all: We knew how bad a Minister he had been, and had felt the ill effects of his power: But the publick was to be preferred to all other considerations. But *Winnington* was then so entirely in *Montague's* management, and was so blown up with popularity, and so much provoked by being turned out of the place of Solicitor General, that he could not be prevailed on. It was offered afterwards from the Court, as *Littleton* told me, both that Lord *Danby* should by Act of Parliament be degraded from his Peerage, as well as banished, and that an Act should pass declaring for the future no pardon should be pleaded in bar to an impeachment. But the fury of the time was such, that all offers were rejected. And so a very probable appearance of settling the Nation was lost: For the bill for banishing Lord *Danby* was thrown out by the Commons. And instead of it a bill of attainder was brought in. The Treasury was put in commission. The Earl of *Essex* was put at the head of it. And *Hide* and *Godolphin* were two of the commission. The Earl of *Sunderland* was brought over from *France*, and made Secretary of State. And Lord *Essex* and Lord *Sunderland* joined with the Duke of *Monmouth*, to press the King to change his counsels, and to turn to another method of government, and to take the men of the greatest credit into his confidence. Lord *Essex* was much blamed for going in so early into the Court, before the rest were brought in. He said to me, he did it in the prospect of working the change that was afterwards effected. Lord *Sunderland* also told me, that the King was easy in the bringing in Lord *Shaftsbury*; for he thought he was only angry in revenge, because he was not employed; but that he had so ill an opinion of Lord *Hallifax*, that it was not easy to get over that. The Duke of *Monmouth* told me, that he had as great difficulty in overcoming that, as ever in any thing that he studied to bring the King to.

A new  
Council.

At last the King was prevailed on to dismiss the whole Council, which was all made up of Lord *Danby's* creatures. And the chief men of both Houses were brought into it. This was carried with so much secrecy, that it was not so much as suspected, till the day before it was done. The King was weary of the vexation he had been long



in, and desired to be set at ease. And at that time he would have done any thing to get an end put to the Plot, and to the fermentation that was now over the whole Nation: So that, if the House of Commons would have let the matter of Lord *Danby's* pardon fall, and have accepted of limitations on his brother, instead of excluding him, he was willing to have yielded in every thing else. He put likewise the Admiralty and Ordnance into commissions: Out of all which the Duke's creatures were so excluded, that they gave both him and themselves for lost. But the hatred that *Mountague* bore Lord *Danby*, and Lord *Shaftsbury's* hatred to the Duke, spoiled all this. There were also many in the House of Commons, who finding themselves forgot, while others were preferred to them, resolved to make themselves considerable. And they infused into a great many a mistrust of all that was doing. It was said, the King was still what he was before. No change appeared in him. And all this was only an artifice to lay the heat that was in the Nation, to gain so many over to him, and so to draw money from the Commons. So they resolved to give no money, till all other things should be first settled. No part of the change that was then made was more acceptable than that of the Judges: For Lord *Danby* had brought in some sad creatures to those important posts. And *Jones* had the new modelling of the Bench. And he put in very worthy men, in the room of those ignorant Judges that were now dismiss'd.

The main point in debate was, what security the King should offer to quiet the fears of the Nation upon the account of the Duke's succession. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* proposed the excluding him simply, and making the succession to go on, as if he was dead, as the only mean that was easy and safe both for the Crown and the people: This was nothing but the disinheriting the next heir, which certainly the King and Parliament might do, as well as any private man might disinherit his next heir, if he had a mind to it. The King would not consent to this. He had faithfully promised the Duke, that he never would. And he thought, if Acts of Exclusion were once begun, it would not be easy to stop them; but that upon any discontent at the next heir, they would be set on: religion was now the pretence: But other pretences would be found out, when there was need of them: This insensibly would change the nature of the *English* Monarchy: So that from being hereditary it would become elective. The Lords of *Essex* and *Hallifax* upon this proposed such limitations of the Duke's authority, when the Crown should devolve on him, as would disable him from doing any harm, either in Church or State: Such as the taking out of his hand all power in Ecclesiastical matters, the disposal of the publick money, with the power of peace and war, and the lodging these in both Houses of Parliament; and that whatever Parliament was

Debates  
concerning  
the Exclu-  
sion.

was



1679 was in being, or the last that had been in being at the King's death, should meet, without a new summons, upon it, and assume the administration of affairs. Lord *Shaftsbury* argued against this, as much more prejudicial to the Crown than the exclusion of one heir: For this changed the whole Government, and set up a Democracy instead of a Monarchy. Lord *Hallifax*'s arguing now so much against the danger of turning the Monarchy to be elective, was the more extraordinary in him, because he had made an hereditary Monarchy the subject of his mirth; and had often said, who takes a coachman to drive him, because his father was a good coachman? Yet he was now jealous of a small slip in the succession. But at the same time he studied to infuse into some a zeal for a Commonwealth. And to these he pretended, that he preferred limitations to an exclusion: Because the one kept up the Monarchy still, only passing over one person; whereas the other brought us really into a Commonwealth, as soon as we had a Popish King over us. And it was said by some of his friends, that the limitations proposed were so advantageous to publick liberty, that a man might be tempted to wish for a Popish King, to come at them.

Upon this great difference of opinion, a faction was quickly formed in the new Council. The Lords *Effex*, *Sunderland* and *Hallifax* declaring for limitations, and against the Exclusion; while Lord *Shaftsbury*, now made President of the Council, declared highly for it. They took much pains on him to moderate his heat: But he was become so intolerably vain, that he would not mix with them, unless he might govern. So they broke with him: And the other three were called the Triumvirate. Lord *Effex* applied himself to the business of the Treasury, to the regulating the King's expence, and the improvement of the Revenue. His clear, tho' slow, sense made him very acceptable to the King. Lord *Hallifax* studied to manage the King's spirit, and to gain an ascendant there by a lively and libertine conversation. Lord *Sunderland* managed foreign affairs, and had the greatest credit with the Duchess of *Portsmouth*. After it was agreed on to offer the limitations, the Lord Chancellor by order from the King made the proposition to both Houses. The Duke was struck with the news of this, when it came to him to *Brussels*. I saw a letter writ by his Duchess the next post: In which she wrote, that as for all the high things that were said by their enemies they looked for them, but that speech of the Lord Chancellor's was a surprize, and a great mortification to them. Their apprehensions of that did not hang long upon them. The Exclusion was become the popular expedient. So, after much debating, a bill was ordered for excluding the Duke of *York*. I will give you here a short abstract of all that was said, both within and without doors, for and against the Exclusion.



Those who argued for it laid it down for a foundation, that every person, who had the whole right of any thing in him, had likewise the power of transferring it to whom he pleased. So the King and Parliament, being entirely possessed of the whole authority of the Nation, had a power to limit the succession, and every thing else relating to the Nation, as they pleased. And by consequence there was no such thing as a fundamental law, by which the power of Parliament was bound up: For no King and Parliament in any former age had a power over the present King and Parliament; otherwise the Government was not entire, nor absolute. A father, how much soever determined by nature to provide for his children, yet had certainly a power of disinheriting them, without which, in some cases, the respect due to him could not be preserved. The life of the King on the throne was not secure, unless this was acknowledged. For if the next heir was a traitor, and could not be seized on, the King would be ill served in opposition to him, if he could not bar his succession by an exclusion. Government was appointed for those that were to be governed, and not for the sake of Governors themselves: Therefore all things relating to it were to be measured by the publick interest, and the safety of the people. In none of God's appointments in the Old Testament regard was had to the eldest. *Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Ephraim*, and more particularly *Solomon*, were preferred without any regard to the next in line. In the several Kingdoms of *Europe* the succession went according to particular laws, and not by any general law. In *England, Spain and Sweden*, the heir general did succeed: Whereas it was only the heir male in *France, and Germany*. And whereas the oath of allegiance tied us to the King and his heirs, the word heir was a term that imported that person who by law ought to succeed: And so it fell by law to any person who was declared next in the succession. In *England* the heir of the King that reigned had been sometimes set aside, and the right of succession transferred to another person. *Henry VII.* set up his title on his possessing the Crown. *Henry VIII.* got his two daughters, while they were by acts of Parliament illegitimated, put in the succession: And he had a power given him to devise it after them, and their issue, at his pleasure. *Queen Elizabeth*, when she was in danger from the practices of the *Queen of Scots*, got an Act to pass asserting the power of the Parliament to limit the succession of the Crown. It was high treason to deny this during her life, and was still highly penal to this day. All this was laid down in general, to assert a power in the Parliament to exclude the next heir, if there was a just cause for it. Now, as to the present case, the Popish religion was so contrary to the whole frame and constitution of our Government, as well as to that dignity inherent in the Crown, of being the head of the Church, that a Papist seemed to be brought under a disability to hold the Crown. A great part of the property of the Nation, the Abbey lands, was shaken by the prospect of such a suc-

1678  
Arguments  
used for and  
against the  
Exclusion.



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tion. The perfidy and the cruelty of that religion made the danger more sensible. Fires, and Courts of Inquisition, were that which all must reckon for, who would not redeem themselves by an early and zealous conversion. The Duke's own temper was much insisted on. It appeared by all their letters, how much the Papists depended on him: And his own deportment shewed, there was good reason for it. He would break thro' all limitations, and call in a foreign power, rather than submit to them. Some mercenary lawyers would give it for law, that the prerogative could not be limited, and that a law limiting it was void of it self. Revenges for past injuries, when join'd to a bigotry in religion, would be probably very violent.

On the other hand, some argued against the Exclusion: That it was unlawful in it self, and against the unalterable law of succession; (which came to be the common phrase.) Monarchy was said to be by divine right: So the Law could not alter what God had settled. Yet few went at first so high. Much weight was laid on the oath of allegiance, that tied us to the King's heirs: And whoso was the heir when any man took that oath, was still the heir to him. All lawyers had great regard to fundamental laws. And it was a maxim among our lawyers, that even an Act of Parliament against *Magna Charta* was null of it self. There was no arguing from the changes in the course of the Succession. These had been the effects of prosperous rebellions. Nor from *Henry VII.*'s reigning in the right of his Queen, and yet not owning it to be so. Nor was it strange, if in so violent a reign as *Henry VIII.*'s acts were made in prejudice of the right of blood. But tho' his daughters were made bastards by two several acts, yet it was notorious they were both born in a state of marriage. And when unlawful marriages were annulled, yet such issue as descended from them *bona fide* used not to be illegitimated. But tho' that King made a will pursuant to an act of Parliament, excluding the *Scotish* line, yet such regard the Nation had to the next in blood, that, without examining the will, the *Scotish* line was receiv'd. It is true, Queen *Elizabeth*, out of her hatred to the Queen of *Scots*, got the famed act to pass, that declares the Parliament's power of limiting the succession. But since that whole matter ended so fatally, and was the great blemish of her reign, it was not reasonable to build much on it. These were the arguments of those, who thought the Parliament had not the power to enact an exclusion of the next heir: Of which opinion the Earl of *Essex* was at this time. Others did not go on these grounds: But they said, that tho' a father has indeed a power of disinheriting his son, yet he ought never to exert it but upon a just and necessary occasion. It was not yet legally certain, that the Duke was a Papist. This was a condemning him unheard. A man's conscience was not even in his own power. It seemed therefore to be an unjustifiable severity, to cut off so great a right only for a point of opinion. It is true, it might be reasonable to secure the Nation from the ill effects that opinion might have upon



upon them, which was fully done by the limitations. But it was unjust to carry it further. The Protestants had charged the Church of *Rome* heavily for the League of *France*, in order to the excluding the House of *Bourbon* from the succession to the Crown of *France*, because of heresy: And this would make the charge return back upon us, to our shame. In the case of infancy, or lunacy, guardians were assigned: But the right was still in the true heir. A Popish Prince was considered as in that state: And these limitations were like the assigning him guardians. The Crown had been for several ages limited in the power of raising money; to which it may be supposed a high spirited King did not easily submit, and yet we had long maintained this: And might it not be hoped, the limitations proposed might be maintained in one reign; chiefly considering the zeal and the number of those who were concerned to support them? Other Princes might think themselves obliged in honour and religion to assist him, if he was quite excluded: And it might be the occasion of a new Popish League, that might be fatal to the whole Protestant interest. Whereas, if the limitations past, other Princes would not so probably enter into the laws and establishment settled among us. It was said, many in the Nation thought the Exclusion unlawful: But all would jointly concur in the limitations: So this was the securest way, that comprehended the greatest part of the Nation: And probably *Scotland* would not go into the Exclusion, but merit at the Duke's hands by asserting his title: So here was a foundation of war round about us, as well as of great distractions among our selves: Some regard was to be had to the King's honour, who had so often declared, he would not consent to an Exclusion; but would to any limitations, how hard soever.

These were the chief arguments upon which this debate was managed. For my own part, I did always look on it as a wild and extravagant conceit, to deny the lawfulness of an Exclusion in any case whatsoever. But for a great while I thought the accepting the limitations was the wisest and best method. I saw the driving on the Exclusion would probably throw us into great confusions. And therefore I made use of all the credit I had with many in both Houses, to divert them from pursuing it, as they did, with such eagerness, that they would hearken to nothing else. Yet, when I saw the party so deeply engaged, and so violently set upon it, both *Tillotson* and I, who thought we had some interest in Lord *Hallifax*, took great pains on him, to divert him from opposing it so furiously as he did: For he became as it were the champion against the Exclusion. I foresaw a great breach was like to follow. And that was plainly the game of Popery, to keep us in such an unsettled state. This was like either to end in a rebellion, or in an abject submission of the Nation to the humours of the Court. I confess, that which I apprehended most was rebellion, tho' it turned afterwards quite the other way. But men of more experience, and who had better



1679 better advantages to make a true judgment of the temper of the Nation, were mistaken as well as my self. All the progress that was made in this matter in the present Parliament was, that the bill of Exclusion was read twice in the House of Commons. But the Parliament was dissolved before it came to a third reading.

*Danby's prosecution.*

The Earl of *Danby's* prosecution was the point on which the Parliament was broken. The bill of attainder for his wilful absence was pass'd by the Commons, and sent up to the Lords. But, when it was brought to the third reading, he delivered himself; and was upon that sent to the Tower: Upon which he moved for his trial. The man of the law he depended most upon was *Pollexfen*, an honest, and learned, but perplexed lawyer. He advised him positively to stand upon his pardon. It was a point of prerogative never yet judged against the Crown: So he might in that case depend upon the House of Lords, and on the King's interest there. It might perhaps produce some Act against all pardons for the future. But he thought he was secure in his pardon. It was both wiser, and more honourable, for the King, as well as for himself, to stand on this, than to enter into the matter of the letters, which would occasion many indecent reflections on both. So he settled on this, and pleaded his pardon at the Lord's bar: To which the Commons put in a reply, questioning the validity of the pardon, on the grounds formerly mentioned. And they demanded a trial and judgment.

Upon this a famous debate arose, concerning the Bishops right of voting in any part of a trial for treason. It was said, that, tho' the Bishops did not vote in the final judgment, yet they had a right to vote in all preliminaries. Now the allowing, or not allowing the pardon to be good, was but a preliminary: And yet the whole matter was concluded by it. The Lords *Nottingham* and *Roberts* argued for the Bishops voting. But the Lords *Essex*, *Shaftsbury*, and *Hollis*, were against it. Many books were writ on both sides, of which an account shall be given afterwards. But upon this debate it was carried by the majority, that the Bishops had a right to vote. Upon which the Commons said, they would not proceed, unless the Bishops were obliged to withdraw during the whole trial. And upon that breach between the two Houses the Parliament was prorogued: And soon after it was dissolved. And the blame of this was cast chiefly on the Bishops. The truth was, they desired to have withdrawn, but the King would not suffer it. He was so set on maintaining the pardon, that he would not venture such a point on the votes of the temporal Lords. And he told the Bishops, they must stick to him, and to his prerogative, as they would expect that he should stick to them, if they came to be push'd at. By this means they were exposed to the popular fury.



1679

A great heat  
raised against  
the Clergy.

Hot people began every where to censure them, as a set of men that for their own ends, and for every punctilio that they pretended to, would expose the Nation and the Protestant Religion to ruin. And in revenge for this many began to declare openly in favour of the Non-conformists: And upon this the Non-conformists behaved themselves very indecently. For, tho' many of the more moderate of the Clergy were trying if an advantage might be taken from the ill state we were in to heal those breaches that were among us, they on their part fell very severely upon the body of the Clergy. The act that restrained the press was to last only to the end of the first session of the next Parliament that should meet after that was dissolved. So now, upon the end of the session, the act not being revived, the press was open: And it became very licentious, both against the Court and the Clergy. And in this the Non-conformists had so great a hand, that the Bishops and Clergy, apprehending that a rebellion, and with it the pulling the Church to pieces, was designed, set themselves on the other hand to write against the late times, and to draw a parallel between the present times and them: Which was not decently enough managed by those who undertook the argument, and who were believed to be set on, and paid by the Court for it. The chief manager of all those angry writings was one Sir Roger *L'Estrange*, a man who had lived in all the late times, and was furnished with many passages, and an unexhausted copiousness in writing: So that for four years he published three or four sheets a week under the title of the *Observer*, all tending to defame the contrary party, and to make the Clergy apprehend that their ruin was designed. This had all the success he could have wished, as it drew considerable sums that were raised to acknowledge the service he did. Upon this the greater part of the Clergy, who were already much prejudiced against that party, being now both sharpened and furnished by these papers, delivered themselves up to much heat and indiscretion, which was vented both in their pulpits and common conversation, and most particularly, at the elections of parliament men: And this drew much hatred and censure upon them. They seemed now to lay down all fears and apprehensions of Popery: And nothing was so common in their mouths as the year forty one, in which the late wars begun, and which seemed now to be near the being acted over again. Both City and Country were full of many indecencies that broke out on this occasion. But, as there were too many of the Clergy whom the heat of their

The occasions that fomented that heat.



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temper and the hope of preferment drove to such extravagancies, so there were still many worthy and eminent men among them, whose lives and labours did in a great measure rescue the Church from those reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it. Such were, besides those whom I have often named, *Tennison, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Calamy, Claget, Cudworth*, two *Mores, Williams*, and many others, whom tho' I knew not so particularly as to give all their Characters, yet they deserved a high one; and were indeed an honour, both to the Church, and to the age in which they lived.

Arguments  
for and a-  
gainst the Bi-  
shops voting  
in the preli-  
minaries in  
trials of  
treason.

I return from this digression to give an account of the arguments by which that debate concerning the Bishops voting in preliminaries was maintained. It was said, the Bishops were one of Three Estates of which the Parliament was composed, and that therefore they ought to have a share in all parliamentary matters: That as the temporal Lords transmitted their honours and fees to their heirs, so the Bishops did transmit theirs to their successors: And they sat in Parliament, both as they were the Prelates of the Church and Barons of the Realm: But in the time of Popery, when they had a mind to withdraw themselves wholly from the King's Courts, and resolved to form themselves into a state apart, upon this attempt of theirs, our Kings would not dispense with their attendance: And then several regulations were made, chiefly the famed ones at *Clarendon*; not so much intended as restraints on them in the use of their rights as they were Barons, as obligations on them to perform all but those that in compliance with their desires were then excepted: The Clergy, who had a mind to be excused from all parliamentary attendance, obtained leave to withdraw in judgments of life and death, as unbecoming their profession and contrary to their Canons. Princes were the more inclinable to this, because Bishops might be more apt to lean to the merciful side: And the judgments of Parliament in that time were commonly in favour of the Crown against the Barons: So the Bishops had leave given them to withdraw from these: But they had a right to name a proxy for the Clergy, or to protest for saving their rights in all other points as Peers: So that this was rather a concession in their favour than a restraint imposed on them: And they did it on design to get out of these Courts as much as they could: At the Reformation all such practices as were contrary to the King's prerogative were condemned: So it was said, that the King having a right by his



his prerogative to demand justice in Parliament against such as he should accuse there, none of the Peers could be excused from that by any of the constitutions made in the time of Popery, which were all condemned at the Reformation: The protestation they made in their asking leave to withdraw shewed it was a voluntary act of theirs, and not imposed on them by the law of Parliament: The words of the article of *Clarendon* seemed to import, that they might sit during the trial, till it came to the final judgment and sentence of life or limb; and by consequence that they might vote in the preliminaries.

On the other hand it was argued, that Bishops could not judge the temporal Lords as their Peers: For if they were to be tried for high treason, they were to be judged only by a jury of Commoners: And since their honour was not hereditary, they could not be the Peers of those whose blood was dignified: And therefore, tho' they were a part of that House with relation to the legislature and judicature, yet the difference between a personal and hereditary Peerage made that they could not be the judges of the temporal Lords, as not being to be tried by them: The custom of Parliament was the law of Parliament: And since they had never judged in these cases, they could not pretend to it: Their protestations was only in barr to the Lords doing any thing besides the trial during the time that they were withdrawn: The words of the article of *Clarendon* must relate to the whole trial as one complicated thing, tho' it might run out into many branches: And since the final sentence did often turn upon the preliminaries, the voting in these was upon the matter the voting in the final sentence: Whatever might be the first inducements to frame those articles of the Clergy, which at this distance must be dark and uncertain, yet the laws and practice pursuant to them were still in force: By the act of *Henry* the eighth it was provided, that, till a new body of canon law should be formed, that which was then received should be still in force, unless it was contrary to the King's prerogative or the law of the land: And it was a remote and forced inference to pretend that the prerogative was concerned in this matter.

Thus the point was argued on both sides. Dr. *Stillingfleet* gave upon this occasion a great proof of his being able to make himself the master of any argument which he undertook: For after the lawyers, and others conversant in Parliament records, in particular the Lord *Hollis* who undertook the argument with great vehemence, had writ many books about it, he published a treatise that discovered more skill and exactness

*Stillingfleet*  
wrote on  
this point.

in



1679 in judging those matters than all that had gone before him. And indeed he put an end to the controversy in the opinion of all impartial men. He proved the right that the Bishops had to vote in those preliminaries, beyond contradiction in my opinion, both from our records, and from our constitution. But now in the interval of Parliament other matters come to be related.

The trial of  
five Jesuits.

The King upon the prorogation of the Parliament became fullen and thoughtful: He saw, he had to do with a strange sort of people, that could neither be managed nor frightened: And from that time his temper was observed to change very visibly. He saw the necessity of calling another Parliament, and of preparing matters in order to it: Therefore the prosecution of the plot was still carried on. So five of the *Jesuits* that had been accused of it were brought to their trial: They were *Whitebread* their Provincial, *Fenwick*, *Harcourt*, *Govan*, and *Turner*. *Oates* repeated against them his former evidence: And they prepared a great defence against it: For sixteen persons came over from their House at *St. Omers*, who testified that *Oates* had staid among them all the while from *December* seventy seven till *June* seventy eight; so that he could not possibly be at *London* in the *April* between at those consultations, as he had sworn. They remembered this the more particularly, because he sat at the table by himself in the refectory, which made his being there to be the more observed; for as he was not mixed with the scholars so neither was he admitted to the *Jesuits* table. They said, he was among them every day, except one or two in which he was in the infirmary: They also testified, that some of those who he swore came over with him into *England* in *April* had staid all that summer in *Flanders*. In opposition to this *Oates* had found out seven or eight persons who deposed that they saw him in *England* about the beginning of *May*; and that he being known formerly to them in a Clergyman's habit, they had observed him so much the more by reason of that change of habit. With one of these he dined; and he had much discourse with him about his travels. An old Dominican *Frier*, who was still of that Church and Order, swore also that he saw him, and spoke frequently with him at that time: By this the credit of the *St. Omer's* scholars was quite blasted. There was no reason to mistrust those who had no interest in the matter, and swore that they saw *Oates* about that time; whereas the evidence given by scholars bred in the *Jesuits* college, when it was to save some of their Order, was liable to a very just suspicion. *Bedlow* now swore against them all,

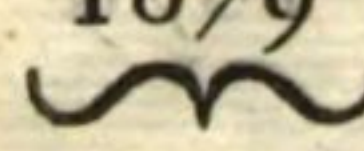


all, not upon hearsay as before, but on his own knowledge; and no regard was had to his former Oath mentioned in *Ireland's* trial. *Dugdale* did likewise swear against some of them: One part of his evidence seemed scarce credible. He swore, that *Whitebread* did in a letter that was directed to himself, tho' intended for *F. Evers*, and that came to him by the common post, and was signed by *Whitebread*, desire him to find out men proper to be made use of in killing the King, of what quality soever they might be. This did not look like the cunning of *Jesuits* in an age, in which all people made use either of cyphers, or of some disguised cant. But the overthrowing the *St. Omers* evidence was now such an additional load on the *Jesuits*, that the jury came quickly to a verdict; and they were condemned. At their execution they did with the greatest solemnity, and the deepest imprecations possible, deny the whole evidence upon which they were condemned: And protested, that they held no opinions either of the lawfulness of assassinating Princes, or of the Pope's power of deposing them, and that they counted all equivocation odious and sinful. All their speeches were very full of these heads. *Govan's* was much laboured, and too rhetorical. A very zealous Protestant, that went off to see them in prison, told me, that they behaved themselves with great decency, and with all the appearances both of innocence and devotion.

*Langhorn*, the lawyer, was tried next: He made use of the *St. Omer's* scholars: But their evidence seemed to be so baffled, that it served him in no stead. He insisted next on some contradictions in the several depositions that *Oates* had given at several trials: But he had no other evidence of that besides the printed trials, which was no proof in law. The Judges said upon this, (that which is perhaps good in law, but yet does not satisfy a man's mind,) that great difference was to be made between a narrative upon oath, and an evidence given in Court. If a man was false in any one oath, there seemed to be just reason to set him aside, as no good witness. *Langhorn* likewise urged this, that it was six weeks after *Oates's* first discovery before he named him: Whereas, if the commissions had been lodged with him, he ought to have been seized on and searched first of all. *Bedlow* swore, he saw him enter some of *Coleman's* treasonable letters in a register, in which express mention was made of killing the King. He shewed the improbability of this, that a man of his business could be set to register letters. Yet all was of no use to him; for he was cast. Great pains was taken to persuade him to discover all he knew; and

*Langhorn's*  
Trial.



1679  his execution was delayed for some weeks, in hopes that somewhat might be drawn from him. He offered a discovery of the estates and stock that the *Jesuits* had in *England*, the secret of which was lodged with him: But he protested, that he could make no other discovery; and persisted in this to his death. He spent the time, in which his execution was respited, in writing some very devout and well composed meditations. He was in all respects a very extraordinary man: He was learned, and honest in his Profession; but was out of measure bigotted in his religion. He died with great constancy.

And death.

These executions, with the denials of all that suffered, made great impressions on many. Several books were writ, to shew that lying for a good end was not only thought lawful among them, but had been often practised, particularly by some of those who died for the gunpowder treason, denying those very things which were afterwards not only fully proved, but confessed by the persons concerned in them: Yet the behaviour, and last words, of those who suffered made impressions which no books could carry off.

Some months after this one *Serjeant*, a secular Priest, who had been always in ill terms with the *Jesuits*, and was a zealous Papist in his own way, appeared before the Council upon security given him; and he averred, that *Govan*, the *Jesuit*, who died protesting he had never thought it lawful to murder Kings, but had always detested it, had at his last being in *Flanders* said to a very devout person, from whom *Serjeant* had it, that he thought the Queen might lawfully take away the King's life for the injuries he had done her, but much more because he was a heretick. Upon that *Serjeant* run out into many particulars, to shew how little credit was due to the protestations made by *Jesuits* even at their death. This gave some credit to the tenderest part of *Oates's* evidence with relation to the Queen. It shewed, that the trying to do it by her means had been thought of by them. All this was only evidence from second hand: So it signified little. *Serjeant* was much blamed for it by all his own side. He had the reputation of a sincere and good, but of an indiscreet, man. The executions were generally imputed to Lord *Shaftsbury*, who drove them on in hopes that some one or other to have saved himself would have accused the Duke. But by these the credit of the witnesses, and of the whole plot, was sinking apace. The building so much, and shedding so much blood, upon the weakest part of it, which was the credit of the witnesses, raised a general prejudice against it all; and took away the



the force of that, which was certainly true, that the whole party had been contriving a change of religion by a foreign assistance, so that it made not impression enough, but went off too fast. It was like the letting blood, (as one observed,) which abates a fever. Every execution, like a new bleeding, abated the heat that the Nation was in; and threw us into a cold deadness, which was like to prove fatal to us.

*Wakeman's* trial came on next. *Oates* swore, he saw him write a bill to *Ashby* the Jesuit, by which he knew his hand: And he saw another letter of his writ in the same hand, in which he directed *Ashby*, who was then going to the Bath, to use a milk diet, and to be pump'd at the Bath; and that in that letter he mentioned his zeal in the design of killing the King. He next repeated all the story he had sworn against the Queen: Which he brought only to make it probable that *Wakeman*, who was her physician, was in it. To all this *Wakeman* objected, that at first *Oates* accused him only upon hearsay: And did solemnly protest he knew nothing against him: Which was fully made out. So he said, all that *Oates* now swore against him must be a forgery not thought of at that time. He also proved by his own servant, and by the apothecary at the Bath, that *Ashby's* paper was not writ, but only dictated by him: For he hapned to be very weary when he came for it, and his man wrote it out: And that of the milk diet was a plain indication of an ill laid forgery, since it was known that nothing was held more inconsistent with the Bath water than milk. *Bedlow* swore against him, that he saw him receive a bill of 2000 l. from *Harcourt* in part of a greater sum; and that *Wakeman* told him afterwards that he had received the money; and that *Harcourt* told him for what end it was given, for they intended the King should be killed, either by those they sent to *Windsor*, or by *Wakeman's* means: And, if all other ways failed, they would take him off at *Newmarket*. *Bedlow* in the first giving his evidence deposed, that this was said by *Harcourt* when *Wakeman* was gone out of the room. But observing, by the questions that were put him, that this would not affect *Wakeman*, he swore afterwards, that he said it likewise in his hearing. *Wakeman* had nothing to set against all this, but that it seemed impossible that he could trust himself in such matters to such a person: And if *Oates* was set aside, he was but one witness. Three other Benedictin Priests were tried with *Wakeman*. *Oates* swore, that they were in the plot of killing the King; that one of them, being their Superior, had engaged to give 6000 l. towards the



1679 the carrying it on. *Bedlow* swore somewhat circumstantial to the same purpose against two of them: But that did not rise up to be treason: And he had nothing to charge the third with. They proved, that another person had been their Superior for several years; and that *Oates* was never once suffered to come within their house, which all their servants deposed. And they also proved, that when *Oates* came into their house the night after he made his discovery, and took *Pickering* out of his bed, and saw them, he said, he had nothing to lay to their charge. They urged many other things to destroy the credit of the witnesses: And one of them made a long declamation, in a high bombast strain, to shew what credit was due to the speeches of dying men. The eloquence was so forced and childish, that this did them more hurt than good. *Scroggs* summed up the evidence very favourably for the prisoners, far contrary to his former practice. The truth is, that this was looked on, as the Queen's trial, as well as *Wakeman's*. The prisoners were acquitted: And now the witnesses saw they were blasted. And they were enraged upon it; which they vented with much spite upon *Scroggs*. And there was in him matter enough to work on for such foul mouthed people as they were. The Queen got a man of great Quality to be sent over Ambassador from *Portugal*, not knowing how much she might stand in need of such a protection. He went next day with great state to thank *Scroggs* for his behaviour in this trial. If he meant well in this complement, it was very unadvisedly done: For the Chief Justice was exposed to much censure by it. And therefore some thought it was a shew of civility done on design to ruin him. For, how well pleased soever the Papists were with the success of this trial, and with *Scroggs's* management, yet they could not be supposed to be so satisfied with him, as to forgive his behaviour in the former trials, which had been very indecently partial and violent.

He was acquitted.

Debates about dissolving the Parliament.

It was now debated in Council whether the Parliament, now prorogued, should be dissolved, or not. The King prevailed on the Lords of *Effex* and *Halifax* to be for a dissolution, promising to call another Parliament next winter. Almost all the new Counsellors were against the dissolution. They said, the Crown had never gained any thing by dissolving a Parliament in anger: The same men would probably be chosen again, while all that were thought favourable to the Court would be blasted, and for the most part set aside. The new men thus chosen, being fretted by a dissolution, and put to the charge and trouble



ble of a new election, they thought the next Parliament would be more uneasy to the King than this if continued. Lord *Effex* and *Halifax* on the other hand argued, that since the King was fixed in his resolutions, both with relation to the Exclusion and to the Lord *Danby's* pardon, his Parliament had engaged so far in both these, that they could not think that these would be let fall: Whereas a new Parliament, tho' composed of the same members, not being yet engaged, might be persuaded to take other methods. The King followed this advice, which he had directed himself: Two or three days after, Lord *Halifax* was made an Earl, which was called the reward of his good counsel. And now the hatred between the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and him broke out into many violent and indecent instances. On Lord *Shaftsbury's* side more anger appeared, and more contempt on Lord *Halifax's*. Lord *Effex* was a softer man, and bore the censure of the party more mildly: He saw how he was cried out on for his last advice: But as he was not apt to be much heated, so all he said to me upon it was, that he knew he was on a good bottom, and that good intentions would discover themselves, and be justified by all in conclusion.

I now put a stop in the further relation of affairs in *England*, to give an account of what past in *Scotland*. The party against Duke *Lauderdale* had lost all hopes, seeing how affairs were carried in the last convention of Estates: But they began to take heart upon this great turn in *England*. The Duke was sent away, and the Lord *Danby* was in the Tower, who were that Duke's chief supports: And when the new council was settled, Duke *Hamilton* and many others were encouraged to come up and accuse him. The truth was, the King found his memory was failing him; and so he resolved to let him fall gently, and bring all *Scottish* affairs into the Duke of *Monmouth's* hands. The *Scottish* Lords were desired, not only by the King, but by the new Ministers, to put the heads of their charge against Duke *Lauderdale* in writing; and the King promised to hear lawyers on both sides, and that the Earls of *Effex* and *Halifax* should be present at the hearing. *Mackenzie* was sent for, being the King's advocate, to defend the administration; and *Lockhart* and *Cunningham* were to argue against it. The last of these had not indeed *Lockhart's* quickness, nor his talent in speaking; but he was a learned and judicious man, and had the most universal, and indeed the most deserved reputation for integrity and virtue of any man, not only of his own profession, but of the whole



1679 Nation. The hearing came on as was promised; and it was made out beyond the possibility of an answer, that the giving commissions to an Army to live on free Quarters in a quiet time was against the whole constitution, as well as the express laws of that Kingdom; and that it was never done but in an enemy's country, or to suppress a rebellion: They shewed likewise, how unjust and illegal all the other parts of his administration were. The Earls of *Effex* and *Halifax* told me every thing was made out fully; *Mackenzie* having nothing to shelter himself in, but that flourish in the act against field Conventicles, in which they were called the rendezvous of rebellion; from which he inferred, that the country where these had been frequent was in a state of rebellion. Kings naturally love to hear prerogative magnified: Yet on this occasion the King had nothing to say in defence of the administration. But when *May*, the master of the privy purse, asked him in his familiar way what he thought now of his *Lauderdale*, he answered, as *May* himself told me, that they had objected many damned things that he had done against them, but there was nothing objected that was against his service. Such are the notions that many Kings drink in, by which they set up an interest for themselves in opposition to the interest of the people: And as soon as the people observe that, which they will do sooner or later, then they will naturally mind their own interest, and set it up as much in opposition to the Prince: And in this contest the people will grow always too hard for the Prince, unless he is able to subdue and govern them by an army. The Duke of *Monmouth* was beginning to form a scheme of a ministry: But now the government in *Scotland* was so remiss, that the people apprehended they might run into all sort of confusion. They heard that *England* was in such distractions that they needed fear no force from thence. Duke *Lauderdale's* party was losing heart, and were fearing such a new model there as was set up here in *England*. All this set those mad people that had run about with the field Conventicles into a frenzy: They drew together in great bodies: Some parties of the troops came to disperse them, but found them both so resolute and so strong, that they did not think fit to engage them: Sometimes they fired on one another, and some were killed of both sides.

The Arch-  
bishop of St.  
*Andrews* is  
murdered.

When a party of furious men were riding thro' a moor near St. *Andrews*, they saw the Archbishop's coach appear: He was coming from a council day, and was driving home: He had





had sent some of his servants home before him, to let them know he was coming, and others he had sent off on complements; so that there was no horsemen about the coach. They seeing this concluded, according to their frantick enthusiastick notions, that God had now delivered up their greatest enemy into their hands: Seven of them made up to the coach, while the rest were as scouts riding all about the moor. One of them fired a pistol at him, which burnt his coat and gown, but did not go into his body: Upon this they fancied he had a magical secret to secure him against a shot; and they drew him out of his coach, and murdered him barbarously, repeating their strokes till they were sure he was quite dead: And so they got clear off, no body happening to go cross the moor all the while. This was the dismal end of that unhappy man: It struck all people with horror, and softned his enemies into some tenderness: So that his memory was treated with decency by those who had very little respect for him during his life.

A week after that, there was a great field Conventicle held within ten miles of *Glasgow*: A body of the guards engaged with them, and they made such vigorous resistance, that the guards having lost thirty of their number were forced to run for it: So the Conventicle formed itself into a body and marched to *Glasgow*: The person that led them had been bred by me, while I lived at *Glasgow*, being the younger son of Sir *Tho. Hamilton* that had married my sister, but by a former wife: He was then a lively hopeful young man: But getting into that company, and into their notions, he became a crack-brained enthusiast. Duke *Lauderdale* and his party published every where that this rebellion was headed by a nephew of mine, whom I had prepared for such a work while he was in my hands: Their numbers were so magnified, that a company or two which lay at *Glasgow* retired in all hast, and left the town to them, tho' they were then not above four or five hundred; and these were so ill armed, and so ill commanded, that a troop of horse could have easily dispersed them. The Council at *Edinburgh* sent the Earl of *Linlithgow* against them with a thousand foot, two hundred horse, and two hundred dragoons: A force much greater than was necessary for making head against such a rabble. He marched till he came within ten miles of them; and then he pretended he had intelligence that they were above eight thousand strong; so he marched back; for he said, it was the venturing the whole force the King had upon too great an

A rebellion  
in Scotland.



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inequality: He could never prove that he had any such intelligence: Some imputed this to his fear: Others thought, that being much engaged with Duke *Lauderdale*, he did this on purpose to give them time to encrease their numbers: And thought their madness would be the best justification of all the violences that had been committed in Duke *Lauderdale's* administration. Thus the country was left in their hands: And if there had been any designs or preparations made formerly for a rebellion, now they had time enough to run together and to form themselves: But it appeared that there had been no such designs, by this, that none came into it but those desperate intercommoned men, who were as it were hunted from their houses into all those extravagances that men may fall in, who wander about inflaming one another, and are heated in it with false notions of Religion. The rebels having the country left to their discretion fancied that their numbers would quickly encrease: And they set out a sort of manifesto, complaining of the oppressions they lay under, asserting the obligation of the covenant: And they concluded it with the demand of a free Parliament. When the news of this came to Court, Duke *Lauderdale* said, it was the effect of the encouragement that they had from the King's hearkning to their complaints: Whereas all indifferent men thought it was rather to be imputed to his insolence and tyranny.

*Monmouth*  
sent down to  
suppress it.

The King resolved to lose no time: So he sent the Duke of *Monmouth* down post, with full powers to command in chief: And directions were sent to some troops that lay in the north of *England* to be ready to march upon his orders. Duke *Lauderdale* apprehended that those in arms would presently submit to the Duke of *Monmouth*, if there was but time given for proper instruments to go among them, and that then they would pretend they had been forced into that rising by the violence of the government: So he got the King to send positive orders after him, that he should not treat with them, but fall on them immediately: Yet he marched so slowly that they had time enough given them to dispose them to a submission. They fixed at *Hamilton*, near which there is a bridge on *Clide*, which it was believed they intended to defend; but they took no care of it. They sent some to treat with the Duke of *Monmouth*: He answered, that if they would submit to the King's mercy, and lay down their arms, he would interpose for their pardon, but that he would not treat with them as long as they were in arms: And some were be-  

†

ginning



ginning to press their rendring themselves at discretion: They had neither the grace to submit, nor the sense to march away, nor the Courage to fight it out: But suffered the Duke of *Monmouth* to make himself master of the bridge. They were then four thousand men: But few of them were well armed: If they had charged those that came first over the bridge, they might have had some advantage: But they looked on like men that had lost both sense and courage: And upon the first charge they threw down their arms and ran away: There were between two or three hundred killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. The Duke of *Monmouth* stopt the execution that his men were making as soon as he could, and saved the prisoners; for some moved, that they should be all killed upon the spot. Yet this was afterwards objected to him as a neglect of the King's service, and as a courting the people: The Duke of *York* talked of it in that strain: And the King himself said to him, that if he had been there they should not have had the trouble of prisoners: He answered, he could not kill men in cold blood; that was work only for butchers. Duke *Lauderdale's* creatures pressed the keeping the army some time in that Country, on design to have eat it up: But the Duke of *Monmouth* sent home the Militia, and put the troops under discipline: So that all that Country was sensible, that he had preserved them from ruin: The very fanatical party confessed that he treated them as gently as possible, considering their madness: He came back to Court as soon as he had settled matters, and moved the King to grant an indemnity for what was past, and a liberty to hold meetings under the King's license or connivance: He shewed the King that all this madness of field Conventicles flowed only from the severity against those that were held within doors. Duke *Lauderdale* drew the indemnity in such a manner that it carried in some clauses of it a full pardon to himself and all his party; but he clogged it much with relation to those for whom it was granted. All Gentlemen, Preachers and Officers were excepted out of it; so that the favour of it was much limited two of their Preachers were hanged, but the other prisoners were let go upon their signing a bond for keeping the peace: Two hundred of them were sent to *Virginia*, but they were all cast away at sea. Thus ended this tumultuary rebellion, which went by the name of *Bothwell-Bridge*, where the action was. The King soon after sent down orders for allowing meeting houses: But the Duke of *Monmouth's* interest sunk so soon after this, that these were

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They were soon broken.



1679 scarce opened when they were shut up again: Their enemies said, this looked like a rewarding them for their rebellion.

The King  
taken ill, and  
the Duke  
comes to  
Court.

An accident happened soon after this that put the whole Nation in a fright, and produced very great effects: The King was taken ill at *Windsor* of an intermitting fever: The fits were so long and so severe, that the physicians apprehended he was in danger: Upon which he ordered the Duke to be sent for, but very secretly; for it was communicated to none but to the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Essex* and *Halifax*. The Duke made all possible haste, and came in disguise thro' *Calais*, as the quicker passage: But the danger was over before he came: The fits did not return after the King took *Quinquina*, called in *England* the *Jesuits powder*: As he recovered it was moved, that the Duke should be again sent beyond sea: He had no mind to it: But when the King was positive in it, he moved that the Duke of *Monmouth* should be put out of all command, and likewise sent beyond sea. The Duke of *Monmouth's* friends advised him to agree to this; for he might depend on it, that as soon as the Parliament met an address would be made to the King for bringing him back, since his being thus divested of his commissions, and sent away at the Duke's desire, would raise his interest in the Nation.

The many  
false stories  
spread to  
raise jea-  
lousy.

At this time the party that began to be made for the Duke of *York* were endeavouring to blow matters up into a flame every where: Of which the Earl of *Essex* gave me the following instance, by which it was easy to judge what sort of intelligence they were apt to give, and how they were possessing the King and his ministers with ill grounded fears: He came once to *London* on some treasury business the day before the common Hall was to meet in the City: So the spies that were employed to bring news from all corners came to him, and assured him that it was resolved next day to make use of the noise of that meeting, and to seize on the Tower, and do all such things as could be managed by a popular fury. The advertisements came to him from so many hands, that he was inclined to believe there was somewhat in it: Some pressed him to send soldiers into the Tower and to the other parts of the City. He would not take the alarm so hot, but he sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to be on his guard: And he ordered some companies to be drawn up in *Covent-Garden* and in *Lincolns Inn Fields*: And he had two hundred men ready, and barges prepared to carry them to the Tower, if there should have been the least shadow of tumult: But he would not seem



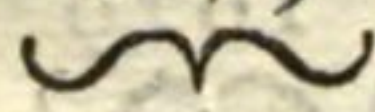
seem to fear a disorder too much, lest perhaps that might have produced one: Yet after all the affrightning stories that had been brought him, the next day past over very calmly, it not appearing by the least circumstance that any thing was designed, besides the business for which the common Hall was summoned. He often reflected on this matter: Those mercenary spies are very officious, that they may deserve their pay; and they shape their story to the tempers of those whom they serve: And to such creatures, and to their false intelligence, I imputed a great deal of the jealousy that I found the King possessed with. Both the Dukes went now beyond sea: And that enmity which was more secret before, and was covered with a Court civility, did now break out open and barefaced. But it seemed that the Duke of York had prevailed with the King not to call the Parliament that winter, in hope that the heat the Nation was in would with the help of some time grow cooler, and that the party that began now to declare more openly for the right of succession would gain ground. There was also a pretended discovery now ready to break out, which the Duke might be made believe would carry off the plot from the Papists, and cast it on the contrary party.

*Dangerfield*, a subtle and dexterous man, who had gone thro' all the shapes and practices of roguery, and in particular was a false coiner, undertook now to coin a plot for the ends of the Papists. He was in jail for debt, and was in an ill intrigue with one *Cellier* a Popish midwife, who had a great share of wit, and was abandoned to lewdness. She got him to be brought out of prison, and carried him to the Countess of *Powis* a zealous managing Papist. He, after he had laid matters with her, as will afterwards appear, got into all companies, and mixed with the hottest men of the Town, and studied to engage others with himself to swear, that they had been invited to accept of commissions, and that a new form of government was to be set up, and that the King and the Royal Family were to be sent away. He was carried with this story first to the Duke, and then to the King, and had a weekly allowance of money, and was very kindly used by many of that side; so that a whisper run about Town, that some extraordinary thing would quickly break out: And he having some correspondence with one Collonel *Mansel*, he made up a bundle of seditious but ill contrived letters, and laid them in a dark corner of his room: And then some searchers were sent from the Custom House to look for some forbid-

A pretended plot discovered, called the *Meal-tub* plot.



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den goods, which they heard were in *Mansel's* chamber. There were no goods found: But as it was laid they found that bundle of letters: And upon that a great noise was made of a discovery: But upon enquiry it appeared the letters were counterfeited, and the forger of them was suspected; so they searched into all *Dangerfield's* haunts, and in one of them they found a paper that contained the scheme of this whole fiction, which because it was found in a *Meal-tub* came to be called the *Meal-tub* plot. *Dangerfield* was upon that clapt up, and he soon after confessed how the whole matter was laid and managed: In which it is very probable he mixed much of his own invention with truth, for he was a profligate liar. This was a great disgrace to the Popish party, and the King suffered much by the countenance he had given him: The Earls of *Effex* and *Halifax* were set down in the scheme to be sworn against with the rest.

Great jealousy of the King.

Upon this they pressed the King vehemently to call a Parliament immediately. But the King thought that if a Parliament should meet while all mens spirits were sharpened by this new discovery, he would find them in worse temper than ever: When the King could not be prevailed on to do that, Lord *Effex* left the treasury. The King was very uneasy at this. But Lord *Effex* was firm in his resolution not to meddle in that post more since a Parliament was not called: Yet, at the King's earnest desire, he continued for some time to go to Council. Lord *Halifax* fell ill, much from a vexation of mind: His spirits were oppressed, a deep melancholy seizing him: For a fortnight together I was once a day with him, and found then that he had deep impressions of Religion on him: Some foolish people gave it out that he was mad: But I never knew him so near a state of true wisdom as he was at that time. He was much troubled at the King's forgetting his promise to hold a Parliament that winter; and expostulated severely upon it with some that were sent to him from the King: He was offered to be made Secretary of State, but he refused it. Some gave it out that he pretended to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and was uneasy when that was denied him: But he said to me that it was offered him, and he had refused it. He did not love, he said, a new scene, nor to dine with sound of trumpet and thirty six dishes of meat on his table. He likewise saw that Lord *Effex* had a mind to be again there; and he was confident he was better fitted for it than he himself was. My being much with him at that

time



time was reflected on: It was said, I had heightened his disaffection to the Court. I was with him only as a divine.

The Court went on in their own pace: Lord *Twedale* being then at *London* moved the Earl of *Peterborough*, that it would be more honourable, and more for the Duke's interest, instead of living beyond sea to go and live in *Scotland*. Lord *Peterborough* went immediately with it to the King, who approved of it. So notice was given the Duke: And he was appointed to meet the King at *New-Market* in *October*. Lord *Twedale* saw, that since the Duke of *Monmouth* had lost his credit with the King, Duke *Lauderdale* would again be continued in his posts; and that he would act over his former extravagances: Whereas he reckoned that this would be checked by the Duke's going to *Scotland*; and that he would study to make himself acceptable to that Nation, and bring things among them into order and temper. The Duke met the King at *New-Market* as it was ordered: But upon that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was yet President of the Council, tho' he had quite lost all his interest in the King, called a Council at *White-Hall*, and represented to them the danger the King was in by the Duke's being so near him; and pressed the Council to represent this to the King. But they did not agree to it: And upon the King's coming to *London* he was turned out, and Lord *Roberts*, made then Earl of *Radnor*, was made Lord President.

The Duke went to *Scotland* soon after: And upon that the Duke of *Monmouth* grew impatient, when he found he was still to be kept beyond sea. He begged the King's leave to return: But when he saw no hope of obtaining it, he came over without leave. The King upon that would not see him, and required him to go back; on which his friends were divided. Some advised him to comply with the King's pleasure: But he gave himself fatally up to the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s conduct, who put him on all the methods imaginable to make himself popular. He went round many parts of *England*, pretending it was for hunting and horse matches, many thousands coming together in most places to see him: So that this looked like the mustering up the force of the party: But it really weakned it: Many grew jealous of the design, and fancied here was a new civil war to be raised. Upon this they joined in with the Duke's party. Lord *Shaftsbury* set also on foot petitions for a Parliament, in order to the securing the King's person, and the Protestant Religion. These were carried about and signed in many places, not-

*Monmouth's*  
disgrace.

Petitions for  
a Parliament.



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withstanding the King set out a proclamation against them: Upon that a set of counter petitions was promoted by the Court, expressing an abhorrence of all seditious practices, and referring the time of calling a Parliament wholly to the King. There were not such numbers that joined in the petitions for the Parliament, as had been expected: So this shewed rather the weakness than the strength of the party: And many well meaning men began to dislike those practices, and to apprehend that a change of government was designed.

Some made a reflection on that whole method of proceeding, which may deserve well to be remembred: In the intervals of Parliament, men that complain of the government by keeping themselves in a fullen and quiet state, and avoiding cabals and publick assemblies, grow thereby the stronger and more capable to make a stand when a Parliament comes: Whereas by their forming of parties out of Parliament, unless in order to the managing of elections, they do both expose themselves to much danger, and bring an ill character on their designs over the Nation; which naturally loves parliamentary cures, but is jealous of all other methods.

Great discontent on all sides.

The King was now wholly in the Duke's interest, and resolved to pass that winter without a Parliament. Upon which the Lords *Russel* and *Cavendish*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powel*, four of the new Counsellors, desired to be excused from their attendance in Council. Several of those who were put in the Admiralty and in other commissions desired likewise to be dismissed: With this the King was so highly offended, that he became more fullen and intractable than he had ever been before.

Godolphin's character.

The men that governed now were the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord *Hide*, and *Godolphin*: The last of these was a younger brother of an ancient Family in *Cornwall*, that had been bred about the King from a page, and was now considered as one of the ablest men that belonged to the Court: He was the silentest and modestest man that was perhaps ever bred in a Court. He had a clear apprehension, and dispatched business with great method, and with so much temper that he had no personal enemies: But his silence begot a jealousy, which has hung long upon him. His notions were for the Court: But his incorrupt and sincere way of managing the concerns of the treasury created in all people a very high esteem for him. He loved gaming the most of any man of business I ever knew; and gave one reason for it, because it delivered him from the obligation to talk much: He had

true



true principles of religion and vertue, and was free from all vanity, and never heaped up wealth: So that all things being laid together, he was one of the worthiest and wisest men that has been employed in our time: And he has had much of the confidence of four of our succeeding Princes.

In the spring of the year eighty the Duke had leave to come to *England*; and continued about the King till next winter, that the Parliament was to sit. Foreign affairs seemed to be forgot by our Court. The Prince of *Orange* had projected an alliance against *France*: And most of the *German* Princes were much disposed to come into it: For the *French* had set up a new Court at *Metz*, in which many Princes were, under the pretence of dependencies and some old forgot or forged titles, judged to belong to the new *French* conquests. This was a mean as well as a perfidious practice, in which the Court of *France* raised much more jealousy and hatred against themselves than could ever be balanced by such small accessions as were adjudged by that mock Court. The Earl of *Sunderland* entred into a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, which he managed by his Uncle Mr. *Sidney*, who was sent Envoy to *Holland*: The Prince seemed confident, that if *England* would come heartily into it, a strong confederacy might then have been formed against *France*. *Van Beuning* was then in *England*: And he wrote to the town of *Amsterdam*, that they could not depend on the faith or assistance of *England*. He assured them the Court was still in the *French* interest: He also looked on the jealousy between the Court and the Country party as then so high, that he did not believe it possible to heal matters so as to encourage the King to enter into any alliance that might draw on a war: For the King seemed to set that up for a maxim, that his going into a war was the putting himself into the hands of his Parliament; and was firmly resolved against it. Yet the project of a league was formed: And the King seemed inclined to go into it, as soon as matters could be well adjusted at home.

There was this year at midsummer a new practice begun in the city of *London*, that produced very ill consequences. The city of *London* has by Charter the shrivalry of *Middlesex*, as well as of the city: And the two Sheriffs were to be chosen on midsummer day. But the common method had been for the Lord Mayor to name one of the Sheriffs by drinking to him on a publick occasion: And that nomination

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An alliance projected against France.

The election of the Sheriffs of London.



1679 nation was commonly confirmed by the Common Hall: And then they named the other Sheriff. The truth was, the way in which the Sheriffs lived made it a charge of about 5000 *l.* a year: So they took little care about it, but only to find men that would bear the charge; which recommended them to be chosen Aldermen upon the next vacancy, and to rise up according to their standing to the Mayoralty, which generally went in course to the senior Alderman. When a person was set up to be Sheriff that would not serve, he compounded the matter for 400 *l.* fine. All juries were returned by the Sheriffs: But they commonly left that wholly in the hands of their Under-Sheriffs: So it was now pretended that it was necessary to look a little more carefully after this matter. The Under-Sheriffs were generally Attorneys, and might be easily brought under the management of the Court: So it was proposed, that the Sheriffs should be chosen with more care, not so much that they might keep good tables, as that they should return good juries: The person to whom the present Mayor had drunk was set aside: And *Bethel* and *Cornish* were chosen Sheriffs for the ensuing year. *Bethel* was a man of knowledge, and had writ a very judicious book of the interests of Princes: But as he was a known republican in principle, so he was a sullen and wilful man; and turned from the ordinary way of a Sheriff's living into the extream of sordidness, which was very unacceptable to the body of the citizens, and proved a great prejudice to the party. *Cornish*, the other Sheriff was a plain, warm, honest man; and lived very nobly all his year: The Court was very jealous of this, and understood it to be done on design to pack juries: So that the party should be always safe, whatever they might engage in. It was said, that the King would not have common justice done him hereafter against any of them, how guilty soever. The setting up *Bethel* gave a great colour to this jealousy; for it was said, he had expressed his approving the late King's death in very indecent terms. These two persons had never before received the Sacrament in the Church, being Independents: But they did it now to qualify themselves for this office, which gave great advantages against the whole party: It was said, that the serving an end was a good resolver of all cases of conscience, and purged all scruples.

Thus matters went on till the winter eighty, in which the King resolved to hold a session of Parliament: He sent the Duke to *Scotland* a few days before their meeting: And



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upon that the Duchess of *Portsmouth* declared openly for the Exclusion; and so did Lord *Sunderland* and *Godolphin*. Lord *Sunderland* assured all people, that the King was resolved to settle matters with his Parliament on any terms, since the interest of *England* and the affairs of *Europe* made a league against *France* indispensably necessary at that time; which could not be done without a good understanding at home. Lord *Sunderland* sent Lord *Arran* for me: I declined this new acquaintance as much as I could: But it could not be avoided: He seemed then very zealous for a happy settlement: And this I owe him in Justice, that tho' he went off from the measures he was in at that time, yet he still continued personally kind to my self: Now the great point was, whether the limitations should be accepted, and treated about, or the Exclusion be pursued. Lord *Halifax* assured me, that any limitations whatsoever that should leave the title of King to the Duke, tho' it should be little more than a meer title, might be obtained of the King: But that he was positive and fixed against the Exclusion. It is true, this was in a great measure imputed to his management, and that he had wrought the King up to it.

The bill of exclusion again taken up.

The most specious handle for recommending the limitations was this: The Duke declared openly against them: So if the King should have agreed to them, it must have occasioned a breach between him and the Duke: And it seemed to be very desirable to have them once fall out; since, as soon as that was brought about, the King of his own accord and for his own security might be moved to promote the Exclusion. The truth is, Lord *Halifax's* hatred of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and his vanity in desiring to have his own notion preferred, sharpened him at that time to much indecency in his whole deportment: But the party depended on the hopes that Lady *Portsmouth* and Lord *Sunderland* gave them: Many meetings were appointed between Lord *Halifax* and some leading men; in which as he tried to divert them from the Exclusion, so they studied to persuade him to it, both without effect. The majority had engaged themselves to promote the Exclusion, Lord *Russel* moved it first in the House of Commons, and was seconded by *Capel*, *Mountague*, and *Winnington*: *Jones* came into the House a few days after this, and went with great zeal into it: *Jenkins*, now made Secretary of State in *Coventry's* place, was the chief manager for the Court. He was a man of an exemplary life, and considerably learned: But he was dull and slow: He was



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Past by the  
commons.

The bill of  
exclusion  
gain taken  
up.

suspected of leaning to Popery, tho' very unjustly: But he was set on every punctilio of the Church of *England* to superstition, and was a great assertor of the divine right of monarchy, and was for carrying the prerogative high: He neither spoke nor writ well: But being so eminent for the most courtly qualifications, other matters were the more easily dispensed with. All his speeches and arguments against the Exclusion were heard with indignation: So the bill was brought into the House. It was moved by those who opposed it, that the Duke's daughters might be named in it, as the next in the succession: But it was said, that was not necessary; for since the Duke was only personally disabled, as if he had been actually dead, that carried the succession over to his daughters: Yet this gave a jealousy, as if it was intended to keep that matter still undetermined; and that upon another occasion it might be pretended, that the disabling the Duke to succeed did likewise disable him to derive that right to others, which was thus cut off in himself. But tho' they would not name the Duke's daughters, yet they sent such assurances to the Prince of *Orange*, that nothing thus proposed could be to his prejudice, that he believed them, and declared his desire, that the King would fully satisfy his Parliament: The States sent over memorials to the King, pressing him to consent to the Exclusion. The Prince did not openly appear in this: But it being managed by *Fagel*, it was understood that he approved of it: And this created a hatred in the Duke to him, which was never to be removed. Lord *Sunderland* by *Sidney's* means engaged the States into it: And he fancied that it might have some effect.

But rejected  
by the Lords.

The bill of Exclusion was quickly brought up to the Lords. The Earls of *Essex* and *Shaftsbury* argued most for it: And the Earl of *Halifax* was the champion on the other side: He gained great honour in the debate; and had a visible superiority to Lord *Shaftsbury* in the opinion of the whole House: And that was to him triumph enough. In conclusion, the bill was thrown out upon the first reading: The country party brought it nearer an equality, than was imagined they could do, considering the King's earnestness in it, and that the whole bench of the Bishops was against it. The Commons were inflamed when they saw the fate of their bill: They voted an address to the King to remove Lord *Halifax* from his counsels and presence for ever: Which was an unparliamentary thing; since it was visible that it was for his arguing as he did in the House of Lords, tho' they pretended it was for



for his advising the dissolution of the last Parliament: But that was a thin disguise of their anger: Yet without destroying the freedom of debate, they could not found their address on that which was the true cause of it. *Russel* and *Jones*, tho' formerly Lord *Halifax's* friends, thought it was enough not to speak against him in the House of Commons: But they sat silent. Some called him a Papist: Others said he was an Atheist. *Chicheley*, that had married his mother, moved, that I might be sent for to satisfy the House as to the truth of his Religion. I wish, I could have said as much to have persuaded them that he was a good Christian, as that he was no Papist: I was at that time in a very good character in that House: The first volume of the History of the Reformation was then out; and was so well received, that I had the thanks of both Houses for it, and was desired by both to prosecute that work. The Parliament had made an address to the King for a fast day. Dr. *Sprat* and I were ordered to preach before the House of Commons: My turn was in the morning: I mentioned nothing relating to the plot, but what appeared in *Coleman's* letters: Yet I laid open the cruelties of the Church of *Rome* in many instances that hapned in Queen *Mary's* Reign, which were not then known: And I aggravated, tho' very truly, the danger of falling under the power of that Religion. I pressed also a mutual forbearance among our selves in lesser matters: But I insisted most on the impiety and vices that had worn out all sense of Religion, and all regard to it among us. *Sprat* in the afternoon went further into the belief of the plot than I had done: But he insinuated his fears of their undutifulness to the King in a such manner, that they were highly offended at him: So the Commons did not send him thanks, as they did to me; which raised his merit at Court, as it increased the displeasure against me. *Sprat* had studied a polite stile much: But there was little strength in it: He had the beginnings of learning laid well in him: But he has allowed himself in a course of some years in much sloth and too many liberties.

The King sent many messages to the House of Commons, pressing for a supply, first for preserving *Tangier*, he being then in a war with the King of *Fez*, which by reason of the distance put him to much charge; but chiefly, for enabling him to go into alliances necessary for the common preservation.

The



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The House  
of Com-  
mons pro-  
ceeded a-  
gainst some  
with seve-  
rity.

The House upon that made a long representation to the King of the dangers that both he and they were in; and assured him, they would do every thing that he could expect of them, as soon as they were well secured: By which they meant, as soon as the Exclusion should pass, and that bad Ministers, and ill Judges should be removed. They renewed their address against Lord *Halifax*; and made addresses both against the Marquis of *Worcester*, soon after made Duke of *Beaufort*, and against Lord *Clarendon* and *Hyde*, as men inclined to Popery. *Hyde* spoke so vehemently to vindicate himself from the suspicions of Popery, that he cried in his speech: And *Jones* upon the score of old friendship got the words relating to Popery to be struck out of the address against him. The Commons also impeached several of the Judges, and Mr. *Seymour*: The Judges were accused for some illegal charges and judgments; and *Seymour*, for corruption and male-administration in the office of treasurer of the Navy. They impeached *Scroggs* for high treason: But it was visible that the matters objected to him were only misdemeanors: So the Lords rejected the impeachment; which was carried chiefly by the Earl of *Danby's* party, and in favour to him. The Commons did also assert the right of the people to petition for a Parliament: And because some in their counter-petitions had expressed their abhorrence of this practice, they voted these abhorrrers to be betrayers of the liberties of the Nation. They expelled one *Withins* out of their House for signing one of these, tho' he with great humility confessed his fault, and begged pardon for it. The merit of this raised him soon to be a Judge; for indeed he had no other merit: They fell also on Sir *George Jefferies*, a furious declaimer at the bar: But he was raised by that, as well as by this prosecution. The House did likewise send their Serjeant to many parts of *England* to bring up abhorrrers as delinquents: Upon which the right that they had to imprison any besides their own members came to be much questioned, since they could not receive an information upon oath, nor proceed against such as refused to appear before them. In many places those for whom they sent their Serjeant refused to come up. It was found, that such practices were grounded on no law, and were no elder than Queen *Elizabeth's* time: While the House of Commons used that power gently, it was submitted to in respect to it: But now it grew to be so much extended, that many resolved not to submit to it. The former Parliament had past a very strict act for the due execution of the *Habeas Corpus*;



*Corpus*; which was indeed all they did: It was carried by an odd artifice in the House of Lords. Lord Grey and Lord Norris were named to be the tellers: Lord Norris, being a man subject to vapours, was not at all times attentive to what he was doing: So a very fat Lord coming in, Lord Grey counted him for ten, as a jest at first: But seeing Lord Norris had not observed it, he went on with this misreckoning of ten: So it was reported to the House, and declared that they who were for the bill were the Majority, tho' it indeed went on the other side: And by this means the bill past. There was a bold forward man, *Sheredon*, a native of *Ireland*, whom the Commons committed: And he moved for his *Habeas Corpus*: Some of the Judges were afraid of the House, and kept out of the way: But Baron *Weston* had the courage to grant it. The session went yet into a higher strain; for they voted, that all anticipations on any branches of the Revenue were against law, and that whosoever lent any money upon the credit of those anticipations were publick enemies to the Kingdom. Upon this it was said, that the Parliament would neither supply the King themselves, nor suffer him to make use of his credit, which every private man might do. They said on the other hand, that they looked on the revenue as a publick treasure, that was to be kept clear of all anticipations, and not as a private estate that might be mortgaged: And they thought, when all other means of supply except by Parliament were stopped, that must certainly bring the King to their terms. Yet the clamour raised on this, as if they had intended to starve the King, and blast his credit, was a great load on them: And their vote had no effect, for the King continued to have the same credit that he had before. Another vote went much higher: It was for an association, copied from that in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, for the revenging the King's death upon all Papists, if he should happen to be killed. The precedent of that time was a specious colour: But this difference was assigned between the two cases: Queen *Elizabeth* was in no danger but from Papists: So that association struck a terror into that whole party, which did prove a real security to her; and therefore her Ministers set it on. But now, it was said, there were many Republicans still in the Nation, and many of *Cromwell's* officers were yet alive, who seemed not to repent of what they had done: So some of these might by this means be encouraged to attempt on the King's life, presuming that both the suspicions and revenges of it would

An association proposed.



1680 be cast upon the Duke and the Papists. Great use was made of this to possess all people, that this association was intended to destroy the King, instead of preserving him.

Expedients  
offered in the  
House of  
Lords.

There was not much done in the House of Lords after they threw out the bill of Exclusion. Lord *Halifax* indeed pressed them to go on to limitations: And he began with one, that the Duke should be obliged to live five hundred miles out of *England* during the King's life. But the House was cold, and backward in all that matter. Those that were really the Duke's friends abhorred all those motions: And Lord *Shaftsbury* and his party laughed at them: They were resolved to let all lie in confusion, rather than hearken to any thing besides the Exclusion. The House of Commons seemed also to be so set against that project, that very little progress was made in it. Lord *Essex* made a motion, which was agreed to in a thin House: But it put an end to all discourses of that nature: He moved, that an association should be entered into to maintain those expedients, and that some cautionary Towns should be put into the hands of the associators during the King's life to make them good after his death. The King looked on this as a deposing of himself. He had read more in *Davila* than in any other book of history: And he had a clear view into the consequences of such things, and looked on this as worse than the Exclusion. So that, as Lord *Halifax* often observed to me, this whole management looked like a design to unite the King more entirely to the Duke, instead of separating him from him: The King came to think that he himself was levelled at chiefly, tho' for decency's sake his brother was only named. The truth was, the leading men thought they were sure of the Nation, and of all future elections, as long as Popery was in view. They fancied the King must have a Parliament, and money from it very soon, and that in conclusion he would come in to them. He was much beset by all the hungry courtiers, who longed for a bill of money: They studied to persuade him, from his Father's misfortunes, that the longer he was in yielding, the terms would grow the higher.

Duchess of  
*Portsmouth's*  
conduct in  
this matter  
little understood.

They relied much on the Lady *Portsmouth's* interest, who did openly declare her self for the House of Commons: And they were so careful of her, that when one moved that an address should be made to the King for sending her away, he could not be heard, tho' at another time such a motion would have been better entertained. Her behaviour in this matter was unaccountable: And the Duke's behaviour to her



afterwards looked liker an acknowledgment than a resentment. Many refined upon it, and thought she was set on as a decoy to keep the party up to the Exclusion, that they might not hearken to the limitations. The Duke was assured, that the King would not grant the one: And so she was artificially managed to keep them from the other, to which the King would have consented, and of which the Duke was most afraid. But this was too fine: She was hearty for the Exclusion: Of which I had this particular account from *Mountague*, who I believe might be the person that laid the bait before her. It was proposed to her, that if she could bring the King to the Exclusion, and to some other popular things, the Parliament would go next to prepare a bill for securing the King's person; in which a clause might be carried, that the King might declare the Successor to the Crown, as had been done in *Henry* the eighth's time. This would very much raise the King's authority, and would be no breach with the Prince of *Orange*, but would rather oblige him to a greater dependance on the King. The Duke of *Monmouth* and his party would certainly be for this clause, since he could have no prospect any other way; and he would please himself with the hopes of being preferred by the King to any other person. But since the Lady *Portsmouth* found she was so absolutely the mistress of the King's spirit, she might reckon, that if such an act could be carried the King would be prevailed on to declare her son his successor: And it was suggested to her, that in order to the strengthening her Son's interest she ought to treat for a match with the King of *France's* natural Daughter, now the Duchess of *Bourbon*. And thus the Duke of *Monmouth* and she were brought to an agreement to carry on the Exclusion, and that other act pursuant to it: And they thought they were making tools of one another to carry on their own ends. The Nation was possessed with such a distrust of the King, that there was no reason to think they could ever be brought to so entire a confidence in him, as to deliver up themselves and their posterity so blindfold into his hands. *Mountague* assured me, that she not only acted heartily in this matter, but she once drew the King to consent to it, if she might have had 800000 *l.* for it: And that was afterwards brought down to 600000 *l.* But the jealousies upon the King himself were such, that the managers in the House of Commons durst not move for giving money till the bill of Exclusion should pass, lest they should have lost their credit by such



1680 such a motion: And the King would not trust them. So near was this point brought to an agreement, if *Montague* told me true.

That which reconciled the Duke to the Duchess of *Portsmouth* was, that the King assured him, she did all by his order, that so she might have credit with the party, and see into their designs: Upon which the Duke saw it was necessary to believe this, or at least to seem to believe it.

*Stafford's trial.*

The other great business of this Parliament was the trial of the Viscount of *Stafford*, who was the younger son of the old Earl of *Arundell*, and so was uncle to the Duke of *Norfolk*. He was a weak, but a fair conditioned man: He was in ill terms with his nephew's family: And had been guilty of great vices in his youth, which had almost proved fatal to him: He married the heiress of the great Family of the *Staffords*. He thought the King had not rewarded him for his former services as he had deserved: So he often voted against the Court, and made great applications always to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. He was in no good terms with the Duke; for the great consideration the Court had of his nephew's family made him to be the most neglected: When *Oates* deposed first against him, he happened to be out of the way: And he kept out a day longer. But the day after he came in, and delivered himself: Which, considering the feebleness of his temper, and the heat of that time, was thought a sign of innocence. *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore, he had a patent to be paymaster general to the army, *Dugdale* swore, that he offered him 500 *l.* to kill the King. *Bedlow* had died the summer before at *Bristol*. It was in the time of the assizes: *North*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, being there, he sent for him, and by oath confirmed all that he had sworn formerly, except that which related to the Queen, and to the Duke. He also denied upon oath, that any person had ever practised upon him, or corrupted him: His disowning some of the particulars which he had sworn had an appearance of sincerity, and gave much credit to his former depositions. I could never hear what sense he expressed of the other ill parts of his life, for he vanished soon out of all men's thoughts.

Another witness appeared against Lord *Stafford*, one *Turbervill*; who swore, that in the year seventy five the Lord *Stafford* had taken much pains to persuade him to kill the King: He began the proposition to him at *Paris*; and sent him by the way of *Diep* over to *England*, telling him that he



he intended to follow by the same road: But he wrote afterwards to him that he was to go by *Calais*. But he said he never went to see him upon his coming to *England*. *Turbervill* swore the year wrong at first: But upon recollection he went and corrected that error. This at such a distance of time seemed to be no great matter: It seemed much stranger, that after such discourses once begun he should never go near the Lord *Stafford*; and that Lord *Stafford* should never enquire after him. But there was a much more material objection to him. *Turbervill*, upon discourse with some in *St. Martin's* parish, seemed inclined to change his Religion: They brought him to Dr. *Lloyd*, then their minister: And he convinced him so fully that he changed upon it: And after that he came often to him, and was chiefly supported by him: For some months he was constantly at his table. *Lloyd* had pressed him to recollect all that he had heard among the Papists relating to plots and designs against the King or the Nation. He said that which all the converts at that time said often, that they had it among them that within a very little while their Religion would be set up in *England*; and that some of them said, a great deal of blood would be shed before it could be brought about: But he protested that he knew no particulars. After some months dependance on *Lloyd* he withdrew entirely from him; and he saw him no more till he appeared now an evidence against Lord *Stafford*: *Lloyd* was in great difficulties upon that occasion. It had been often declared, that the most solemn denials of witnesses before they make discoveries did not at all invalidate their evidence; and that it imported no more, but that they had been so long firm to their promise of revealing nothing: So that this negative evidence against *Turbervill* could have done Lord *Stafford* no service. On the other hand, considering the load that already lay on *Lloyd* on the account of *Berry's* business, and that his being a little before this time promoted to be Bishop of *St. Asaph* was imputed to that, it was visible that his discovering this against *Turbervill* would have aggravated those censures, and very much blasted him. In opposition to all this here was a justice to be done, and a service to truth, towards the saving a man's life: And the question was very hard to be determined. He advised with all his friends, and with my self in particular. The much greater number were of opinion that he ought to be silent. I said, my own behaviour in *Staley's* affair shewed what I would do if I was in that case:



1680 But his circumstances were very different: So I concurred with the rest as to him. He had another load on him: He had writ a book with very sincere intentions, but upon a very tender point: He proposed, that a discrimination should be made between the regular Priests that were in a dependence and under directions from *Rome*, and the secular Priests that would renounce the Pope's deposing power and his infallibility: He thought this would raise heats among themselves, and draw censures from *Rome* on the seculars, which in conclusion might have very good effects. This was very plausibly writ, and designed with great sincerity: But angry men said, all this was intended only to take off so much from the apprehensions that the Nation had of Popery, and to give a milder idea of a great body among them: And as soon as it had that effect, it was probable that all the missionaries would have leave given them to put on that disguise, and to take those discriminating tests till they had once prevailed: And then they would throw them off. Thus the most zealous man against Popery that I ever yet knew, and the man of the most entire sincerity, was so heavily censured at this time, that it was not thought fit, nor indeed safe, for him to declare what he knew concerning *Turbervill*.

The trial was very august: The Earl of *Nottingham* was the Lord High Steward: It continued five days. On the first day the Commons brought only general evidence to prove the plot: *Smith* swore some things that had been said to him at *Rome* of killing the King: An *Irish* Priest that had been long in *Spain* confirmed many particulars in *Oates's* narrative: Then the witnesses deposed all that related to the plot in general. To all this Lord *Stafford* said little, as not being much concerned in it: Only he declared, that he was always against the Pope's power of deposing Princes. He also observed a great difference between the gunpowder plot and that which was now on foot: That in the former all the chief conspirators died confessing the fact; but that now all died with the solemnest protestations of their innocence. On the second day the evidence against himself was brought: He urged against *Oates* that he swore he had gone in among them on design to betray them: So that he had been for some years taking oaths and receiving sacraments in so treacherous a manner, that no credit could be given to a man that was so black by his own confession. On the third day he brought his evidence to discredit the witnesses: His servant



vant swore, that while he was at the Lord *Aston's* *Dugdale* never was in his chamber but once; and that was on the account of a foot race. Some deposed against *Dugdale's* reputation: And one said, that he had been practising on himself to swear as he should direct him. The minister of the parish and another gentleman deposed, that they heard nothing from *Dugdale* concerning the killing a Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, which, as he had sworn, he had said to them. As to *Turbervill*, who had said that the Lord *Stafford* was at that time in a fit of the gout, his servants said they never knew him in a fit of the gout: And he himself affirmed, he never had one in his whole life. He also proved that he did not intend to come to *England* by *Diep*; for he had writ for a Yacht which met him at *Calais*. He also proved by several witnesses, that both *Dugdale* and *Turbervill* had often said that they knew nothing of any plot; and that *Turbervill* had lately said, he would set up for a witness, for none lived so well as witnesses did: He insisted likewise on the mistake of the year, and on *Turbervill's* never coming near him after he came over to *England*. The strongest part of his defence was, that he made it out unanswerably, that he was not at the Lord *Aston's* on one of the times that *Dugdale* had fixed on; for at that time he was either at *Bath* or at *Badminton*. For *Dugdale* had once fixed on a day; tho' afterwards he said it was about that time: Now that day happned to be the Marquis of *Worcester's* wedding day: And on that day it was fully proved that he was at *Badminton*, that Lord's house, not far from the *Bath*. On the fourth day proofs were brought to support the credit of the witnesses: It was made out, that *Dugdale* had served the Lord *Aston* long and with great reputation. It was now two full years since he began to make discoveries: And in all that time they had not found any one particular to blemish him with; tho' no doubt they had taken pains to examine into his life. His publishing the news of *Godfrey's* death was well made out, tho' two persons in the company had not minded it: Many proofs were brought that he was often in Lord *Stafford's* company, of which many more affidavits were made after that Lord's death. Two women that were still Papists swore, that upon the breaking out of the plot he searched into many papers and burnt them: He gave many of these to one of the women to fling in the fire; but finding a book of accounts he laid that aside, saying, there is no treason here,



1680 here, which imported that he thought the others were treasonable. He proved that one of the witnesses brought against him was so infamous in all respects, that Lord *Stafford* himself was convinced of it. He said, he had only pressed a man, who now appeared against him, to discover all he knew: He said, at such a distance of time he might mistake as to time or a day; but could not be mistaken as to the things themselves. *Turbervill* described both the street and the room in *Paris* in which he saw Lord *Stafford*. He found a witness that saw him at *Diep*, to whom he complained, that a Lord for whom he looked had failed him: And upon that he said he was no good staff to lean on; by which, tho' he did not name the Lord, he believed he meant Lord *Stafford*. *Dugdale* and he both confessed they had denied long that they knew any thing of the plot, which was the effect of the resolution they had taken, to which they adhered long, of discovering nothing: It was also proved that Lord *Stafford* was often lame, which *Turbervill* took for the gout. On the fifth day Lord *Stafford* resumed all his evidence, and urged every particular very strongly. *Jones* in the name of the Commons did on the other hand resume the evidence against him with great force: He said indeed nothing for supporting *Oates*; for the objection against him was not to be answered. He made it very clear that *Dugdale* and *Turbervill* were two good witnesses, and were not at all discredited by any thing that was brought against them. When it came to the giving of judgment, above fifty of the Peers gave it against Lord *Stafford*, and above thirty acquitted him: Four of the *Howards*, his kinsmen, condemned him: Lord *Arundell*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*, tho' in enmity with him, did acquit him. Duke *Lauderdale* condemned him: And so did both the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Anglesey*. Lord *Halifax* acquitted him. Lord *Nottingham* when he gave judgment delivered it with one of the best speeches he had ever made. But he committed one great indecency in it: For he said, who can doubt any longer that *London* was burnt by Papists, tho' there was not one word in the whole trial relating to that matter. Lord *Stafford* behaved himself during the whole time, and at the receiving his sentence, with much more constancy than was expected from him.

He was condemned.

He sent for me, and employed me to do him service.

Within two days after he sent a message to the Lords, desiring that the Bishop of *London* and I might be appointed to come to him. We waited on him: His design seemed to be



be only to possess us with an opinion of his innocence, of which he made very solemn protestations. He heard us speak of the points in difference between us and the Church of *Rome* with great temper and attention. At parting he desired me to come back to him next day; for he had a mind to be more particular with me. When I came to him, he repeated the protestations of his innocence; and said, he was confident the villany of the witnesses would soon appear: He did not doubt I should see it in less than a year. I pressed him in several points of Religion; and urged several things, which he said he had never heard before. He said, these things on another occasion would have made some impression upon him; but he had now little time, therefore he would loose none in controversy: So I let that discourse fall. I talked to him of those preparations for death in which all Christians agree: He entertained these very seriously. He had a mind to live, if it was possible: He said, he could discover nothing with relation to the King's life, protesting that there was not so much as an intimation about it that had ever past among them. But he added, that he could discover many other things, that were more material than any thing that was yet known, and for which the Duke would never forgive him: And of these, if that might save his life, he would make a full discovery. I stopt him when he was going on to particulars; for I would not be a confident in any thing in which the publick safety was concerned. He knew best the importance of those secrets; and so he could only judge, whether it would be of that value as to prevail with the two Houses to interpose with the King for his pardon. He seemed to think it would be of great use, chiefly to support what they were then driving on with relation to the Duke: He desired me to speak to Lord *Effex*, Lord *Russel*, and Sir *William Jones*. I brought him their answer the next day; which was, that if he did discover all he knew concerning the Papist's designs, and more particularly concerning the Duke, they would endeavour that it should not be insisted on, that he must confess those particulars for which he was judged. He asked me, what if he should name some who had now great credit, but had once engaged to serve their designs: I said, nothing could be more acceptable than the discovering such disguised Papists, or false Protestants: Yet upon this I charged him solemnly not to think of redeeming his own life by accusing any other falsely, but to tell the truth, and all the truth, as far as the common safety

1680

6 K was



1680 was concerned in it. As we were discoursing of these matters, the Earl of *Carlile* came in: In his hearing, by Lord *Stafford's* leave, I went over all that had passed between us, and did again solemnly adjure him to say nothing but the truth. Upon this he desired the Earl of *Carlile* to carry a message from him to the House of Lords, that whensoever they would send for him he would discover all that he knew: Upon that he was immediately sent for. And he began with a long relation of their first consultations after the Restoration about the methods of bringing in their Religion, which they all agreed could only be brought about by a toleration. He told them of the Earl of *Bristol's* project; and went on to tell who had undertaken to procure the toleration for them: And then he named the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. When he named him he was ordered to withdraw: And the Lords would hear no more from him. It was also given out, that in this I was a Tool of Lord *Halifax's* to bring him thither to blast Lord *Shaftsbury*. He was sent back to the Tower: And then he composed himself in the best way he could to suffer, which he did with a constant and undisturbed mind: He supped and slept well the night before his execution, and died without any shew of fear or disorder. He denied all that the witnesses had sworn against him. And this was the end of the plot. I was very unjustly censured on both hands. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* railed so at me that I went no more near him. And the Duke was made believe, that I had persuaded Lord *Stafford* to charge him, and to discover all he knew against him: Which was the beginning of the implacable hatred he shewed on many occasions against me. Thus the innocentest and best meant parts of a man's life may be misunderstood, and highly censured.

His execution.

1681

Motions in the favour of the Non-conformists.

The House of Commons had another business before them in this session: There was a severe act past in the end of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, when she was highly provoked with the seditious behaviour of the *Puritans*, by which those who did not conform to the Church were required to abjure the Kingdom under the pain of death: And for some degrees of Non-conformity they were adjudged to die, without the favour of banishment. Both Houses past a bill for repealing this act: It went indeed heavily in the House of Lords; for many of the Bishops, tho' they were not for putting that law in execution, which had never been done but in one single instance, yet they thought the terror of it was of some use,



use, and that the repealing it might make the party more insolent. On the day of the prorogation the bill ought to have been offered to the King, but the Clerk of the Crown, by the King's particular order, withdrew the bill. The King had no mind openly to deny it: But he had less mind to pass it. So this indiscreet method was taken, which was a high offence in the Clerk of the Crown. There was a bill of comprehension offered by the episcopal party in the House of Commons, by which the Presbyterians would have been taken into the Church. But to the amazement of all people their party in the House did not seem concerned to promote it: On the contrary they neglected it. This increased the jealousy, as if they had hoped they were so near the carrying all before them, that they despised a comprehension: There was no great progress made in this bill. But in the morning before they were prorogued two votes were carried in the House of a very extraordinary nature: The one was, that the laws made against recusants ought not to be executed against any but those of the Church of *Rome*. That was indeed the primary intention of the law: Yet all persons who came not to Church, and did not receive the sacrament once a year, were within the letter of the law. The other vote was, that it was the opinion of that House, that the laws against Dissenters ought not to be executed. This was thought a great invasion of the Legislature, when one House pretended to suspend the execution of laws: Which was to act like dictators in the State; for they meant that Courts and Juries should govern themselves by the opinion that they now gave: Which, instead of being a kindness to the Non-conformists, raised a new storm against them over all the Nation. When the King saw no hope of prevailing with the Commons on any other terms, but his granting the Exclusion, he resolved to prorogue the Parliament. And it was dissolved in a few days after, in *January* eighty one.

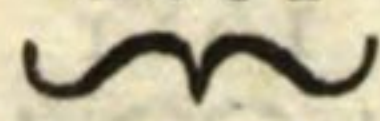
The King resolved to try a Parliament once more: But apprehending that they were encouraged, if not inflamed by the city of *London*, he summoned the next Parliament to meet at *Oxford*. It was said, men were now very bold about *London*, by their confidence in the Juries that the Sheriffs took care to return. Several printers were indicted for scandalous libels that they had printed: But the Grand Juries returned an *Ignoramus* upon the bills against them, on this pretence, that the law only condemned the printing such

The Parliament was dissolved.

libels



1681



libels maliciously and seditiously, and that it did not appear that the Printers had any ill intentions in what they did; whereas, if it was found that they printed such libels, the construction of law made that to be malicious and seditious. The elections over *England* for the new Parliament went generally for the same persons that had served in the former Parliament: And in many places it was given as an instruction to the members to stick to the bill of Exclusion.

A new expedient of a Prince Regent.

The King was now very uneasy: He saw he was despised all *Europe* over, as a Prince that had neither treasure nor power: So one attempt more was to be made, which was to be managed chiefly by *Littleton*, who was now brought into the commission of the Admiralty. I had once in a long discourse with him argued against the expedients, because they did really reduce us to the state of a Commonwealth. I thought a much better way was, that there should be a Protector declared, with whom the regal power should be lodged; and that the Prince of *Orange* should be the person. He approved the notion: But thought that the title Protector was odious, since *Cromwell* had assumed it, and that therefore Regent would be better: We dressed up a scheme of this for near two hours: And I dreamt no more of it. But some days after he told me the notion took with some, and that both Lord *Halifax* and *Seymour* liked it: But he wondered to find Lord *Sunderland* did not go into it. He told me after the Parliament was dissolved, but in great secrecy, that the King himself liked it. Lord *Nottingham* talked in a general and odd strain about it. He gave it out, that the King was resolved to offer one expedient, which was beyond any thing that the Parliament could have the confidence to ask. *Littleton* pressed me to do what I could to promote it; and said, that as I was the first that had suggested it, so I should have the honour of it, if it proved so successful as to procure the quieting of the Nation. I argued upon it with *Jones*: But I found they had laid it down for a maxim, to hearken to nothing but the Exclusion. All the Duke of *Monmouth's* party looked on this as that which must put an end to all his hopes. Others thought, in point of honour they must go on as they had done hitherto: *Jones* stood upon a point of law, of the unseparableness of the prerogative from the person of the King. He said, an infant or a lunatick was in a real incapacity of struggling with his guardians; but that if it was not so, the law that



constituted their guardians would be of no force. He said, if the Duke came to be King, the prerogative would by that vest in him; and the Prince Regent and he must either strike up a bargain, or it must end in a civil war, in which he believed the force of law would give the King the better of it. It was not to be denied but that there was some danger in this: But in the ill circumstances in which we were no remedies could be proposed that were without great inconveniences, and that were not liable to much danger. In the mean while both sides were taking all the pains they could to fortify their party: And it was very visible, that the side which was for the Exclusion was like to be the strongest.

A few days before the King went to Oxford *Fitzharris*, an Irish Papist, was taken up for framing a malicious and treasonable libel against the King and his whole Family. He had met with one *Everard*, who pretended to make discoveries, and as was thought had mixed a great deal of falsehood with some truth: But he held himself in general terms, and did not descend to so many particulars as the witnesses had done. *Fitzharris* and he had been acquainted in France: So on that confidence he shewed him his libel: And he made an appointment to come to *Everard's* chamber, who thought he intended to trepan him, and so had placed witnesses to overhear all that past. *Fitzharris* left the libel with him, all writ in his own hand: *Everard* went with the paper and with his witnesses and informed against *Fitzharris*, who upon that was committed. But seeing the proof against him was like to be full, he said, the libel was drawn by *Everard*, and only copied by himself: But he had no sort of proof to support this. *Cornish* the Sheriff going to see him, he desired he would bring him a Justice of Peace; for he could make a great discovery of the plot, far beyond all that was yet known. *Cornish* in the simplicity of his heart went and acquainted the King with this: For which he was much blamed; for it was said, by this means that discovery might have been stopt: But his going first with it to the Court proved afterwards a great happiness both to himself and to many others. The Secretaries and some privy Counsellors were upon that sent to examine *Fitzharris*; to whom he gave a long relation of a practice to kill the King, in which the Duke was concerned, with many other particulars which need not be mentioned; for it was all a fiction. The Secretaries came to him a second time to examine him farther: He boldly stood to all he had said: And



1681 he desired that some Justices of the City might be brought to him. So *Clayton* and *Treby* went to him: And he made the same pretended discovery to them over again; and insinuated, that he was glad it was now in safe hands that would not stifle it. The King was highly offended with this, since it plainly shewed a distrust of his ministers: And so *Fitzharris* was removed to the Tower; which the Court resolved to make the prison for all offenders, till there should be Sheriffs chosen more at the King's devotion. Yet the deposition made to *Clayton* and *Treby* was in all points the same that he had made to the Secretaries: So that there was no colour for the pretence afterward put on this, as if they had practised on him.

The Parliament of Oxford was soon dissolved.

The Parliament met at *Oxford* in *March*: The King opened it with severe reflections on the proceedings of the former Parliament. He said, he was resolved to maintain the succession of the Crown in the right line: But for quieting his peoples fears he was willing to put the administration of the government into Protestant's hands. This was explained by *Ernley* and *Littleton* to be meant of a Prince Regent, with whom the regal prerogative should be lodged during the Duke's life. *Jones* and *Littleton* managed the debate on the grounds formerly mentioned: But in the end the proposition was rejected; and they resolved to go again to the bill of Exclusion, to the great joy of the Duke's party, who declared themselves more against this than against the Exclusion itself. The Commons resolved likewise to take the management of *Fitzharris's* affair out of the hands of the Court: So they carried to the Lords bar an impeachment against him, which was rejected by the Lords upon a pretence with which Lord *Nottingham* furnished them. It was this: *Edward* the third had got some Commoners to be condemned by the Lords; of which when the House of Commons complained, an order was made, that no such thing should be done for the future. Now that related only to proceedings at the King's suit: But it could not be meant, that an impeachment from the Commons did not lie against a Commoner. Judges, Secretaries of State, and the Lord Keeper were often Commoners: So if this was good law, here was a certain method offered to the Court, to be troubled no more with impeachments, by employing only Commoners. In short, the Peers saw the design of this impeachment, and were resolved not to receive it: And so made use of this colour to reject it. Upon that the Commons past a vote, that  
justice

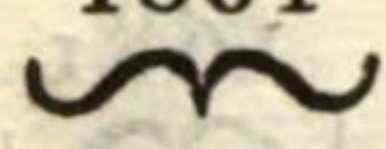


justice was denied them by the Lords: And they also voted, that all those who concurred in any sort in trying *Fitzharris* in any other Court were betrayers of the liberties of their Country. By these steps which they had already made the King saw what might be expected from them: So very suddenly, and not very decently, he came to the House of Lords, the Crown being carried between his feet in a sedan: And he put on his robes in haste, without any previous notice, and called up the Commons, and dissolved the Parliament; and went with such haste to *Windsor*, that it looked as if he was afraid of the crouds that this meeting had brought to *Oxford*.

Immediately upon this the Court took a new ply; and things went in another channel: Of which I go next to give as impartial an account, as I have hitherto given of the plot, and of all that related to it. At this time the distinguishing names of *Whig* and *Tory* came to be the denominations of the parties. I have given a full account of all errors during this time with the more exactness, to warn posterity from falling into the like excesses, and to make it appear how mad and fatal a thing it is to run violently into a torrent, and in a heat to do those things which may give a general disgust, and to set precedents to others, when times turn, to justify their excesses, by saying they do only follow the steps of those who went before them. The shedding so much blood upon such doubtful evidence was like to have proved fatal to him who drove all these things on with the greatest fury: I mean the Earl of *Shaftsbury* himself. And the strange change that appeared over the Nation with relation to the Duke, from such an eager prosecution of the Exclusion to an indecent courting and magnifying him, not without a visible coldness towards the King in comparison of him, shewed how little men could build on popular heats, which have their ebbings and flowings, and their hot and cold fits, almost as certainly as seas or fevers have. When such changes happen, those who have been as to the main with the side that is run down will be charged with all the errors of their side, how much soever they may have opposed them. I who had been always in distrust of the witnesses, and dissatisfied with the whole method of proceedings, yet came to be fallen on not only in pamphlets and poems, but even in sermons, as if I had been an incendiary, and a main stickler against the Court, and in particular against the Duke. So upon this I went into a closer retirement: And to keep my mind from

A great change in affairs.



1681  running after news and affairs, I set my my self to the study of Philosophy and Algebra. I diverted my self with many processes in Chymistry: And I hope I went into the best exercises, from which I had been much diverted by the bustling of a great town in so hot a time. I had been much trusted by both sides: And that is a very dangerous state; for a man may come upon that to be hated and suspected by both. I withdrew much from all conversation: Only I lived still in a particular confidence with the Lords *Essex* and *Russel*.

The King's  
declaration.

Addreses to  
the King  
from all  
parts of  
*England*.

The King set out a declaration for satisfying his people. He reckoned up in it all the hard things that had been done by the three last Parliaments; and set out their undutiful behaviour to himself in many instances: Yet in conclusion he assured his good subjects, that nothing should ever alter his affection to the Protestant Religion as established by law, nor his love to Parliaments: For he would have still frequent Parliaments. When this past in Council, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* moved, that an order should be added to it, requiring the Clergy to publish it in all the Churches of *England*: This was looked on as a most pernicious precedent, by which the Clergy were made the heralds to publish the King's declarations, which in some instances might come to be not only indecent but mischievous. An answer was writ to the King's declaration with great spirit and true judgment. It was at first penned by *Sidney*: But a new draught was made by *Somers*, and corrected by *Jones*. The spirit of that side was now spent: So that this, tho' the best writ paper in all that time, yet had no great effect. The declaration raised over *England* a humour of making addreses to the King, as it were in answer to it. The Grand Juries and the bench of Justices in the counties, the cities and boroughs, the franchises and corporations, many mannors, the companies in towns, and at last the very apprentices sent up addreses. Of these some were more modestly penned, and only expressed their joy at the assurances they saw in the King's declaration; and concluded, that they upon that dedicated their lives and fortunes to his service. But the greater number, and the most acceptable, were those who declared they would adhere to the unalterable succession of the Crown in the lineal and legal descent, and condemned the bill of Exclusion. Others went higher, and arraigned the late Parliaments as guilty of sedition and treason. Some reflected severely on the Non-conformists; and thanked the King for his

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his not repealing that act of the thirty fifth of Queen *Elizabeth*; 1681  
which they prayed might be put in execution. Some of the  
addresses were very high panegyrics, in which the King's  
person and government were much magnified. Many of  
those who brought these up were knighted upon it: And  
all were well treated at Court. Many zealous healths were  
drunk among them: And in their cups the old valour and  
the swaggerings of the Cavaliers seemed to be revived. The  
Ministers saw thro' this, and that it was an empty noise, and  
a false shew. But it was thought necessary then to encourage  
it. Tho' Lord *Halifax* could not restrain himself from shewing  
his contempt of it, in a saying that was much repeated: He said,  
the petitioners for a Parliament spit in the King's face, but the  
addressers spit in his mouth. As the country sent up ad-  
dresses, so the town sent down pamphlets of all sorts, to  
possess the Nation much against the late Parliament: And  
the Clergy struck up to a higher note, with such zeal for  
the Duke's succession, as if a Popish King had been a spe-  
cial blessing from heaven, to be much longed for by a Pro-  
testant Church. They likewise gave themselves such a loose  
against Non-conformists, as if nothing was so formidable as  
that party: So that in all their sermons Popery was quite  
forgot, and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly  
against the Dissenters; who were now by order from the  
Court to be proceeded against according to law. There  
was also a great change made in the commissions all *Eng-  
land* over: None were left either on the Bench, or in the  
Militia, that did not with zeal go into the humour of the  
Court. And such of the Clergy as would not engage in that  
fury were cried out upon as the betrayers of the Church, and  
as secret favourers of the Dissenters. The truth is, the num-  
bers of these were not great: One observed right, that, ac-  
cording to the proverb in the Gospel, *where the carcase is  
the Eagles will be gathered together*: The scent of preferment  
will draw aspiring men after it.

*Fitzharris's* trial came on in *Easter Term*: *Scroggs* was turned *Fitzharris's*  
out, and *Pemberton* was made Chief Justice. His rise was so *trial.*  
particular, that it is worth the being remembred: In his youth  
he mixed with such lewd company that he quickly spent  
all he had; and ran so deep in debt that he was cast into  
a jayl, where he lay many years: But he followed his studies  
so close in the jayl, that he became one of the ablest men  
of his profession. He was not wholly for the Court: He  
had been a Judge before, and was turned out by *Scroggs's*  
means:



1681 means: And now he was raised again, and was afterwards made Chief Justice of the other Bench: But not being compliant enough, he was turned out a second time, when the Court would be served by none but by men of a thorough paced obsequiousness. *Fitzbarris* pleaded the impeachment in Parliament: But since the Lords had thrown that out it was over-ruled. He pretended he could discover the secret of *Godfrey's* murder: He said, he heard the Earl of *Danby* say at *Windsor*, that it must be done: But when the Judge told the Grand Jury, that what was said at *Windsor* did not lie before them, *Fitzbarris* immediately said, he had heard him say the same thing at *Whitehall*. This was very gross: Yet upon so slight an evidence they found the bill against the Lord *Danby*. And when they were reproached with it, they said a dubious evidence was a sufficient ground for a Grand Jury: Yet another doctrine was set up by the same sort of men within a few months.

*Plunket* an  
Irish Bishop  
condemned  
and executed.

*Plunket*, the Popish Primate of *Armagh*, was at this time brought to his trial. Some lewd *Irish* Priests, and others of that Nation, hearing that *England* was at that time disposed to hearken to good swearers, thought themselves well qualified for the employment: So they came over to swear, that there was a great plot in *Ireland*, to bring over a *French* army, and to massacre all the *English*. The witnesses were brutal and profligate men: Yet the Earl of *Shaftsbury* cherished them much: They were examined by the Parliament at *Westminster*: And what they said was believed. Upon that encouragement it was reckoned that we should have witnesses come over in whole companies. Lord *Essex* told me, that this *Plunket* was a wise and sober man, who was always in a different interest from the two *Talbots*; the one of these being the titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, and the other raised afterwards to be Duke of *Tirconnell*. These were meddling and factious men; whereas *Plunket* was for their living quietly, and in due submission to the government, without engaging into intrigues of State. Some of these Priests had been censured by him for their lewdness: And they drew others to swear as they directed them. They had appeared the winter before upon a bill offered to the Grand Jury: But as the foreman of the Jury, who was a zealous Protestant, told me, they contradicted one another so evidently, that they would not find the bill. But now they laid their story better together; and swore against *Plunket*, that he had got a great bank of money to be prepared, and that he had an army listed,



lifted, and was in a correspondence with *France* to bring over a fleet from thence. He had nothing to say in his own defence, but to deny all: So he was condemned; and suffered very decently, expressing himself in many particulars as became a Bishop. He died denying every thing that had been sworn against him.

*Fitzharris* was tried next: And the proof was so full that he was cast. He moved in Court that I might be ordered to come to him, upon what reason I could never imagine: A rule was made that I might speak to him in the presence of the Lieutenant of the Tower. I went to him, and pressed him vehemently to tell the truth, and not to deceive himself with false hopes. I charged him with the improbabilities of his discovery; and laid home to him the sin of perjury, chiefly in matters of blood, so fully, that the Lieutenant of the Tower made a very just report of it to the King, as the King himself told me afterwards. When he saw there was no hope, he said the Lord *Howard* was the author of the libel. *Howard* was so ill thought of, that, it being known that there was a familiarity between *Fitzharris* and him, it was apprehended from the beginning that he was concerned in it. I had seen him in Lord *Howard's* company, and had told him how indecent it was to have such a man about him: He said he was in want, and was as honest as his Religion would suffer him to be. I found out afterwards, that he was a spy of the Lady *Portsmouth's*: And that he had carried Lord *Howard* to her: And, as Lord *Howard* himself told me, she brought the King to talk with him twice or thrice. The King, as he said, entred into a particular scheme with him of the new frame of his Ministry in case of an agreement, which seemed to him to be very near. As soon as I saw the libel I was satisfied that Lord *Howard* was not concerned in it: It was so ill drawn, and so little disguised in the treasonable part, that none but a man of the lowest form could be capable of making it. The report of Lord *Howard's* being charged with this was over the whole Town a day before any warrant was sent out against him; which made it appear, that the Court had a mind to give him time to go out of the way. He came to me, and solemnly vowed he was not at all concerned in that matter: So I advised him not to stir from home. He was committed that night: I had no liking to the man's temper: Yet he insinuated himself so into me, that without being rude to him it was not possible to avoid him. He was a man of a pleasant

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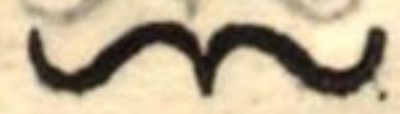


1681 conversation: But he railed so indecently both at the King and the Clergy, that I was very uneasy in his company: Yet now, during his imprisonment, I did him all the service I could. But *Algernoon Sidney* took his concerns and his family so to heart, and managed every thing relating to him with that zeal, and that care, that none but a monster of ingratitude could have made him the return that he did afterwards. When the bill against Lord *Howard* was brought to the Grand Jury, *Fitzbarris's* wife and maid were the two witnesses against him: But they did so evidently forswear themselves, that the Attorney General withdrew it. Lord *Howard* lay in the Tower till the Michaelmas term; and came out by the *Habeas Corpus*. I went no more to *Fitzbarris*: But *Hawkins* the Minister of the Tower took him into his management; and prevailed with him not only to deny all his former discovery, but to lay it on *Clayton*, *Treby*, and the Sheriffs, as a subornation of theirs, tho' it was evident that was impossible to be true. Yet at the same time he writ letters to his wife, who was not then admitted to him, which I saw and read, in which he told her, how he was practised upon with the hopes of life. He charged her to swear falsely against none: One of these was writ that very morning in which he suffered: And yet before he was led out he signed a new paper containing the former charge of subornation, and put it in *Hawkins's* hands. And at *Tyburn* he referred all he had to say to that paper, which was immediately published: But the falshood of it was so very notorious, that it shewed what a sort of man *Hawkins* was: Yet he was soon after rewarded for this with the Deanry of *Chichester*. But when the Court heard what letters *Fitzbarris* had writ to his wife they were confounded: And all further discourse about him was stifled. But the Court practised on her by the promise of a pension so far, that she delivered up her husband's letters to them. But so many had seen them before that, that this base practice turned much to the reproach of all their proceedings.

A Protestant plot.

Soon after this *Dugdale*, *Turbervill*, *Smith*, and the *Irish* witnesses came under another management; and they discovered a plot laid against the King to be executed at *Oxford*. The King was to be killed, and the government was to be changed. One *Colledge*, a Joyner by trade, was an active and hot man, and came to be known by the name of the Protestant Joyner. He was first seized on: And the witnesses swore many treasonable speeches against him: He was be-  
 †  
 lieved





lieved to have spoken oft with great indecency of the King, and with a sort of threatning, that they would make him pass the bill of Exclusion. But a design to seize on the King was so notorious a falshood, that notwithstanding all that the witnesses swore the Grand Jury returned *Ignoramus* upon the bill. Upon this the Court cried out against the Juries now returned, that they would not do the King justice, tho' the matter of the bill was sworn by witnesses whose testimony was well believed a few months before: It was commonly said, these Juries would believe every thing one way, and nothing the other. If they had found the bill, so that *Colledge* had been tried upon it, he would have been certainly saved: But since the witnesses swore that he went to *Oxford* on that design, he was triable there. *North* went to *Oxford*, *Colledge* being carried thither: And he tried him there. *North's* behaviour in that whole matter was such, that probably, if he had lived to see an impeaching Parliament, he might have felt the ill effects of it. The witnesses swore several treasonable words against *Colledge*, and that his coming to *Oxford* was in order to the executing these: So here was an over-act. *Colledge* was upon a negative: So he had nothing to say for himself, but to shew how little credit was due to the witnesses. He was condemned, and suffered with great constancy, and with appearances of devotion. He denied all the treasonable matter that had been sworn against him, or that he knew of any plot against the King. He confessed, that a great heat of temper had carried him to many undutiful expressions of the King: But he protested he was in no design against him. And now the Court intended to set the witnesses to swear against all the hot party; which was plainly murder in them, who believed them false witnesses, and yet made use of them to destroy others. One passage happned at *Colledge's* trial, which quite sunk *Dugdale's* credit: It was objected to him by *Colledge*, to take away his credit, that, when by his lewdness he had got the *French Pox*, he to cover that gave it out that he was poysoned by Papists: Upon which he, being then in Court, protested solemnly that he never had that disease; and said, that if it could be proved by any physician that he ever had it, he was content that all the evidence he had ever given should be discredited for ever. And he was taken at his word: For *Lower*, who was then the most celebrated physician in *London*, proved at the Council board that he had been under cure in his hands for that disease; which was made

*Colledge* condemned, and died upon it.



1681

*Shaftsbury*  
sent to the  
Tower.

out both by his bills, and by the Apothecary that served them. So he was never more heard of.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was committed next, and sent to the Tower upon the evidence of the *Irish* witnesses. His papers were at the same time seized on and searched: Nothing material was found among them, but a draught of an association, by which the King, if it had taken place, would have reigned only at the discretion of the party. This was neither writ, nor marked in any place with his hand: But, when there was a talk of an association, some had formed this paper, and brought it to him; of which he always professed, after the matter was over, that he remembered nothing at all. So it is probable, that, as is ordinary when any great business is before the Parliament that zealous men are at the doors with their several draughts, this was one of these cast carelessly by, and not thought on by him when he had sent his more valuable papers out of the way. There was likewise but one witness that could swear to its being found there: And that was the Clerk of the Council, who had perused those papers without marking them in the presence of any witness, as taken among Lord *Shaftsbury's* papers.

Practices upon  
witnesses.

There was all this summer strange practising with witnesses to find more matter against him: *Wilkinson*, a prisoner for debt that had been often with him, was dealt with to accuse him. The Court had found out two solicitors to manage such matters, *Burton* and *Graham*, who were indeed fitter men to have served in a court of inquisition than in a legal government. It was known, that Lord *Shaftsbury* was apt to talk very freely, and without discretion: So the two solicitors sought out all that had frequented his company; and tried what they could draw from them, not by a barefaced subornation, but by telling them, they knew well that Lord *Shaftsbury* had talked such and such things, which they named, that were plainly treasonable; and they required them to attest it, if they did ever hear such things from him: And they made them great promises upon their telling the truth. So that they gave hints and made promises to such as by swearing boldly would deserve them, and yet kept themselves out of danger of subornation, having witnesses in some corner of their chambers that overheard all their discourse. This was their common practice, of which I had a particular account from some whom they examined with relation to my self. In all this foul dealing



ing the King himself was believed to be the chief director: And Lord *Halifax* was thought deep in it, tho' he always expressed an abhorrence of such practices to me.

His resentments wrought so violently on him, that he seemed to be gone off from all his former notions. He pressed me vehemently to accept of preferment at Court; and said, if I would give him leave to make promises in my name, he could obtain for me any preferment I pleased. But I would enter into no engagements. I was contented with the condition I was in, which was above necessity, tho' below envy: The mastership of the Temple was like to fall, and I liked that better than any thing else. So both Lord *Halifax* and Lord *Clarendon* moved the King in it. He promised I should have it. Upon which Lord *Halifax* carried me to the King. I had reason to believe, that he was highly displeased with me for what I had done a year before. Mrs. *Roberts*, whom he had kept for some time, sent for me when she was a dying: I saw her often for some weeks, and among other things I desired her to write a letter to the King, expressing the sense she had of her past life: And at her desire I drew such a letter, as might be fit for her to write: But she never had strength enough to write it: So upon that I resolved to write a very plain letter to the King: I set before him his past life, and the effects it had on the Nation, with the judgments of God that lay on him, which was but a small part of the punishment that he might look for: I pressed him upon that earnestly to change the whole course of his life: I carried this letter to *Chiffinch's* on the twenty ninth of *January*; and told the King in the letter, that I hoped the reflections on what had befallen his Father on the thirtieth of *January* might move him to consider these things more carefully. Lord *Arran* happened to be then in waiting: And he came to me next day, and told me, he was sure the King had a long letter from me; for he held the candle to him while he read it: He knew at all that distance that it was my hand: The King read it twice over, and then threw it into the fire: And not long after Lord *Arran* took occasion to name me: And the King spoke of me with great sharpness: So he perceived that he was not pleased with my letter. Nor was the King pleased with my being sent for by *Wilmot* Earl of *Rochester*, when he died: He fancied, that he had told me many things, of which I might make an ill use: Yet he had read the book that I writ concerning him, and spoke well of it.

I was then offered preferment.

Grand Jury.  
by the  
warrant  
of the  
Court



1681  
*Halifax* carried me to the King.

In this state I was in the King's thoughts, when Lord *Halifax* carried me to him, and introduced me with a very extraordinary complement, that he did not bring me to the King to put me in his good opinion so much as to put the King in my good opinion: And added, he hoped that the King would not only take me into his favour, but into his heart. The King had a peculiar faculty of saying obliging things with a very good grace: Among other things he said, he knew that, if I pleased, I could serve him very considerably; and that he desired no service from me longer than he continued true to the Church and to the Law. Lord *Halifax* upon that added, that the King knew he served him on the same terms, and was to make his stops. The King and he fell into some discourse about Religion. Lord *Halifax* said to the King, that he was the head of his Church: To which the King answered, that he did not desire to be the head of nothing; for indeed he was of no Church. From that the King run out into much discourse about Lord *Shaftsbury*, who was shortly to be tried: He complained with great scorn of the imputation of subornation that was cast on himself. He said, he did not wonder that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was so guilty of those practices, should fasten them on others. The discourse lasted half an hour very hearty and free: So I was in favour again. But I could not hold it. I was told I kept ill company: The persons Lord *Halifax* named to me were the Earl of *Essex*, Lord *Russel*, and *Jones*. But I said, I would upon no consideration give over conversing with my friends: So I was where I was before.

*Shaftsbury* was acquitted by the Grand Jury.

A bill of indictment was presented to the Grand Jury against Lord *Shaftsbury*. The Jury was composed of many of the chief citizens of *London*. The witnesses were examined in open Court, contrary to the usual custom: The witnesses swore many incredible things against him, mixed with other things that looked very like his extravagant way of talking. The draught of the association was also brought as a proof of his treason, tho' it was not laid in the indictment, and was proved only by one witness. The Jury returned *Ignoramus* upon the bill. Upon this the Court did declaim with open mouth against these Juries; in which they said the spirit of the party did appear, since men even upon oath shewed they were resolved to find bills or *Ignoramus*, as they pleased, without regarding the evidence. And upon this a new set of addresses went round the Kingdom, in which they expressed



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fed their abhorrence of that association found in Lord *Shaftsbury's* cabinet; and complained, that Justice was denied the King; which were set off with all the fulsome rhetorick that the penners could varnish them with. It was upon this occasion said, that the Grand Jury ought to find bills even upon dubious evidence, much more when plain treason was sworn; since all they did in finding a bill was only to bring the person to his trial, and then the falshood of the witnesses was to be detected. But in defence of these *Ignoramus* Juries it was said, that by the exprefs words of their oath they were bound to make true presentments of what should appear true to them: And therefore, if they did not believe the evidence, they could not find a bill, tho' sworn to. A book was writ to support that, in which both law and reason were brought to confirm it: It past as writ by Lord *Effex*, tho' I understood afterwards it was writ by *Somers*, who was much esteemed and often visited by Lord *Effex*, and who trusted himself to him, and writ the best papers that came out in that time. It is true, by the practice that had generally prevailed, Grand Juries were easy in finding bills upon a slight and probable evidence. But it was made out, that the words of their oath, and the reason of the law seemed to oblige them to make no presentments but such as they believed to be true. On the other hand a private ill opinion of a witness, or the looking on a matter as incredible, did not seem to warrant the return of an *Ignoramus*: That seemed to belong to the Jury of life and death. The chief complaint that was made in the addresses was grounded on their not finding the bill on the account of the draught of the association: And this was in many respects very unreasonable. For as that was not laid in the bill, so there was but one witness to prove it; nor did the matter of the paper rise up to the charge of high treason. And now *Dugdale* and *Turbervill*, who had been the witnesses upon whose evidence Lord *Stafford* was condemned, being within a year detected, or at least suspected of this villany, I could not but reflect on what he said to me, that he was confident I should see within a year that the witnesses would be found to be rogues.

As to *Turbervill*, what happned soon after this will perhaps mitigate the censure: He was taken with the small pox in a few days after Lord *Shaftsbury's* trial. The symptoms were so bad, that the physician told him he had no hope of his recovery: Upon which he composed himself to die as

1682

*Turbervill's*  
death.



1682 became a Christian, and sent for Mr. *Hewes* the Curate of *St. Martins*, who was a very worthy man, and from whom I had this account of him. *Turbervill* looked on himself as a dead man at the first time he came to him: But his disease did no way affect his understanding or his memory. He seemed to have a real sense of another state, and of the account that he was to give to God for his past life. *Hewes* charged him to examin himself; and if he had sworn falsely against any man, to confess his sin and glorify God, tho' to his own shame. *Turbervill*, both in discourse and when he received the sacrament, protested that he had sworn nothing but the truth, in what he deposed both against Lord *Stafford* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and renounced the mercies of God, and the benefit of the death of *Christ*, if he did not speak the plain and naked truth without any reservation: And he continued in the same mind to his death. So here were the last words of dying men, against the last words of those that suffered. To this may well be added, that one who died of sickness, and under a great depression in his spirits, was less able to stifle his conscience, and resist the impressions that it might then make on him, than a man who suffers on a scaffold, where the strength of the natural spirits is entire, or rather exalted by the sense of the cause he suffers for. And we know that confession and absolution in the Church of *Rome* give a quiet, to which we do not pretend, where these things are said to be only ministerial, and not authoritative. About a year before this *Tonge* had died, who first brought out *Oates*. They quarrelled afterwards: And *Tonge* came to have a very bad opinion of *Oates*, upon what reason I know not. He died with expressions of a very high devotion: And he protested to all who came to see him, that he knew of no subornation in all that matter, and that he was guilty of none himself. These things put a man quite in the dark: And in this mist matters must be left till the great revelation of all secrets. And there I leave it: And from the affairs of *England* turn to give an account of what past in *Scotland* during this disorder among us here.

The affairs  
of Scotland.

The Duke behaved himself upon his first going to *Scotland* in so obliging a manner, that the Nobility and Gentry, who had been so long trodden on by Duke *Lauderdale* and his party, found a very sensible change: So that he gained much on them all. He continued still to support that side: Yet things were so gently carried, that there was no



no cause of complaint. It was visibly his interest to make that Nation sure to him, and to give them such an essay of his government, as might dissipate all the hard thoughts of him with which the world was possessed: And he pursued this for some time with great temper and as great success. He advised the Bishops to proceed moderately, and to take no notice of Conventicles in houses; and that would put an end to those in the fields. In matters of justice he shewed an impartial temper, and encouraged all propositions relating to trade: And so, considering how much that Nation was set against his Religion, he made a greater progress in gaining upon them than was expected. He was advised to hold a Parliament there in summer eighty one, and to take the character of the King's Commissioner upon himself.

A strange spirit of fury had broke loose on some of the Presbyterians, called *Cargillites* from one *Cargill* that had been one of the Ministers of *Glasgow* in the former times, and was then very little considered, but now was much followed to the great reproach of the Nation. These held that the King had lost the right of the Crown by his breaking the Covenant, which he had sworn at his Coronation: So they said, he was their King no more: And by a formal declaration they renounced all allegiance to him, which a party of them affixed to the cross of *Dunfreis*, a Town near the west border. The guards fell upon a party of them, whom they found in arms, where *Cameron* one of their furious teachers (from whom they were also called *Cameroonians*) was killed: But *Hackston*, that was one of the Archbishop's murderers, and *Cargill* were taken. *Hackston*, when brought before the Council would not own their authority, nor make any answer to their questions. He was so low by reason of his wounds, that it was thought he would die in the question if tortured: So he was in a very summary way condemned to have both his hands cut off, and then to be hanged. All this he suffered with a constancy that amazed all people: He seemed to be all the while as in an enthusiastical rapture, and insensible of what was done to him. When his hands were cut off, he asked, like one unconcerned, if his feet must be cut off likewise: And he had so strong a heart, that notwithstanding all the loss of blood by his wounds, and the cutting off his hands, yet when he was hanged up, and his heart cut out, it continued to palpitate some time after it was on the Hangman's knife, as some Eye-witnesses assured me. *Cargill*, and many others of that  
mad



1682 mad sect, both men and women, suffered with an obstinacy that was so particular, that tho' the Duke sent the offer of pardon to them on the Scaffold, if they would only say God bless the King, it was refused with great neglect: One of them, a woman, said very calmly, she was sure God would not bless him, and that therefore she would not take God's name in vain: Another said more sullenly, that she would not worship that idol, nor acknowledge any other King but *Christ*: And so both were hanged. About fifteen or sixteen died under this delusion, which seemed to be a sort of madness: For they never attempted any thing against any person: Only they seemed glad to suffer for their opinions. The Duke stopt that prosecution, and appointed them to be put in a house of correction, and to be kept at hard labour. Great use was made of this by prophane people to disparage the suffering of the Martyrs for the Christian Faith, from the unshaken constancy which these frantick peopled expressed. But this is undeniable, that men who die maintaining any opinion, shew that they are firmly persuaded of it: So from this the Martyrs of the first age, who died for asserting a matter of fact, such as the resurrection of *Christ*, or the miracles that they had seen, shewed that they were well persuaded of the truth of those facts. And that is all the use that is to be made of this argument.

A Parli-  
ment in Scot-  
land.

Now the time of the sitting of the Parliament drew on. The Duke seeing how great a man the Earl of *Argyle* was in *Scotland*, concluded it was necessary for him either to gain him or to ruin him. Lord *Argyle* gave him all possible assurances that he would adhere to his interest in every thing, except in the matters of Religion: But added, that if he went to meddle with these, he owned to him freely that he would oppose him all he could. This was well enough taken in shew: But Lord *Argyle* said, he observed ever after that such a visible coldness and distrust, that he saw what he might expect from him. Some moved the excepting against the Duke's Commission to represent the King in Parliament, since by law no man could execute any office without taking the oaths: And above forty members of Parliament promised to stick to Duke *Hamilton* if he would insist on that. But *Lockhart* and *Cunningham*, the two lawyers on whose opinion they depended chiefly, said, that a commission to represent the King's person fell not under the notion of an office: And since it was not expressly named in the acts of Parliament, they thought it did not fall within the general words of



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of all places and offices of trust. So this was laid aside: And many who were offended at it complained of Duke Hamilton's cowardise. He said for himself, he had been in a storm of seven years continuance by his opposing Duke Lauderdale, and that he would not engage in a new one with a stronger party, unless he was sure of the majority: And they were far from pretending to be able to bring matters to near an equality. The first act that past was one of three lines, confirming all the laws formerly made against Popery: The Duke thought it would give a good grace to all that should be done afterwards, to begin with such a general and cold confirmation of all former laws. Some moved, that a Committee might be appointed to examine all the former laws, (since some of them seemed unreasonably severe, as past in the first heat of the Reformation,) that so they might draw out of them all such as might be fit not only to be confirmed, but to be executed by better and properer methods than those prescribed in the former statutes, which had been all eluded. But it was not intended that this new confirmation should have any effect: And therefore this motion was not hearkned to. But the act was hurried on, and past.

The next act was for the unalterableness of the succession of the Crown. It was declared high treason ever to move for any alterations in it. Lord Argyle ran into this with zeal: So did Duke Hamilton: And all others that intended to merit by it made harangues about it. Lord Tweeddale was the only man that ventured to move, that the act might be made as strict as was possible with relation to the Duke: But he thought it not necessary to carry it further; since the Queen of Spain stood so near the succession, and it was no amiable thing to be a Province to Spain. Many were so ignorant as not to understand the relation of the Queen of Spain to the King, tho' she was his niece, and thought it an extravagant motion. He was not seconded: And the act past without one contradictory vote. There was an additional revenue given for some years for keeping up more troops. Some complaints were also made of the Lords of regalities, who have all the forfeitures and the power of life and death within their regalities. It was upon that promised, that there should be a regulation of these Courts, as there was indeed great cause for it, these Lords being so many tyrants up and down the country: So it was intended to subject these jurisdictions to the supream Judicatories. But



1682 the act was penned in such words, as imported that the whole course of justice all over the Kingdom was made subject to the King's will and pleasure: So that instead of appeals to the supream Courts, all was made to end in a personal appeal to the King: And by this means he was made master of the whole justice and property of the Kingdom. There was not much time given to consider things: For the Duke, finding that he was master of a clear majority, drove on every thing fast, and put bills on a very short debate to the vote, which went always as he had a mind to it. An accident hapned, that begot in many a particular zeal to merit at his hands: Lord *Rothes*, who had much of his confidence, and was chiefly trusted by him, and was made a Duke by his means, died the day before the opening of the Parliament: So upon the hopes of succeeding him, as there were many pretenders, they tried who could deserve it best by the most compliant submission and the most active zeal.

Several accusations of perjury stifled by the Duke.

As they were going on in publick business, one stood up in Parliament and accused Lord *Halton*, Duke *Lauderdale's* brother, of perjury, on the account of *Mitchell's* business: He had in his hands the two letters that Lord *Halton* had writ to the Earl of *Kincardin*, mentioning the promise of life that was made him: And, as was told formerly, Lord *Halton* swore at his trial that no promise was made. The Lord *Kincardin* was dead a year before this: But his Lady had delivered those letters to be made use of against Lord *Halton*. Upon reading them the matter appeared plain. The Duke was not ill pleased to have both Duke *Lauderdale* and him thus at mercy: Yet he would not suffer the matter to be determined in a parliamentary way: So he moved, that the whole thing might be referred to the King; which was immediately agreed to. So that infamous business was made publick, and yet stifled at the same time: And no censure was ever put on that base action. Another discovery was made of as wicked a conspiracy, tho' it had not such bad effects, because the tools employed in it could not be wrought up to such a determined pitch of wickedness. The Lord *Bargeny*, who was nephew to Duke *Hamilton*, had been clapt up in prison, as concerned in the rebellion of *Bothwell-Bridge*. Several days were fixed on for his trial: But it was always put off. And at last he was let out without having any one thing ever objected to him. When he was at liberty he used all possible endeavours to find out on what grounds he had been committed. At last he discovered a conspiracy, in which

*Halton*





*Halton* and some others of that party were concerned: They had practised on some, who had been in that rebellion, to swear that he and several others were engaged in it, and that they had sent them out to join in it. They promised these witnesses a large share of the confiscated estates, if they went thro' in the business. Depositions were prepared for them: And they promised to swear them: Upon which a day was fixed for their trial. But the hearts of those witnesses failed them, or their consciences rose upon them: So that when the day came on, they could not bring themselves to swear against an innocent man; and plainly refused to do it: Yet, upon new practices and new hopes, they again resolved to swear boldly: Upon which new days had been set twice or thrice: And, their hearts turning against it, they were still put off. Lord *Bargeny* had full proofs of all this ready to be offered: But the Duke prevailed to have this likewise referred to the King: And it was never more heard of. This shewed what Duke *Lauderdale's* party were capable of. It likewise gave an ill character of the Duke's zeal for justice, and against false swearing; tho' that had been the chief topick of discourse with him for above three years. He was angry at a supposed practice with witnesses, when it fell upon his own party: But now that there were evident proofs of perjury and subornation, he stopt proceedings under pretence of referring it to the King; who was never made acquainted with it, or at least never enquired after the proof of these allegations, nor ordered any proceedings upon them.

The main business of this Parliament was the act concerning the new test that was proposed. It had been promised in the beginning of the session, that as soon as an act for maintaining the succession should pass they should have all the security that they could desire for the Protestant Religion. So, many zealous men began to call for some more effectual security for their Religion: Upon which a test was proposed for all that should be capable of any office in Church or State, or of electing or being elected members of Parliament, that they should adhere firmly to the Protestant Religion; to which the Court party added, the condemning of all resistance in any sort, or under any pretence, the renouncing the Covenant, and an obligation to defend all the King's rights and prerogatives, and that they should never meet to treat of any matter civil or ecclesiastical but by the King's permission, and never endeavour any altera-

A test enacted in Parliament.



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alteration in the government in Church or State: And they were to swear all this according to the literal sense of the words. The test was thus loaded at first to make the other side grow weary of the motion and let it fall, which they would willingly have done. But the Duke was made to apprehend, that he would find such a test as this prove much for his service: So it seems, that article of the Protestant Religion was forgiven for the service that was expected from the other parts of the test. There was a hot debate upon the imposing it on all that might elect or be elected members of Parliament: It was said, that was the most essential of all the privileges of the subjects, therefore they ought not to be limited in it. The Bishops were earnest for this, which they thought would secure them for ever from a Presbyterian Parliament. It was carried in the vote: And that made many of the Court more zealous than ever for carrying thro' the act. Some proposed that there should be two tests: One for Papists with higher incapacities: And another for Presbyterians with milder censures. But that was rejected with much scorn, some making their Court by saying, they were more in danger from the Presbyterians than from the Papists: And it was reported that *Paterfon*, then Bishop of *Edenburgh*, said to the Duke, that he thought the two Religions, Popish and Protestant, were so equally stated in his mind, that a few grains of loyalty, in which the Protestants had the better of the Papists, turned the balance with him. Another clause in the bill was liable to great objections: All the Royal Family were excepted out of it. Lord *Argyle* spoke zealously against this: He said, the only danger we could apprehend as to Popery was, if any of the Royal Family should happen to be perverted: Therefore he thought it was better to have no act at all than such a clause in it. Some few seconded him: But it was carried without any considerable opposition. The nicest point of all was, what definition or standard should be made for fixing the sense of so general a term, as the Protestant Religion. *Dalrymple* proposed the confession of faith agreed on in the year one thousand five hundred fifty nine, and enacted in Parliament in one thousand five hundred sixty seven, which was the only confession of faith that had then the sanction of a law. That was a book so worn out of use, that scarce any one in the whole Parliament had ever read it: None of the Bishops had, as appeared afterwards. For these last thirty years the only confession of faith that was read in Scotland,



land, was that which the assembly of divines at *Westminster* Anno 1648 had set out, which the *Scottish* Kirk had set up instead of the old one: And the Bishops had left it in possession, tho' the authority that enacted it was annulled. So here a book was made the matter of an oath, (for they were to swear that they would adhere to the Protestant Religion, as it was declared in the confession of faith enacted in the year 1567, that contained a large system of Religion, that was not so much as known to those who enacted it: Yet the Bishops went all into it. *Dalrymple*, who had read it, thought there were propositions in it, which being considered better of would make the test be let fall: For in it the repressing of tyranny is reckoned a duty incumbent on good subjects. And the confession being made after the *Scots* had deposed the Queen Regent, and it being ratified in Parliament after they had forced their Queen *Mary* to resign, it was very plain what they who made and enacted this confession meant by the repressing of tyranny. But the Duke and his party set it on so earnestly, that upon one day's debate the act past, tho' only by a majority of seven voices. There was some appearance of security to the Protestant Religion by this test: But the prerogative of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters had been raised so high by Duke *Lauderdale's* act, that the obliging all people to maintain that with the rest of the prerogative, might have made way for every thing. All ecclesiastical Courts subsisted now by this test only upon the King's permission, and at his discretion.

The Parliament of *Scotland* was dissolved soon after this act past: And *Hyde* was sent down from the King to the Duke immediately upon it. It was given out, that he was sent by the King to press the Duke upon this victory to shew, that what ill usage could not extort from him he would now do of his own accord, and return to the Church of *England*. I was assured, that Lord *Halifax* had prevailed with the King to write to him to that purpose: The letter was writ, but was not sent: But Lord *Hyde* had it in charge to manage it as a message. How much of this is true I cannot tell: One thing is certain, that if it was true it had no effect.

As soon as the test with the confession of faith was printed, there was a universal murmuring among the best of the Clergy. Many were against the swearing to a system made up of so many propositions, of which some were at least



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Objections  
made to the  
test.

doubtful; tho' it was found to be much more moderate in many points, than could have been well expected considering the heat of that time. There was a limitation put on the duty of subjects in the article, by which they were required not to resist any whom God had placed in authority in these words, *while they pass not the bounds of their office*: And in another they condemned those who resist the supream power *doing that thing which appertaineth to his charge*. These were propositions now of a very ill sound: They were also highly offended at the great extent of the prerogative in the point of supremacy, by which the King turned Bishops out at pleasure by a letter. It was hard enough to bear this: But it seemed intolerable to oblige men by oath to maintain it. The King might by a Proclamation put down even Episcopacy it self, as the law then stood: And by this oath they would be bound to maintain that. All meeting in Synods, or for Ordinations, were hereafter to be held only by permission: So that all the visible ways of preserving Religion depended now wholly on the King's good pleasure: And they saw that this would be a very feeble tenure under a Popish King. The being tied to all this by oath seemed very hard. And when a Church was yet in so imperfect a state without liturgy or discipline, it was a strange imposition to make people swear never to endeavour any alteration either in Church or State. Some or all of these exceptions did run so generally thro' the whole body of the Clergy, that they were all shaking in their resolutions. To prevent this, an explanation was drawn by Bishop *Paterfon*, and past in Council. It was by it declared, that it was not meant that those who took the test should be bound to every article in the confession of faith, but only in so far as it contained the doctrine upon which the Protestant Churches had settled the reformation: And that the test did not cut off those rights, which were acknowledged to have been in the primitive Church for the first three hundred years after *Christ*: And an assurance was given, that the King intended never to change the government of the Church. By this it was pretended that the greatest difficulties were now removed. But to this it was answered, that they were to swear they took the oath in the literal sense of the words. So that, if this explanation was not conform to the literal sense, they would be perjured who took it upon this explanation. The imposers of an oath could only declare the sense of it: But that could not be done by any other, much less by a lower



authority, such as the privy Councils was confessed to be. 1682  
Yet when men are to be undone if they do not submit to a hard law, they willingly catch at any thing that seems to resolve their doubts.

About eighty of the most learned and pious of their Clergy left all rather than comply with the terms of this law: And these were noted to be the best preachers, and the most zealous enemies to Popery, that belonged to that Church. The Bishops, who thought their refusing the test was a reproach to those who took it, treated them with much contempt, and put them to many hardships. About twenty of them came up to *England*: I found them men of excellent tempers, pious and learned, and I esteemed it no small happiness that I had then so much credit by the ill opinion they had of me at Court, that by this means I got most of them to be well settled in *England*; where they have behaved themselves so worthily, that I have great reason to rejoice in being made an instrument to get so many good men, who suffered for their consciences, to be again well employed, and well provided for. Most of them were formed by *Charteris*, who had been always a great enemy to the imposing of books and systems as tests that must be signed and sworn by such as are admitted to serve in the Church. He had been for some years Divinity Professor at *Edenburgh*, where he had formed the minds of many of the young Clergy both to an excellent temper and to a set of very good principles. He upon this retired, and lived private for some years: He writ to me, and gave me an account of this breach, that was like to be in the Church; and desired, that I would try by all the methods I could think of to stop the proceedings upon the test. But the King had put the affairs of *Scotland* so entirely in the Duke's hands, and the Bishops here were so pleased with those clauses in the test that renounced the covenant and all endeavours for any alteration in Church and State, that I saw it was in vain to make any attempt at Court.

Upon this matter an incident of great importance happened: The Earl of *Argile* was a privy Counsellor, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury: So when the time limited was near lapsing he was forced to declare himself. He had once resolved to retire from all employments, but his engagements with Duke *Lauderdale's* party, and the entanglements of his own affairs overcame that. His main objection lay to that part which obliged them to endeavour no alteration

Many turned out for not taking it.

He was committed upon it.

*Argile's explanation.*

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He was  
committed  
upon it.

tion in the Government in Church or State, which he thought was a limitation of the Legislature. He desired leave to explain himself in that point: And he continued always to affirm, that the Duke was satisfied with that which he proposed: So being called on the next day at the Council table to take the test, he said, he did not think that the Parliament did intend an oath that should have any contradictions in one part of it to another; therefore he took the test, as it was consistent with it self: (This related to the absolute loyalty in the test, and the limitations that were on it in the confession:) And he added, that he did not intend to bind himself up by it from doing any thing in his station for the amending of any thing in Church or State, so far as was consistent with the Protestant Religion and the duty of a good subject: And he took that as a part of his oath. The thing past, and he sat that day in Council; and went next day to the Treasury chamber, where he repeated the same words. Some officious people upon this came, and suggested to the Duke, that great advantage might be taken against him from these words. So at the Treasury chamber he was desired to write them down, and give them to the Clerk, which he did, and was immediately made a prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh* upon it. It was said, this was high treason, and the assuming to himself the legislative power, in his giving a sense of an act of Parliament, and making that a part of his oath. It was also said, that his saying that he did not think the Parliament intended an oath that did contradict it self, was a tacit way of saying that he did think it, and was a defaming and a spreading lies of the proceedings of Parliament, which was capital. The liberty that he reserved to himself was likewise called treasonable, in assuming a power to act against law: These were such apparent stretches, that for some days it was believed all this was done only to affright him to a more absolute submission, and to surrender up some of those great jurisdictions over the *Highlands* that were in his family. He desired he might be admitted to speak with the Duke in private: But that was refused. He had let his old correspondence with me fall for some years: But I thought it became me in this extremity to serve him all I could. And I prevailed with Lord *Halifax* to speak so oft to the King about it, that it came to be known: And Lord *Argile* writ me some letters of thanks upon it. Duke *Lauderdale* was still in a firm friendship with him, and tried his whole strength with



with the King to preserve him: But he was sinking both in body and mind, and was like to be cast off in his old age. Upon which I also prevailed with Lord *Halifax* to offer him his service, for which Duke *Lauderdale* sent me very kind messages. I thought these were the only returns that I ought to make him for all the injuries he had done me, thus to serve him and his friends in distress. But the Duke of *York* took this, as he did every thing from me, by the worst handle possible. He said, I would reconcile my self to the greatest enemies I had in opposition to him. Upon this it was not thought fit upon many accounts that I should go and see Duke *Lauderdale*, which I had intended to do. It was well known I had done him acts of friendship: So the scandal of being in enmity with him was over: For a Christian is no man's enemy: And he will always study to overcome evil with good.

Lord *Argile* was brought to a trial for the words he had spoke. The Fact was certain: So the debate lay in a point of law, what guilt could be made out of his words. *Lockhart* pleaded three hours for him, and shewed so manifestly that his words had no sort of criminousness, much less of treason in them, that, if his cause had not been judged before his trial, no harm could have come to him. The Court that was to judge the point of law (or the relevancy of the libel as it's called in *Scotland*) consisted of a Justice General, the Justice Clerk, and of five Judges. The Justice General does not vote, unless the Court is equally divided. One of the Judges was deaf, and so old that he could not sit all the while the trial lasted, but went home and to bed. The other four were equally divided: So the old Judge was sent for: And he turned it against Lord *Argile*. The Jury was only to find the fact proved: But yet they were officious, and found it treason: And, to make a shew of impartiality, whereas in the libel he was charged with perjury for taking the oath falsely, they acquitted him of the perjury. No sentence in our age was more universally cried out on than this. All people spoke of it, and of the Duke who drove it on, with horror: All that was said to lessen that was, that Duke *Lauderdale* had restored the family with such an extended jurisdiction that he was really the master of all the *Highlands*: So that it was fit to attaint him, that by a new restoring him these grants might be better limited. This, as the Duke wrote to the King, was all he intended by it, as Lord *Halifax* assured me. But Lord *Argile*

*Argile* is tried and condemned.



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was made believe, that the Duke intended to proceed to execution. Some more of the guards were ordered to come to *Edenburgh*. Rooms were also fitted for him in the common jayl, to which Peers use to be removed a few days before their execution. And a person of Quality, whom Lord *Argile* never named, affirmed to him on his honour, that he heard one who was in great favour say to the Duke, The thing must be done, and that it would be easier to satisfy the King about it after it was done, than to obtain his leave for doing it. It is certain, many of the *Scottish* Nobility did believe that it was intended he should die.

He made his  
escape.

Upon these reasons Lord *Argile* made his escape out of the Castle in a disguise. Others suspected those stories were sent to him on purpose to frighten him to make his escape; as that which would justify further severities against him. He came to *London*, and lurked for some months there. It was thought I was in his secret. But tho' I knew one that knew it, and saw many papers that he then writ, giving an account of all that matter, yet I abhorred lying: And it was not easy to have kept out of the danger of that, if I had seen him, or known where he was: So I avoided it by not seeing him. One that saw him knew him, and went and told the King of it: But he would have no search made for him, and retained still very good thoughts of him. In one of Lord *Argile's* papers he writ, that, if ever he was admitted to speak with the King, he could convince him how much he merited at his hands by that which had drawn the Duke's indignation on him. He that shewed me this explained it, that at the Duke's first being in *Scotland*, when he apprehended that the King might have consented to the Exclusion, he tried to engage Lord *Argile* to stick to him in that case; who told him, he would always be true to the King, and likewise to him when it should come to his turn to be King, but that he would go no farther, nor engage himself in case the King and he should quarrel.

I had lived many years in great friendship with the Earl of *Perth*: I lived with him as a father with a son for above twelve years: And he had really the submissions of a child to me. So, he having been on Lord *Argile's* Jury, I writ him a letter about it with the freedom that I thought became me: He, to merit at the Duke's hands, shewed it to him, as he himself confessed to me. I could very easily forgive him, but could not esteem him much after so unworthy an action. He was then aspiring to great preferment, and so  
sacri-



sacrificed me to obtain favour: But he made greater sacrifices afterwards. The Duke now seemed to triumph in *Scotland*. All stooped to him. The Presbyterian party was much depressed. The best of the Clergy were turned out. Yet, with all this, he was now more hated there than ever. Lord *Argile's* business made him be looked on as one that would prove a terrible master when all should come into his hands. He had promised to redress all the merchant's grievances with relation to trade, that so he might gain their concurrence in Parliament: But, as soon as that was over, all his promises were forgotten. The accusations of perjury were stifled by him. And all the complaints of the great abuse Lord *Halton* was guilty of in the matter of the coin ended in turning him out of all his employments, and obliging him to compound for his pardon by paying 20000 *l.* to two of the Duke's creatures: So that all the reparation the Kingdom had for the oppression of so many years, and so many acts of injustice, was, that two new oppressors had a share of the spoils, who went into the same tract, or rather invented new methods of oppression. All these things, together with a load of age and of a vast bulk, sunk Duke *Lauderdale* so that he died that summer. His heart seemed quite spent: There was not left above the bigness of a walnut of firm substance: The rest was spongy, liker the lungs than the heart.

The Duke had leave given him to come to the King at *New-Market*: And there he prevailed for leave to come up, and live again at Court. As he was going back to bring the Duchess, the *Glocester* frigate that carried him struck on a bank of sand. The Duke got into a boat: And took care of his dogs, and some unknown persons who were taken from that earnest care of his to be his Priests: The long-boat went off with very few in her, tho' she might have carried off above eighty more than she did. One hundred and fifty persons perished: Some of them men of great Quality. But the Duke took no notice of this cruel neglect, which was laid chiefly to *Leg's* charge.

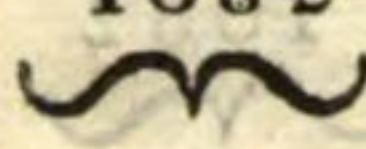
The Duke comes to Court.

In *Scotland* the Duke declared the new ministers: *Gordon*, now Earl of *Aberdeen*, was made Chancellor: And *Queensbury* was made Treasurer: And the care of all affairs was committed to them. The Duke at parting recommended to the Council to preserve the publick peace, to support the Church, and to oblige all men to live regularly in obedience to the laws. The Bishops made their court to him with so much zeal, that they wrote a letter to the Archbishop of *Canter-*

A new ministry in Scotland.

bury,



1682  bury, to be communicated to the rest of the *English* Bishops, setting forth in a very high strain his affection to the Church, and his care of it: And, lest this piece of merit should have been stifled by *Sancroft*, they sent a copy of it to the press; which was a greater reproach to them than a service to the Duke, who could not but despise such abject and indecent flattery. The proceedings against Conventicles were now like to be severer than ever: All the fines, that were set so high by law that they were never before levied but on some particular instances, were now ordered to be levied without exception. All people upon that saw, they must either conform or be quite undone. The Chancellor laid down a method for proceeding against all offenders punctually: And the Treasurer was as rigorous in ordering all the fines to be levied.

They proceeded with great severity.

When the people saw this, they came all to Church again: And that in some places where all sermons had been discontinued for many years. But they came in so awkward a manner, that it was visible they did not mean to worship God, but only to stay some time within the Church walls: And they were either talking or sleeping all the while. Yet most of the Clergy seemed to be transported with this change of their condition, and sent up many panegyricks of the glorious services that the Duke had done their Church. The enemies of Religion observed the ill nature of the one side, and the cowardliness of the other, and pleased themselves in censuring them both. And by this means an impious and atheistical leaven began to corrupt most of the younger sort. This has since that time made a great progress in that Kingdom, which was before the freest from it of any Nation in Christendom. The beginnings of it were reckoned from the Duke's stay among them, and from his Court, which have been cultivated since with much care and but too much success.

About the end of the year two trials gave all people sad apprehensions of what they were to look for. One *Home* was charged by a kinsman of his own for having been at *Bothwell-Bridge*. All Gentlemen of estates were excepted out of the indemnity: So he having an estate could have no benefit by that. One swore, he saw him go into a village, and seize on some arms: Another swore, he saw him ride towards the body of the rebels: But none did swear that they saw him there. He was indeed among them: But there was no proof of it. And he proved, that he was not in the company



company where the single witness swore he saw him seize on arms, and did evidently discredit him: Yet he was convicted and condemned on that single evidence, that was so manifestly proved to be infamous. Many were sensible of the mischievousness of such a precedent: And great applications were made to the Duke for saving his life: But he was not born under a pardoning planet. Lord *Aberdeen*, the Chancellor, prosecuted *Home* with the more rigour, because his own grandfather had suffered in the late times for bearing arms on the King's side, and *Home's* father was one of the Jury that cast him. The day of his execution was set to be on the same day of the year on which Lord *Stafford* had suffered; which was thought done in complement to the Duke, as a retaliation for his blood. Yet *Home's* infamous kinsman, who had so basely sworn against him, lived not to see his execution; for he died before it full of horror for what he had done. Another trial went much deeper; and the consequences of it struck a terror into the whole country.

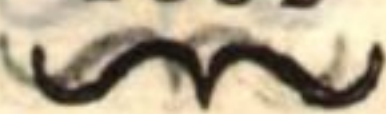
One *Weir* of *Blakewood*, that managed the Marquis of *Douglas's* concerns, was accused of treason for having kept company with one that had been in the business of *Bothwell-Bridge*. *Blake-wood* pleaded for himself, that the person, on whose account he was now prosecuted as an abettor of traitors, had never been marked out by the government by process or proclamation. It did not so much as appear that he had ever suspected him upon that account. He had lived in his own house quietly for some years after that rebellion before he employed him: And if the government seemed to forget his crime, it was no wonder if others entred into common dealings with him. All the lawyers were of opinion, that nothing could be made of this prosecution: So that *Blakewood* made use of no secret application, thinking he was in no danger. But the Court came to a strange sentence in this matter, by these steps: They judged, that all men who suspected any to have been in the rebellion were bound to discover such their suspicion, and to give no harbour to such persons: That the bare suspicion made it treason to harbour the person suspected; whether he was guilty or not: That if any person was under such a suspicion, it was to be presumed that all the neighbourhood knew it: So that there was no need of proving that against any particular person, since the presumption of law did prove it: And it being proved that the



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person with whom *Blakewood* had conversed lay under that suspicion, *Blakewood* was upon that condemned as guilty of high treason. This was such a constructive treason, that went upon so many unreasonable suppositions, that it shewed the shamelessness of a sort of men who had been for forty years declaiming against a parliamentary attainder for a constructive treason in the case of the Earl of *Strafford*, and did now in a common Court of Justice condemn a man upon a train of so many inferences that it was not possible to make it look even like a constructive treason. The day of his execution was set: And tho' the Marquis of *Douglas* writ earnestly to the Duke for his pardon, that was denied. He only obtained two months reprieve for making up his accounts. The reprieve was renewed once or twice: So *Blakewood* was not executed. This put all the Gentry in a great fright: Many knew they were as obnoxious as *Blakewood* was: And none could have the comfort to know that he was safe. This revived among them a design, that *Lockhart* had set on foot ten years before, of carrying over a Plantation to *Carolina*. All the Presbyterian party saw they were now disinherited of a main part of their birth-right, of choosing their representatives in Parliament: And upon that they said, they would now seek a country where they might live undisturbed, as freemen, and as Christians. The Duke encouraged the motion: He was glad to have many untoward people sent far away, who he reckoned would be ready upon the first favourable conjuncture to break out into a new rebellion. Some Gentlemen were sent up to treat with the Patentees of *Carolina*: They did not like the government of those *Palatinates*, as they were called: Yet the prospect of so great a Colony obtained to them all the conditions they proposed. I was made acquainted with all the steps they made; for those who were sent up were particularly recommended to me. In the negotiation this year there was no mixing with the male-contents in *England*: Only they who were sent up went among them, and informed them of the oppressions they lay under; in particular of the terror with which this sentence against *Blakewood* had struck them all. The Court resolved to prosecute that farther: For a Proclamation was issued out in the beginning of the year eighty three, by which the King ordered circuit Courts to be sent round the *Western* and *Southern* Counties, to enquire after all who had been guilty of harbouring or conversing with those who had been in rebellion, even tho' there had been neither process nor procla-





proclamation issued out against them. He also ordered, that all who were found guilty of such converse with them should be prosecuted as traitors. This inquisition was to last three years: And at the end of that time all was to conclude in a full indemnity to such as should not be then under prosecution. But the indemnity was to take place immediately to all such as should take the Test. This was perhaps such a Proclamation as the world had not seen since the days of the Duke of *Alva*. Upon it great numbers run in to take the Test, declaring at the same time that they took it against their consciences: But they would do any thing to be safe. Such as resolved not to take it were trying how to settle or sell their estates; and resolved to leave the country, which was now in a very oppressed and desperate state.

But I must next turn again to the affairs of *England*. The Court was every where triumphant. The Duke was highly complemented by all, and seemed to have overcome all difficulties. The Court, not content with all their victories, resolved to free themselves from the fears of troublesome Parliaments for the future. The Cities and Boroughs of *England* were invited, and prevailed on, to demonstrate their loyalty, by surrendring up their Charters, and taking new ones modelled as the Court thought fit. It was much questioned, whether those surrenders were good in law or not: It was said, that those who were in the government in Corporations, and had their Charters and Seals trusted to their keeping, were not the proprietors nor masters of those rights: They could not extinguish those Corporations, nor part with any of their privileges. Others said, that whatever might be objected to the reason and equity of the thing, yet, when the Seal of a Corporation was put to any deed, such a deed was good in law. The matter goes beyond my skill in law to determine it: This is certain, that whatever may be said in law, there is no sort of theft or perfidy more criminal than for a body of men, whom their neighbours have trusted with their concerns, to steal away their Charters, and affix their Seals to such a deed, betraying in that their trust and their oaths. In former ages Corporations were jealous of their privileges and customs to excess and superstition: So that it looked like a strange degeneracy, when all these were now delivered up; and this on design to pack a Parliament that might make way for a Popish King. So that, instead of securing us from Popery under

Affairs in  
*England*

The dispute  
concerning  
the Sheriff's  
of London.

All Charters  
of Towns  
were surren-  
dred to the  
King.



1682  such a Prince, these persons were now contriving ways to make all easy to him. Popery at all times has looked odious and cruel: Yet what the Emperor had lately done in *Hungary*, and what the King of *France* was then doing against Protestants in that Kingdom, shewed that their Religion was as perfidious and as cruel in this age as it had been in the last: And by the Duke's government of *Scotland* all men did see what was to be expected from him. All this laid together, the whole looked like an extravagant fit of madness: Yet no part of it was so unaccountable, as the high strains to which the Universities and most of the Clergy were carried. The Non-conformists were now prosecuted with much eagerness. This was visibly set on by the Papists: And it was wisely done of them; for they knew how much the Non-conformists were set against them; and therefore they made use of the indiscreet heat of some angry Clergymen to ruin them: This they knew would render the Clergy odious, and give the Papists great advantages against them, if ever they should strike up into an opposition to their designs.

The dispute  
concerning  
the Sheriffs  
of London.

At Midsummer a new contest discovered how little the Court resolved to regard either justice or decency. The Court had carried the election of Sir *John Moor* to be Mayor of the city of *London* at Michaelmas eighty one. He was the Alderman on whom the election fell in course. Yet some who knew him well were for setting him aside, as one whom the Court would easily manage. He had been a Non-conformist himself, till he grew so rich that he had a mind to go thro' the dignities of the City: But tho' he conformed to the Church, yet he was still looked on as one that in his heart favoured the Sectaries: And upon this occasion he persuaded some of their preachers to go among their congregations to get votes for him. Others, who knew him to be a flexible and faint-hearted man, opposed his election: Yet it was carried for him. The opposition that was made to his election had sharpened him so much, that he became in all things compliant to the Court, in particular to Secretary *Jenkins*, who took him into his own management. When the day came in which the Mayor used to drink to one, and to mark him out for Sheriff, he drank to *North*, a merchant that was brother to the Chief Justice. Upon that it was pretended, that this ceremony was not a bare nomination, which the common Hall might receive or refuse as they had a mind to it; but that this made the Sheriff, and that the common Hall was bound to receive and confirm



confirm him in course, as the King did the Mayor. On the other hand it was said, that the right was to be determined by the Charter, which granted the election of the Sheriffs to the citizens of *London*; and that, whatever customs had crept in among them, the right still lay where the Charter had lodged it among the citizens. But the Court was resolved to carry this point: And they found orders that had been made in the City concerning this particular, which gave some colour to this pretension of the Mayor's. So he claimed it on Midsummer day; and said, the common Hall were to go and elect one Sheriff, and to confirm the other that had been declared by him. The Hall on the other hand said, that the right of choosing both was in them. The old Sheriffs put it according to custom to a poll: And it was visible, the much greater number was against the Lord Mayor. The Sheriffs were always understood to be the officers of that Court: So the adjourning it belonged to them: Yet the Mayor adjourned the Court; which they said he had no power to do, and so went on with the poll. There was no disorder in the whole progress of the matter, if that was not to be called one, that they proceeded after the Mayor had adjourned the poll. But tho' the Mayor's party carried themselves with great insolence towards the other party, yet they shewed on this occasion more temper than could have been expected from so great a body, who thought their rights were now invaded. The Mayor upon this resolved to take another poll, to which none should be admitted but those who were contented to vote only for one, and to approve his nomination for the other. And it was resolved, that his poll should be that by which the business should be settled: And tho' the Sheriffs poll exceeded his by many hundreds, yet order was given to return those on the Mayor's poll, and that they should be sworn; and so those of the Sheriffs poll should be left to seek their remedy by law, where they could find it. *Box*, who was chosen by the Mayor's party and joined to *North*, had no mind to serve upon so doubtful an election, where so many actions would lie if it was judged against them at law: And he could not be persuaded to hold it. So it was necessary to call a new common Hall, and to proceed to a new election: And then, without any Proclamation made as was usual, one in a corner near the Mayor named *Rich*, and about thirty more applauded it, those in the Hall, that was full of people and of noise, hearing nothing of it. Upon this it



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Carried by  
the Court.

was said, that *Rich* was chosen without any contradiction: And so *North* and *Rich* were returned, and sworn Sheriffs for the ensuing year. The violence and the injustice with which this matter was managed shewed, that the Court was resolved to carry that point at any rate: And this gave great occasions of jealousy, that some wicked design was on foot, for which it was necessary in the first place to be sure of favourable Juries.

Lord *Shaftsbury* upon this, knowing how obnoxious he was, went out of *England*. His voyage was fatal to him: He just got to *Amsterdam* to die in it. Of the last parts of his life I shall have some occasion to make mention afterwards. When Michaelmas day came, those who found how much they had been deceived in *Moor* resolved to choose a *Mayor* that might be depended on. The poll was closed when the Court thought they had the majority: But upon casting it up it appeared they had lost it: So they fell to canvass it: And they made such exceptions to those of the other side, that they discounted as many voices as gave them the majority. This was also managed in so gross a manner, that it was visible the Court was resolved by fair or foul means to have the government of the City in their own hands. But because they would not be at this trouble, nor run this hazard every year, it was resolved that the Charter of the City must either be given up, or be adjudged to the King. The former was much the easier way: So great pains was taken to manage the next election of the common Council, so as that they might be tractable in this point. There was much injustice complained of in many of the wards of the City, both in the poll, and in the returns that were made. In order to the disabling all the Dissenters from having a vote in that election, the Bishop and Clergy of *London* were pressed by the Court to prosecute them in the Church Courts, that so they might excommunicate them; which some lawyers thought would render them incapable to vote, tho' other lawyers were very positively of another opinion. It is certain it gave at least a colour to deny them votes. The Bishop of *London* began to apprehend, that things were running too fast, and was backward in the matter. The Clergy of the City refused to make presentments: The law laid that on the Church-wardens: And so they would not meddle officiously. The King was displeased with them for their remissness: But after all the practices of the Court, in the returns of the common Council of the City, they could

not



not bring it near an equality for delivering up their Charter. *Jenkins* managed the whole business of the City with so many indirect practices, that the reputation he had for probity was much blemished by it: He seemed to think it was necessary to bring the City to a dependence on the Court in the fairest methods he could fall on; and, if these did not succeed, that then he was to take the most effectual ones, hoping that a good intention would excuse bad practices.

The Earl of *Sunderland* had been disgraced after the Exclusion Parliaments, as they were now called, were dissolved: But the King had so entire a confidence in him, and Lady *Portsmouth* was so much in his interests, that upon great submissions made to the Duke he was again restored to be Secretary this winter. Lord *Hyde* was the person that disposed the Duke to it: Upon that Lord *Halifax* and he fell to be in ill terms; for he hated Lord *Sunderland* beyond expression, tho' he had married his sister. From Lord *Sunderland's* returning to his post all men concluded, that his declaring as he did for the Exclusion was certainly done by direction from the King, who naturally loved craft and a double game, that so he might have proper instruments to work by which way soever he had turned himself in that affair. The King was the more desirous to have Lord *Sunderland* again near him, that he might have some body about him who understood foreign affairs. *Jenkins* understood nothing: But he had so much credit with the high Church party, that he was of great use to the Court. Lord *Conway* was brought in to be the other Secretary, who was so very ignorant of foreign affairs, that his province being the *North* when one of the foreign ministers talked to him of the *Circles of Germany*, it amazed him: He could not imagine what *Circles* had to do with affairs of state. He was now dismissed. Lord *Halifax* and Lord *Hyde* fell to be in an open war, and were both much hated. Lord *Halifax* charged *Hyde*, who was at this time made Earl of *Rocheſter*, of bribery, for having farmed a branch of the revenue much lower than had been proſeſed for it. Lord *Halifax* acquainted the King firſt with it: And, as he told me, he deſired Lord *Rocheſter* himſelf to examine into it, he being inclined to think it was rather an abuſe put on him than corruption in himſelf. But he ſaw Lord *Rocheſter* was cold in the matter, and inſtead of proſecuting any for it protected all concerned in it. He laid the complaint before the King in Council:

Changes in  
the miniſtry,  
and quarrels  
among them.



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Council: And to convince the King how ill a bargain he had made, the complainers offered, if he would break the bargain, to give him 40000 *l.* more than he was to have from the farmers. He looked also into the other branches of the revenue, and found cause to suspect much corruption in every one of them: And he got undertakers to offer at a farm of the whole revenue. In this he had all the Court on his side: For the King being now resolved to live on his revenue, without putting himself on a Parliament, he was forced on a great reduction of expence: So that many payments run in arrear: And the whole Court was so ill paid, that the offering any thing that would raise the revenue, and blemish the management of the treasury, was very acceptable to all in it. Lord *Rochester* was also much hated: But the Duke and the Lady *Portsmouth* both protected the Earl of *Rochester* so powerfully, that even propositions to the King's advantage, which blemished him, were not hearkened to. This touched in too tender a place to admit of a reconciliation: The Duke forgot all Lord *Halifax's* service in the point of the Exclusion: And the dearneſs that was between them was now turned upon this to a coldness, and afterwards to a most violent enmity. Upon this occasion Lord *Halifax* sent for me, (for I went no more near any that belonged to the Court,) and he told me the whole matter. I asked him how he stood with the King: He answered, that neither he nor I had the making of the King: God had made him of a particular composition. He said, he knew what the King said to himself: I asked him, if he knew likewise what he said to others; for he was apt to say to his several Ministers whatsoever he thought would please them, as long as he intended to make use of them. By the death of the Earl of *Nottingham* the Seals were given to *North*, who was made Lord *Guilford*. He had not the virtues of his predecessor: But he had parts far beyond him: They were turned to craft: So that whereas the former seemed to mean well even when he did ill, this man was believed to mean ill even when he did well. The Court finding that the City of *London* could not be wrought on to surrender their Charter, resolved to have it condemned by a judgment in the King's bench. *Jones* had died in *May*: So now *Pollexphen* and *Treby* were chiefly relied on by the City in this matter. *Sawyer* was the Attorney General, a dull hot man, and forward to serve all the designs of the Court.



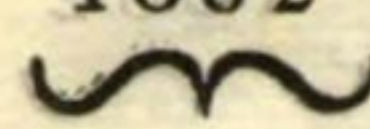
Court. He undertook by the advice of *Sanders*, a learned but a very immoral man, to overthrow the Charter. 1682

The two points upon which they rested the cause were, that the Common Council had petitioned the King upon a prorogation of Parliament that it might meet on the day to which it was prorogued, and had taxed the prorogation as that which occasioned a delay of justice: This was construed to be the raising sedition, and the possessing the people with an ill opinion of the King and his government. The other point was, that the City had imposed new taxes on their wharfs and markets, which was an invasion of the liberty of the subject, and contrary to law. It was said, that all that the Crown gave was forfeitable back to the Crown again upon a male-versation of the body; and that as the Common Council was the body of the City, chosen by all the citizens, so they were all involved in what the Common Council did: And they inferred, that since they had both scandalized the King's government, and oppressed their fellow subjects, they had thereupon forfeited their liberties: Many precedents were brought of the seizing on the liberties of Towns and other Corporations, and of extinguishing them.

The arguments against this were made by *Treby*, then the Recorder of *London*, and *Pollexphen*, who argued about three hours apiece. They laid it down for a foundation, that trading Corporations were immortal bodies for the breeding a succession of trading men, and for perpetuating a fund of public chambers for the estates of orphans and trusts and for all pious endowments: That crimes committed by persons entrusted in the government of them were personal things, which were only chargeable on those who committed them, but could not affect the whole body: The treason of a Bishop, or a Clerk, only forfeited his title, but did not dissolve the Bishoprick, or Benefice: So the magistrates only were to be punished for their own crimes: An entailed estate, when a tenant for life was attainted, was not forfeited to the King, but went to the next in remainder upon his death. The government of a city, which was a temporary administration, vested no property in the magistrates: And therefore they had nothing to forfeit, but what belonged to themselves: There were also express acts of Parliament made in favour of the City, that it should not be punished for the misdemeanors of those who bore office in it: They answered the great objection that was brought from the for-

The arguments for and against the Charter of *London*.



1682  feitures of some Abbeyes on the attainder of their Abbots in King *Henry* the eighth's time, that there were peculiar laws made at that time, upon which those forfeitures were grounded, which had been repealed since that time: All those forfeitures were confirmed in Parliament: And that purged all defects: The Common Council was a selected body, chosen for particular ends: And if they went beyond these, they were liable to be punished for it: If the petition they offered the King was seditious, the King might proceed against every man that was concerned in it: And those upon whom those taxes had been levied, might bring their actions against those who had levied them: But it seemed very strange, that when none of the petitioners were proceeded against for any thing contained in that petition, and when no actions were brought on the account of those taxes, that the whole body should suffer in common for that, which none of those who were immediately concerned in it had been so much as brought in question for in any Court of law: If the Common Council petitioned more earnestly than was fitting for the sitting of the Parliament, that ought to be ascribed to their zeal for the King's safety, and for the established Religion: And it ought not to be strained to any other sense than to that which they profess in the body of their petition, much less to be carried so far as to dissolve the whole body on that account: And as for the tolls and taxes, these were things practised in all the Corporations of *England*, and seemed to be exactly according to law: The City since the fire had at a vast charge made their wharfs and markets much more noble and convenient than they were before: And therefore they might well deny the benefit of them to those who would not pay a new rate, that they set on them for the payment of the debt contracted in building them: This was not the imposing a tax, but the raising a rent out of a piece of ground, which the City might as well do, as a man who rebuilds his house may raise the rent of it: All the precedents that were brought were examined and answered: Some Corporations were deserted, and so upon the matter dissolved themselves: Judgments in such cases did not fit this in hand: The seizing on the liberties of a Corporation did not dissolve the body; for when a Bishop dies the King seizes the temporalities; but the Corporation still subsists; and they are restored to the next incumbent. There were indeed some very strange precedents made in *Richard* the second's time: But they were followed



followed by as strange a reverse: The Judges were hanged for the judgments they gave: They also insisted on the effects that would follow on the forfeiting the Charter: The custom of *London* was thereby broken: All the publick endowments, and charities lodged with the City must revert to the heirs of the donors. This is the substance of the argument, as I had it from *Pollexphen*. As for the more intricate points of law, I meddle not with them, but leave them to the learned men of that profession. When the matter was brought near judgment, *Sanders*, who had laid the whole thing, was made Chief Justice. *Pemberton*, who was not satisfied in the point, being removed to the Common Pleas upon *North's* advancement. *Dolben*, a Judge of the King's bench, was found not to be clear: So he was turned out, and *Withins* came in his room. When sentence was to be given, *Sanders* was struck with an apoplexy: So he could not come into Court: But he sent his judgment in writing, and died a few days after. The sentence was given without the solemnity that was usual upon great occasions: The Judges were wont formerly in delivering their opinions to make long arguments, in which they set forth the grounds of law on which they went, which were great instructions to the students and barristers: But that had been laid aside ever since *Hale's* time.

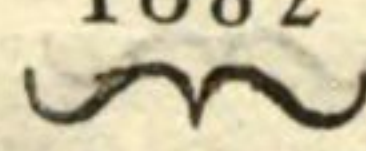
Judgment  
given in the  
matter.

The judgment now given was, that a city might forfeit its Charter; that the male-versations of the Common Council were the acts of the whole City, and that the two points set forth in the pleadings were just grounds for the forfeiting of a Charter. Upon which premisses the proper conclusion seemed to be, that therefore the City of *London* had forfeited their Charter: But the consequences of that were so much apprehended, that they did not think fit to venture on it: So they judged, that the King might seize the liberties of the City. The Attorney General moved, contrary to what is usual in such cases, that the judgment might not be recorded. And upon that new endeavours were used to bring the Common Council to deliver up their Charter: Yet that could not be compassed, tho' it was brought much nearer in the numbers of the voices than was imagined could ever be done.

There were other very severe proceedings at this time with relation to particular persons. *Pilkinton* was Sheriff of *London* the former year; an honest but an indiscreet man, that gave himself great liberties in discourse. He being de-  
fired

Some other  
severe judgments.



1682  fired to go along with the Mayor and Aldermen to complement the Duke upon his return from *Scotland* declined going, and reflected on him as one concerned in the burning of the City. Two Aldermen said they heard that, and swore it against him. Sir *Patience Ward*, the Mayor of the former year, seeing him go in to that discourse had diverted him from it, but heard not the words which the others swore to: And he deposed, that to the best of his remembrance he said not those words. *Pilkinton* was cast in an 100000 *l.* damages, the most excessive that had ever been given. But the matter did not stop there: *Ward* was indicted of perjury, it being said, that since he swore that the words were not spoken, and that the Jury had given a verdict upon the evidence that they were spoken, by consequence he was guilty of perjury. It was said on the other side, that when two swear one way, and a third swears another way, a Jury may believe the two better than the one: But it is not certain from thence that he is perjured: If that were law, no man would be a witness; if, because they of the other side were believed, he should be therefore convicted of perjury. A man's swearing to a negative, that such words were not spoken, did only amount to this, that he did not hear them: And it would be hard to prove that he who swore so had heard them. But *Ward* proved by him that took the trial in short hand, as he had done some others with great approbation, that he had said, *to the best of his remembrance these words were not spoken by Pilkinton*: Upon which *Jefferies* had said, that his invention was better than his memory: And the Attorney General in summing up the evidence to the Jury had said, they ought to have no regard to *Ward's* evidence, since he had only deposed upon his memory. Yet that Jury returned *Ward* guilty of perjury: And it was intended, if he had not gone out of the way, to have set him on the pillory. The truth is, Juries became at that time the shame of the nation, as well as a reproach to religion: For they were packt, and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed and not as matters appeared on the evidence.

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All people  
possessed  
with great  
fears.

Thus affairs were going on all the year eighty two, and to the beginning of eighty three. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been for making use of the heat the City was in during the contest about the Sheriffs; and thought they might have created a great disturbance, and made themselves masters of the Tower: And he believed, the first appearance of the  
least



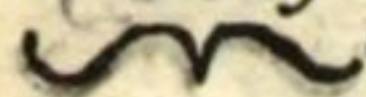
least disorder would have prevailed on the King to yield every thing. The Duke of *Monmouth*, who understood what a rabble was and what troops were, looked on this as a mad exposing of themselves and of their friends. The Lords *Effex* and *Russel* were of the same mind. So Lord *Shaftsbury*, seeing they could not be engaged into action, flew out against them. He said, the Duke of *Monmouth* was sent into the party by the King for this end, to keep all things quiet till the Court had gained its point: He said, Lord *Effex* had also made his bargain, and was to go to *Ireland*; and that among them Lord *Russel* was deceived. With this he endeavoured to blast them in the City: They studied to prevent the ill effects that those jealousies which he was infusing into the citizens might have among them. So the Duke of *Monmouth* gave an appointment to Lord *Shaftsbury* or some of his friends to meet him, and some others that he should bring along with him, at *Shepherd's*, a wine merchant in whom they had an entire confidence. The night before this appointment Lord *Russel* came to town on the account of his uncle's illness. The Duke of *Monmouth* went to him, and told him of the appointment, and desired he would go thither with him: He consented, the rather because he intended to tast some of that merchant's wine. At night they went with Lord *Grey* and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*. When they came, they found none there but *Rumsley* and *Ferguson*, two of Lord *Shaftsbury*'s tools that he employed: Upon which, they seeing no better company resolved immediately to go back. But Lord *Russel* called for a tast of the wines: And while they were bringing it him up, *Rumsley* and *Armstrong* fell into a discourse of surprizing the guards. *Rumsley* fancied it might have been easily done: *Armstrong*, that had commanded them, shewed him his mistakes. This was no consultation about what was to be done, but only about what might have been done. Lord *Russel* spoke nothing upon the subject: But as soon as he had tasted his wines they went away. It may seem, that this is too light a passage to be told so copiously: But much depends on it. Lord *Shaftsbury* had one meeting with the Earls of *Effex* and *Salisbury* before he went out of *England*. Fear, anger, and disappointment, had wrought so much on him, that Lord *Effex* told me he was much broken in his thoughts: His notions were wild and impracticable: And he was glad that he was gone out of *England*: But said, that he had done them already a great deal of mischief,

1683

*Monmouth and Russel at Shepherd's.*



1683



and would have done more if he had stayed. As soon as he was gone, the Lords and all the chief men of the party saw their danger from forward Sheriffs, willing Juries, mercenary Judges, and bold witnesses. So they resolved to go home, and be silent, to speak and to meddle as little as might be in publick business, and to let the present ill temper the Nation was fallen into wear out: For they did not doubt but the Court, especially as it was now managed by the Duke, would soon bring the Nation again into its wits by their ill conduct and proceedings. All that was to be done was, to keep up as much as they could a good spirit with relation to elections of Parliament, if one should be called.

*Monmouth*  
and some o-  
thers meet  
often toge-  
ther.

The Duke of *Monmouth* resolved to be advised chiefly by Lord *Effex*. He would not be alone in that, but named Lord *Russel*, against whom no objection could lie: And next to him he named *Algernoon Sidney*, brother to the Earl of *Leicester*, a man of most extraordinary courage, a steady man, even to obstinacy, sincere, but of a rough and boisterous temper that could not bear contradiction. He seemed to be a Christian, but in a particular form of his own: He thought, it was to be like a Divine Philosophy in the mind: But he was against all publick worship, and every thing that looked like a Church. He was stiff to all republican principles; and such an enemy to every thing that looked like monarchy, that he set himself in a high opposition against *Cromwell* when he was made Protector. He had studied the history of government in all its branches beyond any man I ever knew. He was Ambassador in *Denmark* at the time of the Restoration, but did not come back till the year seventy eight, when the Parliament was pressing the King into a war. The Court of *France* obtained leave for him to return. He did all he could to divert people from that war: So that some took him for a pensioner of *France*: But to those to whom he durst speak freely he said, he knew it was all a juggle; that our Court was in an entire confidence with *France*, and had no other design in this shew of a war but to raise an army, and keep it beyond sea till it was trained and modelled. *Sidney* had a particular way of insinuating himself into people that would hearken to his notions, and not contradict him. He tried me: But I was not so submissive a hearer: So we lived afterwards at a great distance. He wrought himself into Lord *Effex*'s confidence to such a degree, that he became the master of his spirit.

He



He had a great kindness for Lord *Howard*, as was formerly told: For that Lord hated both the King and monarchy as much as he himself did. He prevailed on Lord *Effex* to take Lord *Howard* into their secrets, tho' Lord *Effex* had expressed such an ill opinion of him a little before to me, as to say he wondred how any man would trust himself alone with him. Lord *Russel*, tho' his cousin german, had the same ill opinion of him. Yet *Sidney* overcame both their averfions. Lord *Howard* had made the Duke of *Monmouth* enter into confidence with *Sidney*, who used to speak very slightly of him, and to say, it was all one to him whether *James* Duke of *York* or *James* Duke of *Monmouth* was to succeed. Yet Lord *Howard* perhaps put a notion into him, which he offered often to me, that a Prince who knew there was a flaw in his title would always govern well, and consider himself as at the mercy of the right heir if he was not in all things in the interests and hearts of his people, which was often neglected by Princes that relied on an undoubted title. Lord *Howard* by a trick put both on the Duke of *Monmouth*, and *Sidney* brought them to be acquainted. He told *Sidney* that the Duke of *Monmouth* was resolved to come some day alone and dine with him: And he made the Duke of *Monmouth* believe that *Sidney* desired this, that so he might not seem to come and court the Duke of *Monmouth*: And said that some regard was to be had to his temper and age. *Hamden* was also taken into their secret: He was the grandson of him that had pleaded the cause of *England* in the point of the ship money with King *Charles* the first. His father was a very eminent man, and had been zealous in the Exclusion: He was a young man of great parts; one of the learnedest Gentlemen I have ever known; for he was a critick both in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*: He was a man of great heat and vivacity, but too unequal in his temper: He had once great principles of religion: But he was much corrupted by *P. Simon's* conversation at *Paris*.

With these men the Duke of *Monmouth* met often. His interest in *Scotland*, both by the dependance that his wife's great estate brought him, but chiefly by the knowledge he had of their affairs while he was among them, and by the confidence he knew they had all in him, made him turn his thoughts much towards that Kingdom as the properest scene of action. He had met often with Lord *Argile* while he was in *London*, and had many conferences with him of the state

They treat  
with some of  
the *Scottish*  
Nation.

of



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of that Kingdom, and of what might be done there: And he thought the business of *Carolina* was a very proper blind to bring up some of the *Scotch* Gentlemen under the appearance of treating about that. They upon this agreed to send one *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to desire that some men of absolute confidence might be sent up for that end. So when the Proclamation that was formerly mentioned was published, it spread such an universal apprehension thro' all the suspected counties, that they looked on themselves as marked out to destruction: And it is very natural for people under such impressions to set themselves to look out for remedies as soon as they can.

In the beginning of *April* some of them came up. The person that was most entirely trusted, and to whom the journey proved fatal, was *Ballie*, of whose unjust treatment upon *Carstairs's* information an account was formerly given. He was my cousin german: So I knew him well. He was in the presbyterian principles, but was a man of great piety and vertue, learned in the law, in mathematicks, and in languages: I went to him, as soon as I heard he was come, in great simplicity of heart, thinking of nothing but of *Carolina*. I was only afraid they might go too much into the company of the *English*, and give true representations of the state of affairs in *Scotland*: This might be reported about by men that would name them: And that might bring them into trouble. But a few weeks after I found they came not to me as they were wont to do: And I heard they were often with Lord *Russel*. I was apprehensive of this: And Lord *Essex* being in the country, I went to him, to warn him of the danger I feared Lord *Russel* might be brought into by this conversation with my countrymen. He diverted me from all my apprehensions; and told me, I might depend on it, Lord *Russel* would be in nothing without acquainting him: And he seemed to agree entirely with me, that a rising in the state in which things were then would be fatal. I always said, that when the root of the constitution was struck at to be overturned, then I thought subjects might defend themselves: But I thought jealousies and fears, and particular acts of injustice, could not warrant this. He did agree with me in this: He thought, the obligation between Prince and subject was so equally mutual, that upon a breach on the one side the other was free: But tho' he thought the late injustice in *London*, and the end that was driven at by it, did set them at liberty to look to themselves,



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selves, yet he confessed things were not ripe enough yet, and that an ill laid and an ill managed rising would be our ruin. I was then newly come from writing my history of the Reformation; and did so evidently see, that the struggle for Lady *Jean Grey*, and *Wyat's* rising, was that which threw the nation so quickly into Popery after King *Edward's* days, (for such as had rendred themselves obnoxious in those matters saw no other way to secure themselves, and found their turning was a sure one,) that I was now very apprehensive of this; besides that I thought it was yet unlawful. What past between the *Scots* and the *English* Lords I know not; only that Lord *Argile*, who was then in *Holland*, asked at first 20000 *l.* for buying a stock of arms and ammunition, which he afterwards brought down to 8000 *l.* and a thousand horse to be sent into *Scotland*: Upon which he undertook the conduct of that matter. I know no further than general hints of their matters: For tho' *Hamden* offered frequently to give me a particular account of it all, knowing that I was writing the history of that time, yet I told him, that till by an indemnity that whole matter was buried I would know none of those secrets, which I might be obliged to reveal, or to lie and deny my knowledge of them: So to avoid that I put it off at that time. And when I returned to *England* at the Revolution, we appointed often to meet, in order to a full relation of it all. But by several accidents it went off, as a thing is apt to do which one can recover at any time. And so his unhappy end came on before I had it from him. I know this, that no money was raised. But the thing had got some vent; for my own brother, a zealous Presbyterian, who was come from *Scotland*, it not being safe for him to live any longer in that Kingdom knowing that he had conversed with many that had been in the rebellion, told me, there was certainly somewhat in agitation among them, about which some of their teachers had let out somewhat very freely to himself: How far that matter went, and how the scheme was laid, I cannot tell; and so must leave it in the dark. Their contract for the project of *Carolina* seemed to go on apace: They had sent some thither the former year, who were now come back, and brought them a particular account of every thing: They likewise, to cover their negotiations with Lord *Argile*, sent some over to him; but with the blind of instructions for buying ships in *Holland*, and other things necessary for their transportation.



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Other Con-  
spirators  
meet at the  
same time  
on designs of  
assassinating  
the King.

While this matter was thus in a close management among them, there was another company of Lord *Shaftsbury's* creatures that met in the Temple in the chambers of one *West*, a witty and active man, full of talk, and believed to be a determined Atheist. *Rumsey* and *Ferguson* came constantly thither. The former of these was an officer in *Cromwell's* army, who went into *Portugal* with the forces that served there under *Schomberg*. He did a brave action in that service: And *Schomberg* writ a particular letter to the King setting it out: Upon which he got a place: And he had applied himself to Lord *Shaftsbury* as his patron. He was much trusted by him, and sent often about on messages. Once or twice he came to Lord *Russel*, but it was upon indifferent things. Lord *Russel* said to me, that at that very time he felt such a secret aversion to him, that he was in no danger of trusting him much. He was one of the bold talkers, and kept chiefly among Lord *Shaftsbury's* creatures. He was upon all the secret of his going beyond sea; which seemed to shew, that he was not then a spy of the Court's, which some suspected he was all along. *Ferguson* was a hot and a bold man, whose spirit was naturally turned to plotting: He was always unquiet, and setting people on to some mischief: I knew a private thing of him, by which it appeared he was a profligate knave, and could cheat those that trusted him entirely: So tho' he, being a *Scottish* man, took all the ways he could to be admitted into some acquaintance with me, I would never see him, or speak with him: And I did not know his face till the Revolution: He was cast out by the Presbyterians; and then went among the Independents, where his boldness raised him to some figure, tho' he was at bottom a very empty man: He had the management of a secret press, and of a purse that maintained it: And he gave about most of the pamphlets writ of that side: And with some he past for the author of them: And such was his vanity, because this made him more considerable, that he was not ill pleased to have that believed; tho' it only exposed him so much the more. With these *Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff of *London* in *Bethel's* year, and one *Halloway* of *Bristol* met often, and had a great deal of rambling discourse, to shew how easy a thing it was of the sudden to raise four thousand men in the City. *Goodenough* by reason of his office knew the City well, and pretended he knew many men of so much credit in every corner of it, and on whom they might depend, as could raise that number,



ber, which he reckoned would quickly grow much stronger: And it is probable, this was the scheme with which Lord *Shaftsbury* was so possessed, that he thought it might be depended on. They had many discourses of the heads of a declaration proper for such a rising, and disputed of these with much subtilty as they thought: And they intended to send *Halloway* to *Bristol*, to try what could be done there at the same time. But all this was only talk, and went no further than to a few of their own confidents. *Rumsey*, *Ferguson*, and *West* were often talking of the danger of executing this, and that the shorter and surer way was to kill the two brothers. One *Rumbold*, who had served in *Cromwell's* army, came twice among them; and while they were in that wicked discourse, which they expressed by the term *lopping*. He upon that told them, he had a farm near *Hodsdon* in the way to *New-Market*: And there was a moat cast round his house, thro' which the King sometimes past in his way thither. He said, once the coach went thro' quite alone, without any of the guards about it; and that, if he had laid any thing cross the way to have stopt the coach but a minute, he could have shot them both, and have rode away thro' grounds that he knew so well that it should not have been possible to have followed him. Upon which they ran into much wicked talk about the way of executing that. But nothing was ever fixed on: All was but talk. At one time Lord *Howard* was among them: And they talked over their several schemes of *lopping*. One of them was to be executed in the Play House. Lord *Howard* said, he liked that best, for then they would die in their calling. This was so like his way of talk, that it was easily believed, tho' he always denied it. *Walcot*, an *Irish* Gentleman that had been of *Cromwell's* army, was now in *London*, and got into that company: And he was made believe, that the thing was so well laid that many both in City and Country were engaged in it. He liked the project of a rising, but declared he would not meddle in their *lopping*. So this wicked knot of men continued their caballings from the time that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* went away: And these were the subjects of their discourses. The King went constantly to *New-Market* for about a Month both in *April* and *October*. In *April* while he was there a fire broke out, and burnt a part of the town: Upon which the King came back a week sooner than he intended.

While



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A plot is  
discovered.

While all these things were thus going on, there was one *Keeling*, an Anabaptist in *London*, who was sinking in his business, and began to think that of a witness would be the better trade. *Goodenough* had employed him often to try their strength in the City, and to count on whom they could depend for a sudden rising: He had also talked to him of the design of killing the two brothers: So he went and discovered all he could to *Leg*, at that time made Lord *Dartmouth*. *Leg* made no great account of it, but sent him to *Jenkins*. *Jenkins* took his depositions, but told him he could not proceed in it without more witnesses: So he went to his brother, who was a man of heat in his way, but of probity, who did not incline to ill designs, and less to discover them. *Keeling* carried his brother to *Goodenough*, and assured him he might be depended on. So *Goodenough* run out into a rambling discourse of what they both could and would do: And he also spoke of killing the King and the Duke, which would make their work easy. When they left him the discoverer pressed his brother to go along with him to *Westminster*, where he pretended business, but stopt at *White-Hall*. The other was uneasy, longing to get out of his company, to go to some friends for advice upon what had hapned. But he drew him on: And at last, he not knowing whether he was going, he drew him into *Jenkins's* office; and there told the Secretary he had brought another witness, who had heard the substance of the plot from *Goodenough's* own mouth just then. His brother was deeply struck with this cheat and surprize, but could not avoid the making oath to *Jenkins* of all he had heard. The Secretary, whose phlegmatick head was not turned for such a work, let them both go, and sent out no warrants, till he had communicated the matter to the rest of the Ministry, the King being then at *Windsor*. So *Keeling*, who had been thus drawn into the snare by his brother, sent advertisements to *Goodenough*, and all the other persons whom he had named, to go out of the way.

A forged  
story laid by  
*Rumsey* and  
*West*.

*Rumsey* and *West* were at this time perpetually together: And apprehending that they had trusted themselves to too many persons, who might discover them, they laid a story, in which they resolved to agree it so well together, that they should not contradict one another. They framed their story thus: That they had laid the design of their rising to be executed on the seventeenth of *November*, the day of *Queen Elizabeth's* coming to the Crown, on which the citi-



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zens used to run together, and carry about Popes in procession, and burn them: So that day seemed proper to cover their running together, till they met in a body. Others, they said, thought it best to do nothing on that day, the rout being usually at night, but to lay their rising for the next Sunday at the hour of people's being at Church. This was laid to shew how near the matter was to the being executed. But the part of their story that was the best laid, (for this looked ridiculous, since they could not name any one person of any condition that was to head this rising,) was, that they pretended that *Rumbold* had offered them his house in the Heath for executing the design. It was called *Rye*: And from thence this was called the *Rye-Plot*. He asked forty men, well armed and mounted, whom *Rumsey* and *Walcot* were to command in two parties: The one was to engage the guards, if they should be near the coach: And the other was to stop the coach, and to murder the King and the Duke. *Rumsey* took the wicked part on himself, saying, that *Walcot* had made a scruple of killing the King, but none of engaging the guards: So *Rumsey* was to do the execution. And they said, they were divided in their minds what to do next: Some were for defending the moat till night, and then to have gone off: Others were for riding thro' grounds in a shorter way towards the *Thames*. Of these forty they could name but eight. But it was pretended that *Walcot*, *Goodenough*, and *Rumbold* had undertaken to find both the rest of the men, and the horses: For, tho' upon such an occasion men would have taken care to have had sure and well tried horses, this also was said to be trusted to others. As for arms, *West* had bought some, as on a commission for a plantation: And these were said to be some of the arms with which they were to be furnished; tho' when they were seen they seemed very improper for such a service. I saw all *West's* narrative, which was put in Lord *Rocheſter's* hands: And a friend of mine borrowed it of him, and lent it me. They were so wise at Court that they would not suffer it to be printed; for then it would have appeared too gross to be believed.

But the part of it all that seemed the most amazing was, that it was to have been executed on the day in which the King had intended to return from *New-Market*: But the happy fire that sent him away a week sooner had quite defeated the whole plot, while it was within a week of its execution, and neither horses, men, nor arms yet provided.



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vided. This seemed to be so eminent a Providence, that the whole nation was struck with it: And both preachers and poets had a noble subject to enlarge on, and to shew how much the King and the Duke were under the watchful care of Providence.

Within three days after *Keeling's* discovery the plot broke out, and became the whole discourse of the Town. Many examinations were taken, and several persons were clapt up upon it. Among these *Wildman* was one, who had been an agitator in *Cromwell's* army, and had opposed his Protectorship. After the Restoration he being looked on as a high republican was kept long in prison; where he had studied law and physick so much, that he past as a man very knowing in those matters. He had a way of creating in others a great opinion of his sagacity, and had great credit with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and was now very active under *Sidney's* conduct. He was seized on, and his house was searched: In his cellars there hapned to be two small field-pieces that belonged to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that lay in York-House when that was sold, and was to be pulled down: *Wildman* carried those two pieces, which were finely wrought, but of little use, into his cellars, where they were laid on ordinary wooden carriages, and no way fitted for any service: Yet these were carried to *White-Hall*, and exposed to view, as an undeniable proof of a rebellion designed, since here was their cannon.

Several persons came to me from Court, assuring me that there was full proof made of a plot. Lord *Howard* coming soon after them to see me talked of the whole matter in his spiteful way with so much scorn, that I really thought he knew of nothing, and by consequence I believed there was no truth in all these discoveries. He said, the Court knew they were sure of Juries, and they would furnish themselves quickly with witnesses: And he spoke of the Duke as of one that would be worse, not only than *Queen Mary*, but than *Nero*: And with eyes and hands lifted to heaven he vowed to me, that he knew of no plot, and that he believed nothing of it.

Two days after, a Proclamation came out for seizing on some who could not be found: And among these *Rumsey* and *West* were named. The next day *West* delivered himself: And *Rumsey* came in a day after him. These two brought out their story, which, how incredible soever it was, past so for certain, that any man that seemed to doubt it was

con-



concluded to be in it. That of defending themselves within mud walls and a moat looked like the invention of a lawyer, who could not lay a military contrivance with any sort of probability. Nor did it appear where the forty horse were to be lodged, and how they were to be brought together. All these were thought objections that could be made by none but those who either were of it, or wished well to it. These new witnesses had also heard of the conferences that the Duke of *Monmouth* and the other Lords had with those who were come from *Scotland*, but knew nothing of it themselves. *Rumsey* did likewise remember the discourse at *Shepherd's*.

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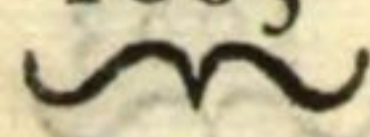
When the Council found the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Russel* were named, they writ to the King to come to *London*. They would not venture to go further without his presence and leave. A messenger of the Council was sent the morning before the King came to wait at Lord *Russel's* gate, to have stopt him if he had offered to go out. This was observed; for he walked many hours there: And it was looked on as done on purpose to frighten him away; for his back gate was not watched: So for several hours he might have gone away if he had intended it. He heard that *Rumsey* had named him: But he knew he had not trusted him, and he never reflected on the discourse at *Shepherd's*. He sent his wife among his friends for advice. They were of different minds: But since he said he apprehended nothing from any thing he had said to *Rumsey*, they thought his going out of the way would give the Court too great an advantage, and would look like a confessing of guilt. So this agreeing with his own mind, he stayed at home till the King was come: And then a messenger was sent to carry him before the Council. He received it very composedly, and went thither. *Rumsey* had also said, that at *Shepherd's* there was some discourse of *Trenchard's* undertaking to raise a body out of *Taunton*, and of his failing in it: So Lord *Russel* was examined upon that, the King telling him, that no body suspected him of any design against his person, but that he had good evidence of his being in designs against his government. Lord *Russel* protested, he had heard nothing relating to *Trenchard*: And said to the last, that either it was a fiction of *Rumsey's*, or it had past between him and *Armstrong*, while he was walking about the room, or tasting the wines at *Shepherd's*; for he had not heard a word of it. Upon all this he was sent a close prisoner to the Tower.

*Russel* and some others were put in prison upon it.

*Sidney*



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*Sidney* was brought next before the Council. But his examination lasted not long. He said, he must make the best defence he could, if they had any proof against him: But he would not fortify their evidence by any thing he should say. And indeed that was the wisest course; for the answering questions upon such examinations is a very dangerous thing: Every word that is said is laid hold on, that can be turned against a man's self or his friends, and no regard is had to what he might say in favour of them: And it had been happy for the rest, especially for *Baillie*, if they had all held to this maxim. There was at that time no sort of evidence against *Sidney*, so that his commitment was against law. *Trenchard* was also examined: He denied every thing. But one point of his guilt was well known: He was the first man that had moved the Exclusion in the House of Commons: So he was reckoned a lost man.

*Baillie* and two other Gentlemen of *Scotland*, both *Campbell's*, had changed their lodgings while the Town was in this fermentation: And upon that they were seized on as suspected persons, and brought before the King. He himself examined them, and first questioned them about the design against his person, which they very frankly answered, and denied they knew any thing about it. Then he asked them, if they had been in any consultations with Lords or others in *England*, in order to an insurrection in *Scotland*. *Baillie* faultred at this: For his conscience restrained him from lying. He said, he did not know the importance of those questions, nor what use might be made of his answers: He desired to see them in writing, and then he would consider how to answer them. Both the King and the Duke threatned him upon this: And he seemed to neglect that with so much of the air of a Philosopher, that it provoked them out of measure against him. The other two were so lately come from *Scotland*, that they had seen no body, and knew nothing. *Baillie* was loaded by a special direction with very heavy irons: So that for some weeks his life was a burden to him. *Cockran*, another of those who had been concern'd in this Treaty, was complained of, as having talked very freely of the Duke's government of *Scotland*. Upon which the *Scottish* Secretary sent a note to him desiring him to come to him; for it was intended only to give him a reprimand, and to have ordered him to go to *Scotland*. But he knew his own secret: So he left his lodgings, and got beyond sea. This shewed the



the Court had not yet got full evidence : Otherwise he would have been taken up, as well as others were. 1683

As soon as the Council rose, the King went to the Duchess of *Monmouth's*, and seemed so much concerned for the Duke of *Monmouth*, that he wept as he spoke to her. That Duke told a strange passage relating to that visit to the Lord *Cutts*, from whom I had it. The King told his Lady, that some were to come and search her lodgings: But he had given order that no search should be made in her apartments: So she might conceal him safely in them. But the Duke of *Monmouth* added, that he knew him too well to trust him: So he went out of his lodgings. And it seems he judged right: For the place that was first searched for him was her rooms: But he was gone. And he gave that for the reason why he could never trust the King after that. It is not likely the King meant to proceed to extremities with him, but that he intended to have him in his own hands, and in his power. *Monmouth and others escaped.*

An order was sent to bring up the Lord *Grey*, which met him coming up. He was brought before the Council, where he behaved himself with great presence of mind. He was sent to the Tower. But the gates were shut: So he staid in the messenger's hands all night, whom he furnished so liberally with wine, that he was dead drunk. Next morning he went with him to the Tower gate, the messenger being again fast asleep. He himself called at the Tower gate, to bring the Lieutenant of the Tower to receive a prisoner. But he began to think he might be in danger: He found *Rumsey* was one witness: And if another should come in he was gone: So he called for a pair of oars, and went away, leaving the drunken messenger fast asleep. Warrants were sent for several other persons: Some went out of the way, and others were dismissed after some months imprisonment. The King shewed some appearance of sincerity in examining the witnesses: He told them, he would not have a growing evidence: And so he charged them to tell out at once all that they knew: He led them into no accusations by asking them any questions: He only asked them, if *Oates* was in their secret: They answered, that they all looked on him as such a rogue, that they would not trust him. The King also said, he found Lord *Howard* was not among them, and he believed that was upon the same account. There were many more persons named, and more particulars set down in *West's* narrative,



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Lord *Russel* from the time of his imprisonment looked upon himself as a dead man, and turned his thoughts wholly to another world. He read much in the Scriptures, particularly in the Psalms, and read *Baxter's* dying thoughts. He was as serene and calm as if he had been in no danger at all. A Committee of Council came to examine him upon the design of seizing on the guards, and about his treating with the *Scots*. He answered them civilly; and said, that he was now preparing for his trial, where he did not doubt but he should answer every thing that could be objected to him. From him they went to *Sidney*, who treated them more roughly: He said, it seemed they wanted evidence, and therefore they were come to draw it from his own mouth; but they should have nothing from him. Upon this examination of Lord *Russel*, in which his treating with the *Scots* was so positively charged on him, as a thing of which they were well assured, his Lady desired me to see who this could be, that had so charged him: But this appeared to be only an artifice, to draw a confession from him. *Cochran* was gone: And *Baillie* was a close prisoner, and was very ill used: None were admitted to him. I sent to the keeper of the prison to let him want for nothing, and that I should see him paid. I also at his desire sent him books for his entertainment, for which I was threatned with a prison. I said, I was his nearest kinsman in the place, and this was only to do as I would be done by. From what I found among the *Scots* I quieted the fears of Lord *Russel's* friends.

Lord *Howard* was still going about, and protesting to every person he saw that there was no plot, and that he knew of none: Yet he seemed to be under a consternation all the while. Lord *Russel* told me, he was with him when the news was brought that *West* had delivered himself, upon which he saw him change colour: And he asked him, if he apprehended any thing from him? He confessed, he had been as free with him as with any man. *Hamden* saw him afterwards under great fears: And upon that he wished him to go out of the way, if he thought there was matter against him, and if he had not a strength of mind to suffer any thing that might happen to him. The King spoke of him with such contempt, that it was not probable that he was all this while in correspondence with the Court.

At



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Howard's  
confession.

At last, four days before Lord *Russel*'s trial, he was taken in his own house after a long search; and was found standing up within a chimney. As soon as he was taken he fell a crying: And at his first examination he told, as he said, all that he knew. *West* and *Rumsey* had resolved only to charge some of the lower fort; but had not laid every thing so well together, but that they were found contradicting one another. So *Rumsey* charged *West* for concealing some things: Upon which he was laid in irons, and was threatened with being hanged: For three days he would eat nothing, and seemed resolved to starve himself: But nature overcame his resolutions: And then he told all he knew, and perhaps more than he knew; for I believe it was at this time that he wrote his narrative. And in that he told a new story of Lord *Howard*, which was not very credible, that he thought the best way of killing the King and the Duke, was for the Duke of *Monmouth* to fall into *New-Market* with a body of three or four hundred horse when they were all asleep, and so to take them all: As if it had been an easy matter to get such a body together, and to carry them thither invisibly upon so desperate a service. Upon Lord *Howard*'s examination, he told a long story of Lord *Shaftsbury*'s design of raising the City: He affirmed, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had told him, how *Trenchard* had undertaken to bring a body of men from *Taunton*, but had failed in it: He confirmed that of a rising intended in the City on the seventeenth or the nineteenth of *November* last: But he knew of no body that was to be at the head of it. So this was looked on as only talk. But that which came more home was, that he owned there was a Council of six settled, of which he himself was one; and that they had had several debates among them concerning an insurrection, and where it should begin, whether in the City or in the Country; but that they resolved to be first well informed concerning the state *Scotland* was in; and that *Sidney* had sent *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to bring him a sure information from thence, and that he gave him sixty guineas for his journey: More of that matter he did not know; for he had gone out of Town to the *Bath*, and to his estate in the Country. During his absence the Lords began to apprehend their error in trusting him: And upon it Lord *Effex* said to Lord *Russel*, as the last told me in prison, that the putting themselves in the power of such a man would be their reproach, as well as their ruin, for trusting a man of so ill a character: So they resolved to talk



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talk no more to him: But at his next coming to Town they told him, they saw it was necessary at present to give over all consultations, and to be quiet: And after that they saw him very little. *Hamden* was upon Lord *Howard's* discovery seized on: He, when examined, desired not to be pressed with questions: So he was sent to the Tower.

The Earl of  
*Essex* was  
sent to the  
Tower.

A party of horse was sent to bring up Lord *Essex*, who had staid all this while at his house in the Country; and seemed so little apprehensive of danger, that his own Lady did not imagine he had any concern on his mind. He was offered to be conveyed away very safely: But he would not stir. His tenderness for Lord *Russel* was the cause of this: For he thought his going out of the way might incline the Jury to believe the evidence the more for his absconding. He seemed resolved, as soon as he saw how that went, to take care of himself. When the party came to bring him up, he was at first in some disorder, yet he recovered himself. But when he came before the Council, he was in much confusion. He was sent to the Tower: And there he fell under a great depression of spirit: He could not sleep at all. He had fallen before that twice under great fits of the spleen, which returned now upon him with more violence. He sent by a servant, whom he had long trusted, and who was suffered to come to him, a very melancholy message to his wife; That what he was charged with was true: He was sorry he had ruined her and her children: But he had sent for the Earl of *Clarendon*, to talk freely to him, who had married his sister. She immediately sent back the servant, to beg of him that he would not think of her or her children, but only study to support his own spirits; and desired him to say nothing to Lord *Clarendon*, nor to any body else, till she should come to him, which she was in hope to obtain leave to do in a day or two. Lord *Clarendon* came to him upon his message: But he turned the matter so well to him, as if he had been only to explain somewhat that he had mistaken himself in when he was before the Council: But as to that for which he was clapt up, he said there was nothing in it, and it would appear how innocent he was. So Lord *Clarendon* went away in a great measure satisfied, as he himself told me. His Lady had another message from him, that he was much calmer; especially when he found how she took his condition to heart, without seeming concerned for her own share in it. He ordered many things to be sent to him: And among other things he

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called



called at several times for a penknife, with which he used to pare his nails very nicely: So this was thought intended for an amusement. But it was not brought from his house in the Country, tho' sent for. And when it did not come, he called for a razor, and said, that would do as well. The King and the Duke came to the Tower that morning, as was given out, to see some invention about the ordinance. As they were going into their barge, the cry came after them of what had hapned to Lord *Effex*: For his man, thinking he staid longer than ordinary in his closet, said, he looked thro' the key hole, and there saw him lying dead: Upon which the door being broke open, he was found dead; his throat cut, so that both the jugulars and the gullet were cut, a little above the *Aspera Arteria*. I shall afterwards give an account of the further enquiry into this matter, which past then universally as done by himself. The Coroners Jury found it self-murder. And when his body was brought home to his own house, and the wound was examined by his own Surgeon, he said to me, it was impossible the wound could be as it was, if given by any hand but his own: For except he had cast his head back, and stretched up his neck all he could, the *Aspera Arteria* must have been cut. But to go on with this tragical day, in which I lost the two best friends I had in the world:

The Lord *Russel's* trial was fixed for that day. A Jury was returned that consisted of citizens of *London* who were not freeholders. So the first point argued in law was, whether this could be a legal Jury. The statute was exprefs: And the reason was, that none but men of certain estates might try a man upon his life. It was answered, that the practice of the City was to the contrary, upon the very reason of the law: For the richest men of the City were often no freeholders, but merchants whose wealth lay in their trade and stock. So this was over-ruled, and the Jury was sworn. They were pickt out with great care, being men of fair reputation in other respects, but so engaged in the party for the Court, that they were easy to believe any thing on that side. *Rumsey*, *Shepherd*, and Lord *Howard* were the witnesses, who deposed according to what was formerly related. *Shepherd* swore, Lord *Russel* was twice at his house, tho' he was never there but once. And when Lord *Russel* sent him word after his sentence, that he forgave him all he had sworn against him, but that he must remember that he was never within his doors but one single time: To which all the

The Lord  
*Russel's* trial.



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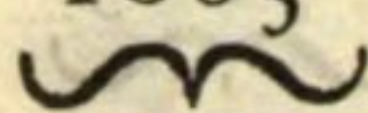
answer *Shepherd* made was, that all the while he was in Court during the trial he was under such a confusion, that he scarce knew what he said. Both *Rumsey* and he swore, that Lord *Russel* had expressed his consent to the seizing on the guards, tho' they did not swear any one word that he spoke which imported it: So that here a man was convicted of treason, for being present by accident, or for some innocent purpose, where treasonable matter was discoursed, without bearing a part in that discourse, or giving any assent by words or otherwise to what was so discoursed; which at the most amounts to mis-prision, or concealment of treason only. As Lord *Howard* began his evidence, the news of the Earl of *Essex's* death came to the Court. Upon which Lord *Howard* stopped, and said, he could not go on till he gave vent to his grief in some tears. He soon recovered himself, and told all his story. Lord *Russel* defended himself by many compurgators, who spoke very fully of his great worth, and that it was not likely he would engage in ill designs. Some others besides my self testified, how solemnly Lord *Howard* had denied his knowledge of any plot upon its first breaking out. *Finch*, the Solicitor General, said, no regard was to be had to that, for all witnesses denied at first. It was answered, if these denials had been only to a magistrate, or at an examination, it might be thought of less moment: But such solemn denials, with asseverations, to friends, and officiously offered, shewed that such a witness was so bad a man, that no credit was due to his testimony. It was also urged, that it was not sworn by any of the witnesses, that Lord *Russel* had spoken any such words, or words to that effect: And without some such indication, it could not be known that he hearkned to the discourse, or consented to it. Lord *Russel* also asked, upon what statute he was tried: If upon the old statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third, or if upon the statute made declaring what shall be held treason during the King's reign? They could not rely on the last, because of the limitation of time in it: Six months, and something more, were passed since the time of these discourses: So they relied on the old statute. Upon which he asked, where was the overt-act? For none appeared. It was also said, that by that statute the very imagining the King's death, when proved by an overt-act, was treason: But it was only the levying war, and not the imagining to levy war against the King, that was treason by that statute. *Cook* and *Hale* were of this opinion, and gave their reasons for it. And it



it seemed, that the Parliament that past the act of treason during the present Reign were of that mind; for they enumerated consultations to raise war among those things which were declared to be treason during that Reign: This shewed, that they did not look on them as comprehended within the old statute. The King's Counsel pretended, that consultations to seize on the guards were an overt-act of a design against the King's person. But those forces, that have got the designation of guards appropriated to them, are not the King's guards in law: They are not so much as allowed of by law: For even the lately dissolved long Parliament, that was so careful of the King, and so kind to him, would never take notice of the King's forces, much less call them his guards. The guards were only a company of men in the King's pay: So that a design to seize on them amounted to no more, than to a design to seize on a part of the King's army. But the word guards sounded so like a security to the King's person, that the design against them was constructed a design against his life: And yet none of the witnesses spoke of any design against the King's person. Lord *Howard* swore positively, that they had no such design. Yet the one was constructed to be the natural consequence of the other. So that after all the declaiming against a constructive treason in the case of Lord *Strafford*, the Court was always running into it, when they had a mind to destroy any that stood in their way. Lord *Russel* desired, that his Counsel might be heard to this point of seizing the guards: But that was denied, unless he would confess the fact: And he would not do that, because, as the witnesses had sworn it, it was false. He once intended to have related the whole fact, just as it was: But his Counsel advised him against it. Some of his friends were for it, who thought that it could amount to no more than a concealment and mis-prision of treason. Yet the Counsel distinguished between a bare knowledge, and a concealing that, and a joining designedly in council with men that did design treason: For in that case, tho' a man should differ in opinion from a treasonable proposition, yet his mixing in council with such men will in law make him a traitor. Lord *Russel* spoke but little: Yet in few words he touched on all the material points of law that had been suggested to him. *Finch* summed up the evidence against him: But in that, and in several other trials afterwards, he shewed more of a vicious eloquence, in turning matters with some subtlety against the prisoners, than of solid or sincere reasoning.



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He was con-  
demned.

soning. *Jefferies* would shew his zeal, and speak after him: But it was only an insolent declamation, such as all his were, full of fury and indecent invectives. *Pemberton* was the head of the Court, the other Bench not being yet filled. He summed up the evidence at first very fairly: But in conclusion he told the Jury, that a design to seize the guards was surely a design against the King's life. But tho' he struck upon this, which was the main point, yet it was thought that his stating the whole matter with so little eagerness against Lord *Russel*, was that which lost him his place: For he was turned out soon after. Lord *Russel*'s behaviour during the trial was decent and composed: So that he seemed very little concerned in the issue of the matter. He was a man of so much candour, that he spoke little as to the fact: For since he was advised not to tell the whole truth, he could not speak against that which he knew to be true, tho' in some particulars it had been carried beyond the truth. But he was not allowed to make the difference: So he left that wholly to the Jury, who brought in their verdict against him, upon which he received sentence.

He then composed himself to die with great seriousness. He said, he was sure the day of his trial was more uneasy to him, than that of his execution would be. All possible methods were used to have saved his life: Money was offered to the Lady *Portsmouth*, and to all that had credit, and that without measure. He was pressed to send petitions and submissions to the King, and to the Duke: But he left it to his friends to consider how far these might go, and how they were to be worded. All he was brought to was, to offer to live beyond sea in any place that the King should name, and never to meddle any more in *English* affairs. But all was in vain: Both King and Duke were fixed in their resolutions; but with this difference, as Lord *Rocheſter* afterwards told me, that the Duke suffered some, among whom he was one, to argue the point with him, but the King could not bear the discourse. Some have said, that the Duke moved that he might be executed in *Southampton* square before his own house, but that the King rejected that as indecent. So *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* was the place appointed for his execution. The last week of his life he was shut up all the mornings, as he himself desired. And about noon I came to him, and staid with him till night. All the while he expressed a very Christian temper, without sharpness or resentment, vanity or affectation. His whole behaviour looked like a triumph over death.



death. Upon some occasions, as at table, or when his friends came to see him, he was decently cheerful. I was by him when the Sheriffs came to shew him the warrant for his execution. He read it with indifference: And when they were gone he told me, it was not decent to be merry with such a matter, otherwise he was near telling *Rich*, (who tho' he was now of the other side, yet had been a member of the House of Commons, and had voted for the Exclusion,) that they should never sit together in that House any more to vote for the bill of Exclusion. The day before his death he fell a bleeding at the nose: Upon that he said to me pleasantly, I shall not now let blood to divert this: That will be done to morrow. At night it rained hard: And he said, such a rain to morrow will spoil a great shew, which was a dull thing in a rainy day. He said, the sins of his youth lay heavy upon his mind: But he hoped God had forgiven them, for he was sure he had forsaken them, and for many years he had walked before God with a sincere heart: If in his publick actings he had committed errors, they were only the errors of his understanding; for he had no private ends, nor ill designs of his own in them: He was still of opinion that the King was limited by law, and that when he broke thro' those limits his subjects might defend themselves, and restrain him: He thought a violent death was a very desirable way of ending one's life: It was only the being exposed to be a little gazed at, and to suffer the pain of one minute, which, he was confident, was not equal to the pain of drawing a tooth. He said, he felt none of those transports that some good people felt; but he had a full calm in his mind, no palpitation at heart, nor trembling at the thoughts of death. He was much concerned at the cloud that seemed to be now over his Country: But he hoped his death should do more service, than his life could have done.

This was the substance of the discourse between him and me. *Tillotson* was oft with him that last week. We thought the party had gone too quick in their consultations, and too far; and that resistance in the condition we were then in was not lawful. He said, he had not leisure to enter into discourses of politicks; but he thought a government limited by law was only a name, if the subjects might not maintain those limitations by force: Otherwise all was at the discretion of the Prince: That was contrary to all the notions he had lived in of our government. But he said, there was nothing among them but the embrio's of things, that were never like to

His preparation for death.



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have any effect, and that were now quite dissolved. He thought, it was necessary for him to leave a paper behind him at his death: And because he had not been accustomed to draw such papers, he desired me to give him a scheme of the heads fit to be spoken to, and of the order in which they should be laid: Which I did. And he was three days employed for some time in the morning to write out his speech. He ordered four copies to be made of it, all which he signed; and gave the original with three of the copies to his Lady, and kept the other to give to the Sheriffs on the Scaffold. He writ it with great care: And the passages that were tender he writ in papers apart, and shewed them to his Lady, and to my self, before he writ them out fair. He was very easy when this was ended. He also writ a letter to the King, in which he asked pardon for every thing he had said or done contrary to his duty, protesting he was innocent as to all designs against his person or government, and that his heart was ever devoted to that which he thought was his true interest. He added, that tho' he thought he had met with hard measure, yet he forgave all concerned in it from the highest to the lowest; and ended, hoping that his Majesty's displeasure at him would cease with his own life, and that no part of it should fall on his wife and children. The day before his death he received the Sacrament from *Tillotson* with much devotion. And I preached two short sermons to him, which he heard with great affection. And we were shut up till towards the evening. Then he suffered his children that were very young, and some few of his friends to take leave of him; in which he maintained his constancy of temper, tho' he was a very fond father. He also parted with his Lady with a composed silence: And, as soon as she was gone, he said to me, The bitterness of death is past: For he loved and esteemed her beyond expression, as she well deserved it in all respects. She had the command of her self so much, that at parting she gave him no disturbance. He went into his chamber about midnight: And I staid all night in the outward room. He went not to bed till about two in the morning: And was fast asleep at four, when according to his order we called him. He was quickly dressed, but would lose no time in shaving: For he said, he was not concerned in his good looks that day.

The trial  
and execu-  
tion of *Wal-*  
*cot* and o-  
thers.

He was not ill pleased with the account he heard that morning of the manner of *Walcot's* death, who together with  
one



one *Hone* and *Rowse* had suffered the day before. These were condemned upon the evidence of the witnesses. *Rumsey* and *West* swore fully against *Walcot*: He had also writ a letter to the Secretary offering to make discoveries, in which he said the plot was laid deep and wide. *Walcot* denied at his death the whole business of the *Rye-Plot*, and of his undertaking to fight the guards while others should kill the King. He said, *West* had often spoken of it to him in the phrase of *lopping*; and that he always said he would not meddle in it, and that he looked on it as an infamous thing, and as that which the Duke of *Monmouth* would certainly revenge, tho' *West* assured him that Duke had engaged under his hand to consent to it. This confession of *Walcot's*, as it shewed himself very guilty, so it made *West* appear so black, that the Court made no more use of him. *Hone*, a poor tradesman in *London*, who it seems had some heat but scarce any sense in him, was drawn in by *Keeling*, and *Lee*, another witness, who was also brought in by *Keeling* to a very wild thing, of killing the King but sparing the Duke, upon this conceit, that we would be in less danger in being under a professed Papist than under the King. *Hone* had promised to serve in the execution of it, but neither knew when, where, nor how it was to be done: So, tho' he seemed fitter for a *Bedlam* than a trial, yet he was tried the day before the Lord *Russel*, and suffered with the others the day before him. He confessed his own guilt; but said, these who witnessed against him had engaged him in that design, for which they now charged him: But he knew nothing of any other persons, besides himself and the two witnesses. The third was one *Rowse*, who had belonged to *Player* the Chamberlain of *London*; against whom *Lee* and *Keeling* swore the same things. He was more affected with a sense of the heat and fury with which he had been acted, than the others were: But he denied, that he was ever in any design against the King's life. He said, the witnesses had let fall many wicked things of that matter in discourse with him: So that he was resolved to discover them, and was only waiting till he could find out the bottom of their designs: But that now they had prevented him. He vindicated all his acquaintance from being any way concerned in the matter, or from approving such designs. These men dying as they did, was such a disgrace to the witnesses, that the Court saw it was not fit to make any further use of them. Great use was made of the conjunction of these two plots, one for a rising, and



1683 and another for an assassination. It was said, that the one was that which gave the heart and hope to the other black conspiracy: By which they were over all *England* blended together as a plot within a plot, which cast a great load on the whole party.

*Russel's execution.*

Lord *Russel* seemed to have some satisfaction to find that there was no truth in the whole contrivance of the *Rye-Plot*: So that he hoped, that infamy, which now blasted their party, would soon go off. He went into his chamber six or seven times in the morning, and prayed by himself, and then came out to *Tillotson* and me: He drunk a little tea and some sherry. He wound up his watch; and said, now he had done with time, and was going to eternity. He asked what he should give the executioner: I told him ten guineas: He said, with a smile, it was a pretty thing to give a fee to have his head cut off. When the Sheriffs called him about ten a clock, Lord *Cavendish* was waiting below to take leave of him. They embraced very tenderly. Lord *Russel*, after he had left him, upon a sudden thought came back to him, and pressed him earnestly to apply himself more to Religion; and told him what great comfort and support he felt from it now in his extremity. Lord *Cavendish* had very generously offered to manage his escape, and to stay in prison for him while he should go away in his cloaths: But he would not hearken to the motion. The Duke of *Monmouth* had also sent me word, to let him know, that, if he thought it could do him any service, he would come in, and run fortunes with him. He answered, it would be of no advantage to him to have his friends die with him. *Tillotson* and I went in the coach with him to the place of execution. Some of the croud that filled the streets wept, while others insulted: He was touched with the tenderness that the one gave him, but did not seem at all provoked by the other. He was singing Psalms a great part of the way; and said, he hoped to sing better very soon. As he observed the great crouds of people all the way, he said to us, I hope I shall quickly see a much better assembly. When he came to the Scaffold, he walked about it four or five times. Then he turned to the Sheriffs, and delivered his paper. He protested, he had always been far from any designs against the King's life or government: He prayed God would preserve both, and the Protestant Religion. He wished all Protestants might love one another, and not make way for Popery by their animosities.

The



The substance of the paper he gave them was, first a profession of his Religion, and of his sincerity in it: That he was of the Church of *England*: But wished all would unite together against the common enemy: That Churchmen would be less severe, and Dissenters less scrupulous. He owned, he had a great zeal against Popery, which he looked on as an idolatrous and bloody Religion: But that, tho' he was at all times ready to venture his life for his Religion or his Country, yet that would never have carried him to a black or wicked design. No man ever had the impudence to move to him any thing with relation to the King's life: He prayed heartily for him, that in his person and government he might be happy, both in this world and in the next. He protested, that in the prosecution of the Popish plot he had gone on in the sincerity of his heart; and that he never knew of any practice with the witnesses. He owned, he had been earnest in the matter of the Exclusion, as the best way in his opinion to secure both the King's life and the Protestant religion: And to that he imputed his present sufferings: But he forgave all concerned in them; and charged his friends to think of no revenges. He thought his sentence was hard: Upon which he gave an account of all that had past at *Shepherd's*. From the heats that were in choosing the Sheriffs he concluded, that matter would end as it now did: And he was not much surprized to find it fall upon himself: He wished it might end in him: Killing by forms of law was the worst sort of murder. He concluded with some very devout Ejaculations. After he had delivered this paper he prayed by himself: Then *Tillotson* prayed with him. After that he prayed again by himself: And then undressed himself, and laid his head on the block, without the least change of countenance: And it was cut off at two strokes.

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Ruffel's last  
speech.

This was the end of that great and good man: On which I have perhaps enlarged too copiously: But the great esteem I had for him, and the share I had in this matter, will I hope excuse it. His speech was so soon printed, that it was selling about the streets an hour after his death: Upon which the Court was highly enflamed. So *Tillotson* and I were appointed to appear before the Cabinet Council. *Tillotson* had little to say, but only that Lord *Ruffel* had shewed him his speech the day before he suffered; and that he spoke to him, what he thought was incumbent on him, upon some parts of it, but he was not disposed to alter it. I was longer before



1683 them. I saw they apprehended I had penned the speech. I told the King, that at his Lady's desire I writ down a very particular journal of every passage, great and small, that had hapned during my attendance on him: I had just ended it, as I received my summons to attend his Majesty: So, if he commanded me, I would read it to him: Which upon his command I did. I saw they were all astonished at the many extraordinary things in it: The most important of them are set down in the former relation. The Lord Keeper asked me, if I intended to print that. I said, it was only intended for his Lady's private use. The Lord Keeper, seeing the King silent, added, You are not to think the King is pleased with this, because he says nothing. This was very mean. He then asked me, if I had not studied to dissuade the Lord *Russel* from putting many things in his speech. I said, I had discharged my conscience to him very freely in every particular: But he was now gone: So it was impossible to know, if I should tell any thing of what had past between us, whether it was true or false: I desired therefore to be excused. The Duke asked me, if he had said any thing to me in confession. I answered, that if he had said any thing to me in confidence, that was enough to restrain me from speaking of it. Only I offered to take my oath, that the speech was penned by himself, and not by me. The Duke, upon all that past in this examination, expressed himself so highly offended at me, that it was concluded I would be ruined. Lord *Halifax* sent me word, that the Duke looked on my reading the journal as a studied thing, to make a panegyrick on Lord *Russel's* memory. Many pamphlets were writ on that occasion: And I was heavily charged in them all, as the adviser, if not the author, of the speech. But I was advised by all my friends to write no answer, but to bear the malice that was vented upon me with silence; which I resolved to do.

Prince  
George of  
Denmark  
married the  
Princess  
Anne.

At this time Prince *George* of *Denmark* came into *England* to marry the Duke's second daughter. The Prince of *Hanover* had come over two years before to make addresses to her: But he was scarce got hither, when he received orders from his father not to proceed in that design; for he had agreed a match for him with his brother the Duke of *Zell* for his daughter, which did at that time more accommodate the family. The marriage that was now made with the brother of *Denmark* did not at all please the nation: For we knew that the proposition came from *France*.

So  
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So it was apprehended, that both Courts reckoned they were sure that he would change his Religion: In which we have seen, since that time, that our fears were ill grounded. He has lived in all respects the happiest with his Princess that was possible, except in one particular: For tho' there was a child born every year for many years, yet they have all died: So that the fruitfulest marriage that has been known in our age, has been fatally blasted as to the effect of it.

The affairs abroad were now every where in a great fermentation. The Emperor had governed *Hungary* so strangely, as at once to persecute the Protestants and to oppress the Papists in their liberties, which disposed both to rebel: Upon which the malecontents were now in arms, and had possessed themselves of several places in the upper *Hungary*; which being near *Poland*, they were managed and assisted by the *French* Ministers in that Kingdom; in which the Cardinal of *Fourbin* was the chief instrument. But they not being able to maintain themselves against the Emperor's whole force, *Tekeli*, who was set at their head, offered all submissions to the *Turk*, and begged his protection. Upon this that great war broke out, all set on by the practices of the King of *France*; who, while he was persecuting the Protestants in his own Kingdom, was at the same time encouraging the rebellion of *Hungary*, and drawing the *Turk* into Christendom. I need not enlarge further on a matter so well known as the siege of *Vienna*: Which, if it had been as well prosecuted as it was first undertaken, the Town would have been certainly taken, and with that the Emperor and his family ruined. The King of *France* drew a great army together near the frontier of *Germany*, and seemed to depend upon it that the Town would be taken; and that he would be called in by the Princes of *Germany* to protect them, and upon that have been chosen Emperor. He at the same time sent *Humieres* with an army into *Flanders*, upon a pretension to *Alost*, that would have seemed very strange in any other Court but that. He had once possessed himself, during the war, of *Alost*: But afterwards he drew his troops out of it. So it not being in his hands when the peace of *Nimeguen* was made, no mention was made of restoring it. But now it was said, that, it being once in the King's hands by the right of his arms, it was still his, since he had not expressly renounced it: Therefore he now demanded it, or to have *Luxembourg* given him as an equivalent

The siege of  
*Vienna*.



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lent for it. *Humieres* finding no resistance in the *Spanish Netherlands*, destroyed and ruined the country, beyond any thing it had felt during the whole war. This was the state of affairs abroad at the time of these trials.

All people thought we should see a Parliament presently called, from which both the King and the Duke might have expected every thing that they could desire: For the body of the nation was yet so possessed with the belief of the plot, that probably all elections would have gone as the Court directed, and scarce any of the other party would have had the courage to have stood for an election any where. But the King of *France* began to apprehend, that the King might grow so much the master at home, that he would be no longer in their management: And they foresaw that, what success soever the King might have in a Parliament with relation to his own affairs, it was not to be imagined but that a House of Commons, at the same time that they shewed their submission to the King, would both enable him to resist the progress of the *French* arms, and address to him to enter into alliances with the *Spaniards* and the States. So the *French* made use of all their instruments to divert our Court from calling a Parliament: And they got the King to consent to their possessing themselves of *Luxembourg*: For which, I was told, they gave him 300000 *l*. But I have no certainty of that. Lord *Mountague* told me of it, and seemed to believe it: And Lady *Portsmouth* valued her self on this of *Luxembourg* as gained by her; and called it the last service she did the Court of *France*.

The author  
went to the  
Court of  
*France*.

At this time I went over into *France*, chiefly to be out of the way, when I was fallen on almost in every libel: For new sets of addresses were now running about the nation, with more heat and swelled eloquence in them than the former ones. In all which the providential fire of *New-Market* was set off with great pomp: And in many of them there were hard things said of Lord *Russel* and his speech, with insinuations that looked towards me.

Characters  
of some he  
knew there.

In *France* *Rouvigny*, who was the Lady *Russel's* uncle, studied to get me to be much visited and known. There my acquaintance with Marshal *Schomberg* began: And by him I was acquainted with Marshal *Bellfonds*, who was a devout man, but very weak. He read the Scriptures much, and seemed to practise the virtues of the desert in the midst of that Court. I knew the Archbishop of *Rheims*, who was a rough boisterous man: He seemed to have good notions of  
the



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the episcopal duty, in all things except that of the setting a good example to his Clergy: For he allowed himself in liberties of all kinds. The Duke of *Montausier* was a pattern of vertue and sincerity, if not too cynical in it. He was so far from flattering the King, as all the rest did most abjectly, that he could not hold from contradicting him, as often as there was occasion for it. And for that reason chiefly the King made him the *Dauphin's* governor: To which, he told me, he had applied himself with great care, tho', he very frankly added, without success. The exterior of the King was very solemn: The first time I hapned to see him was, when the news came of the raising the siege of *Vienna*; with which, *Schomberg* told me, he was much struck, for he did not look for it. While I was at Court, which was only for four or five days, one of the King's coaches was sent to wait on me, and the King ordered me to be well treated by all about him, which upon that was done with a great profusion of extraordinary respects: At which all people stood amazed. Some thought, it was to encourage the side against the Court by this treatment of one then in disgrace. Others more probably thought, that the King, hearing I was a writer of history, had a mind to engage me to write on his side. I was told a pension would be offered me. But I made no steps towards it: For tho' I was offered an audience of the King, I excused it, since I could not have the honour to be presented to that King by the Minister of *England*. I saw the Prince of *Conde* but once, tho' he intended to see me oftner. He had a great quickness of apprehension, and was thought the best judge in *France* both of wit and learning. He had read my history of the Reformation, that was then translated into *French*, and seemed pleased with it. So were many of the great lawyers; in particular *Harlay*, then Attorney General, and now first President of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*. The contests with *Rome* were then very high; for the Assembly of the Clergy had past some articles very derogatory to the Papal authority: So many fancied, that matter might go to a rupture: And *Harlay* said very publickly, that, if that should happen, I had laid before them a good plan to copy from.

*Bellefonds* had so good an opinion of me, that he thought instances of devotion might have some effect on me: So he made the Duchess *La Valiere* think, that she might be an instrument in converting me: And he brought a message from



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her, desiring me to come to the grate to her. I was twice there: And she told me the steps of her conversion, and of her coming into that strict order of the *Carmelites*, with great humility and much devotion. *Treville*, one of the Dukes of *Orleans's* admirers, was so struck with her death, that he had lived in retreat from that time, and was but newly come to appear again: He had great knowledge, with a true sense of Religion: He seemed to groan under many of the corruptions of their Church. He and some others whom I knew of the *Sorbon*, chiefly *Faur*, *Pique*, and *Brayer*, seemed to think that almost every thing among them was out of order; and wished for a regular Reformation: But their notion of the unity of the Church kept them still in a communion that they seemed uneasy in: And they said very freely, they wondered how any one that was once out of their communion should desire to come back into it. They were generally learned only in one point: *Faur* was the best read in ecclesiastical history of any man I saw among them: And I never knew any of that Church that understood the Scriptures so well as *Pique* did. They declared themselves for abolishing the Papal authority, and for reducing the Pope to the old Primacy again. They spoke to me of the Bishops of *France*, as men that were both vicious and ignorant: They seemed now to be against the Pope: But it was only because he was in the interests of the House of *Austria*: For they would declare him infallible the next day after he should turn to the interest of *France*: So they expected no good, neither from the Court nor from the Clergy. I saw St. *Amour*, the author of the journal of what past at *Rome* in the condemnation of the five propositions of *Jansenius*. He seemed to be a sincere and worthy man, who had more judgment than either quickness or learning. He told me, his whole life had been one campaign against the *Jesuits*; and spoke of them as the great plague of the Church. He lamented also that sharpness of stile with which his friend *Arnauld* treated the Protestants; for which, he said, both he and all his friends blamed him. I was carried by a Bishop to the *Jesuits* at St. *Anthoine's*. There I saw P. *Bourdalou*, esteemed one of the greatest preachers of the age, and one of the honours of his order. He was a man of a sweet temper, not at all violent against Protestants: On the contrary, he believed good men among them might be saved, which was a pitch in charity that I had never observed in any of the learned of that Communion. I was also once with P. *de la Chaise*,



*Chaise*, the King's Confessor, who was a dry man. He told me, how great a man they would make me, if I would come over to them. 1683

This was my acquaintance on the Popish side. I say little of the Protestants. They came all to me: So I was well known among them. The method that carried over the men of the finest parts among them to Popery was this: They brought themselves to doubt of the whole Christian Religion: When that was once done, it seemed a more indifferent thing of what side or form they continued to be outwardly. The base practices of buying many over with pensions, and of driving others over with perpetual ill usage and the acts of the highest injustice and violence, and the vile artifices in bringing on and carrying so many processes against most of their Churches, as not comprehended within the edict of *Nantes*, were a reproach both to the greatness of their King and to the justice of their Courts. Many new edicts were coming out every day against them, which contradicted the edict of *Nantes* in the most express words possible: And yet to all these a strange clause was added, That the King did not intend by them to recal, nor to go against any article of the edict of *Nantes*, which he would maintain inviolable. I knew *Spanheim* particularly, who was Envoy from the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who is the greatest critick of the age in all ancient learning, and is with that a very able man in all affairs, and a frank cheerful man: Qualities that do not always meet in very learned men. After a few months stay I returned, and found both the King and Duke were highly offended with the reception I had met with in *France*. They did not know what to make of it, and fancied there was something hid under it.

The addressees had now gone round *England*. The Grand Juries made after that high presentments against all that were esteemed Whigs and Non-conformists. Great pains were taken to find out more witnesses. Pardons and rewards were offered very freely. But none came in: Which made it evident, that nothing was so well laid, or brought so near execution, as the witnesses had deposed: Otherwise people would have been crowding in for pardons. All people were apprehensive of very black designs, when they saw *Jefferies* made Lord Chief Justice, who was scandalously vitious, and was drunk every day; besides a drunkenness of fury in his temper, that looked like Enthusiasm. He did not consider the decencies of his post: Nor did he so much as affect to seem impartial, as

Affairs in  
*England*.

*Jefferies* and  
other Judges  
preferred.



1683 as became a Judge; but run out upon all occasions into declamations, that did not become the Bar, much less the Bench. He was not learned in his profession: And his eloquence, tho' vitiously copious, yet was neither correct nor agreeable. *Pemberton* was turned out of the Common Pleas, and *Jones* was put in his place: And *Jefferies* had three Judges joined with him in the King's Bench, fit to sit by him.

The King sent a new message to the City of *London*, requiring the Common Council to deliver up their Charter, threatening them, that otherwise he would order the judgment to be entred. Upon this a great debate arose among them. Some were for their compliance, that they might prevent the prejudice that would otherwise arise. On the other hand it was said, that all freemen took an oath to maintain the rights of their Corporation: So that it was perjury in them to betray these. They said, it was better to leave the matter to the King, than by any act of their own to deliver all up. So it was carried not to do it by a few voices. Upon that the judgment was entred: And the King seized on their liberties. Many of the Aldermen and other officers were turned out: And others were put in their places. So they continued for some time a City without a Charter, or a Common Council: And the King named the magistrates. New Charters were sent to most of the Corporations, in which the King reserved a power to himself to turn out magistrates at his pleasure. This was done to make all sure for a new election of Parliament, which came now under consideration.

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The calling  
a Parliament  
proposed,  
but rejected.

There was a clause in the act that repealed the triennial bill, which had past in the beginning of the troubles, which enacted that a Parliament should meet every third year: But it had none of those enforcing clauses, in case it did not meet, that were in the other act: And the third year from the Parliament of *Oxford* was now near an end. So, since the King had declared he would govern according to law, and in particular that he would have frequent Parliaments, for which he had special thanks given him in many of the addresses, it was proposed that a Parliament should be called. A war seemed like to break out in *Flanders*; where the *Spaniards*, how ill soever they were prepared for it, had declared war, upon the *French* troops possessing themselves of *Dixmuyd* and *Courtray*. The Prince of *Orange* was pressing the States to go into a new war, rather than let *Luxembourg* be taken. But this was much opposed by the Town of *Amsterdam*. The

calling



calling a new Parliament here, and *England's* engaging, as all believed they might do, would be an effectual restraint on the *French*. But the King had consented to let *Luxembourg* fall into their hands: So it was apprehended that the Parliament might fall upon that, which was the only point that could occasion any difference between the King and them. It was also said, that it was fit all the Charters should be first brought in, and all the Corporations new modelled, before the Parliament should be called. The prerogative lawyers pretended, that the prerogative was indeed limited by negative and prohibiting words, but not by affirmative words. Lord *Halifax* told me, he pressed this all he could; but there was a *French* interest working strongly against it: So the thoughts of a Parliament at that time were laid aside. The *Scottish* prisoners were ordered to be sent down to be tried in *Scotland*. This was sad news to them: For the boots there are a severe torture. *Baillie* had reason to expect the worst usage: He was carried to *Newgate* in the morning that Lord *Russel* was tried, to see if he could be persuaded to be a witness against him. Every thing that could work on him was made use of, but all in vain: So they were resolved to use him severely.

I passed slightly over the suspicions that were raised up-  
on Lord *Essex's* death, when I mentioned that matter. This  
winter the business was brought to a trial: A boy and a girl  
did report, that they heard great crying in his lodgings,  
and that they saw a bloody razor flung out at window, which  
was taken up by a woman that came out of the house where  
he was lodged. These children reported this confidently  
that very day, when they went to their several homes: They  
were both about ten or twelve years old. The boy went  
backward and forward in his story, sometimes affirming it,  
and at other times denying it: But his father had an office  
in the Custom House: So it was thought, he prevailed with  
him to deny it in open Court. But the girl stood firmly to  
her story. The simplicity of the children, together with the  
ill opinion that was generally had of the Court, inclined  
many to believe this. As soon as his Lady heard of it, she  
ordered a strict enquiry to be made about it; and sent what  
she found to me, to whom she had trusted all the messages  
that had past between her Lord and her while he was in  
the Tower. When I perused all, I thought there was not  
a colour to found any prosecution on; which she would  
have done with all possible zeal, if she had found any ap-  
pearances



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pearances of truth in the matter. Lord *Essex* had got into an odd set of some strange principles: And in particular he thought, a man was the master of his own life; and seemed to approve of what his wife's great grandfather, the Earl of *Northumberland*, did, who shot himself in the Tower after he was arraigned. He had also very black fits of the spleen. But at that time one *Braddon*, whom I had known for some years for an honest but enthusiastical man, hearing of these stories, resolved to carry the matter as far as it would go: And he had pickt up a great variety of little circumstances, all which laid together seemed to him so convincing, that he thought he was bound to prosecute the matter. I desired him to come no more near me, since he was so positive. He talked of the matter so publicly, that he was taken up for spreading false news to alienate people's hearts from the King. He was tried upon it. Both the children owned, that they had reported the matter as he had talked it; the boy saying then, that it was a lie. *Braddon* had desired the boy to set it all under his hand, tho' with that he charged him to write nothing but the truth. This was called a suborning: And he was fined for it in 2000 *l*. But I go next to a trial of more importance.

Sidney's trial.

Howard was the only evidence against the prisoners of better rank; for they had no communication with the other witnesses. So other things were to be found out as supplements to support it. *Sidney* was next brought to his trial. A Jury was returned, consisting for most part of very mean persons. Men's pulses were tried beforehand, to see how tractable they would be. One *Parry*, a violent man, guilty of several murders, was not only pardoned, but was now made a Justice of Peace, for his officious meddling and violence. He told one of the Duke's servants, thinking that such a one was certainly of their party, that he had sent in a great many names of jurors, who were sure men: That person told me this himself. *Sidney* excepted to their not being freeholders. But *Jefferies* said, that had been over-ruled in Lord *Russel's* case: And therefore he over-ruled it; and would not so much as suffer *Sidney* to read the statute. This was one of his bold strains. Lord *Russel* was tried at the *Old Baily*, where the Jury consisted of *Londoners*: And there indeed the contrary practice had prevailed, upon the reason before mentioned; for the merchants are supposed to be rich: But this trial was in *Middlesex*, where the contrary practice had not prevailed; for in a county a man who is no

free-

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freeholder is supposed to be poor. But *Jefferies* said on another occasion, why might not they make precedents to the succeeding times, as well as those who had gone before them had made precedents for them? The witnesses of the other parts of the plot were now brought out again to make a shew; for they knew nothing of *Sidney*. Only they said, that they had heard of a Council of six, and that he was one of them. Yet even in that they contradicted one another; *Rumsey* swearing that he had it from *West*, and *West* swearing that he had it from him; which was not observed till the trial came out. If it had been observed sooner, perhaps *Jefferies* would have ordered it to be struck out; as he did all that *Sidney* had objected upon the point of the Jury, because they were not freeholders. *Howard* gave his evidence, with a preface that had become a plea-der better than a witness. He observed the uniformity of truth, and that all the parts of his evidence and theirs met together as two tallies. After this a book was produced, which *Sidney* had been writing, and which was found in his closet, in answer to *Filmer's* book entitled *Patriarcha*; by which *Filmer* asserted the divine right of monarchy, upon the eldest son's succeeding to the authority of the father. It was a book of some name, but so poorly writ, that it was somewhat strange that *Sidney* bestowed so much pains in answering it. In this answer he had asserted, that Princes had their power from the people with restrictions and limitations; and that they were liable to the Justice of the people, if they abused their power to the prejudice of the subjects, and against established laws. This by an Innuendo was said to be an evidence to prove, that he was in a plot against the King's life. And it was insisted on, that this ought to stand as a second witness. The Earls of *Clare*, *Anglesey*, and some others with my self, deposed what Lord *Howard* had said, denying there was any plot. *Blake*, a draper, deposed, that having asked him when he was to have his pardon, he answered, not till the drudgery of swearing was over. *Howard* had also gone to *Sidney's* house, and had assured his servants that there was nothing against him, and had desired them to bring his goods to his own house. *Sidney* shewed, how improbable it was that *Howard*, who could not raise five men, and had not five shillings to pay them, should be taken into such consultations. As for the book, it was not proved to be writ by him; for it was a judged case in capital matters, that a similitude of hands was not a legal

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legal proof, tho' it was in civil matters: That whatever was in those papers, they were his own private thoughts, and speculations of government, never communicated to any: It was also evident, that the book had been writ some years ago: So that could not be pretended to be a proof of a late plot: The book was not finished: So it could not be known how it would end: A man writing against Atheism, who sets out the strength of it, if he does not finish his answer, could not be concluded an Atheist, because there was such a Chapter in his book. *Jefferies* interrupted him often very rudely, probably to put him in a passion, to which he was subject: But he maintained his temper to admiration. *Finch* aggravated the matter of the book, as a proof of his intentions, pretending it was an overt-act; for he said, *scribere est agere*. *Jefferies* delivered it as law, and said, that all the Judges were of the same mind, That if there were two witnesses, the one to the treason, the other only to a circumstance, such as the buying a knife, these made the two witnesses, which the statute required in cases of treason. In conclusion, *Sidney* was cast. And some days after he was brought to Court to receive sentence. He then went over his objections to the evidence against him, in which Judge *Withins* interrupted him, and by a strange indecency gave him the lie in open Court. But he bore it patiently. He sent to Lord *Halifax*, who was his nephew by marriage, a paper to be laid before the King, containing the main points of his defence: Upon which he appealed to the King, and desired he would review the whole matter. *Jefferies* upon that in his furious way said, either *Sidney* must die, or he must die. His execution was respited for three weeks, the trial being universally cried out on, as a piece of most enormous injustice. When he saw the warrant of his execution, he expressed no concern at it. And the change that was now in his temper amazed all that went to him. He told the Sheriffs that brought it, he would not expostulate upon any thing on his own account; (for the world was now nothing to him;) but he desired, they would consider how guilty they were of his blood, who had not returned a fair Jury, but one packt, and as they were directed by the King's Solicitor: He spoke this to them, not for his own sake, but for their sake. One of the Sheriffs was struck with this, and wept. He told it to a person, from whom *Tillotson* had it, who told it me. *Sidney* wrote a long vindication of himself, (which I read,) and summed up the substance of it

in a paper that he gave the Sheriffs: But, suspecting they might suppress it, he gave a copy of it to a friend. It was a fortnight before it was printed, tho' we had all the speeches of those who died for the Popish plot printed the very next day. But, when it was understood that written copies of *Sidney's* speech were going about, it was also printed. In it he shewed his innocence; that Lord *Howard* was a infamous person, and that no credit was due to him: Yet he did not deny the matter he swore against him. As for his book, he shewed what reason all Princes had to abhor *Filmer's* maxims: For if primogeniture from *Noah* was the ground settled by God for monarchy, then all the Princes now in the world were Usurpers: None claiming by that pedigree, and this primogeniture being only in one person. He said, since God did not now by any declaration of his will, as of old by Prophets, mark out such or such persons for Princes, they could have no title, but what was founded on law and compact: And this was that in which the difference lay between lawful Princes and Usurpers: If possession was a donation from God, (which *Filmer* had substituted to the conceit of primogeniture,) then every prosperous Usurper had a good right. He concluded with a prayer, that the nation might be preserved from idolatry and tyranny. And he said, he rejoiced that he suffered for the old cause, in which he was so early engaged. These last words furnished much matter to the scriblers of that time. In his imprisonment he sent for some Independent preachers, and expressed to them a deep remorse for his past sins, and great confidence in the mercies of God. And indeed he met death with an unconcernedness, that became one who had set up *Marcus Brutus* for his pattern. He was but a very few minutes on the scaffold at Tower Hill: He spoke little, and prayed very short: And his head was cut off at one blow.

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His execution
on and last
paper.

At this time an accident hapned, that surprised both the Court and City; and which, if well managed, might probably have produced great effects. The Duke of *Monmouth* had lurked in *England* all this summer, and was then designing to go beyond sea, and to engage in the *Spanish* service. The King still loved him passionately. Lord *Halifax*, seeing matters run so much further than he apprehended, thought that nothing could stop that so effectually, as the bringing the Duke of *Monmouth* again into favour. That Duke writ to the King several letters, penned with an ex-

Monmouth
came in, and
was pardon-
ed.

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traordinary force. Lord *Halifax* drew them all, as he himself told me, and shewed me his own draughts of them. By these the King was mollified, and resolved to restore him again to his favour. It stuck much at the confession that he was to make. The King promised, that no use should be made of it: But he stood on it, that he must tell him the whole truth of the matter. Upon which he consented to satisfy the King. But he would say nothing to the Duke, more than to ask his pardon in a general complement. Lord *Halifax* had pressed him earnestly upon his first appearance to be silent, and for a while to bear the censures of the Town. The last day of the term was very near, in which all the prisoners were to be discharged according to the *Habeas Corpus* act. That would shew he had discovered nothing to their prejudice. So that all discourses concerning his confession and discoveries would vanish in a few days. And if he had followed this, probably it would have given a great turn to affairs. The King spoke nothing of the reconciliation to the Duke of *York*, till the day before it was to be done. He was much struck with it: But the King was positive. Yet the Duke's creatures in the Cabinet Council moved, that for form's sake he should be for some days put in the Tower. The King cut that off by saying, he had promised to pardon him. The Duke of *Monmouth*, as was agreed, made a humble confession of his offences in general words to the King; and made a complement to the Duke, and begg'd that he would intercede with the King to pardon him. The King received him with a fondness that confounded all the Duke's party: He used him more tenderly than he had done formerly. The Duke put on an outward appearance of being very well pleased with it. The King said next day, that *James* (for so he called him) had confirmed all that *Howard* had sworn. This was carried to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who denied he had ever said any such thing; adding, that Lord *Howard* was a liar and a rogue: And this was set round the Town by his creatures, who run with it from Coffee-House to Coffee-House. The next Gazette mentioned, that the King had pardoned him upon his confessing the late plot. Lord *Halifax* pressed the Duke of *Monmouth* to pass that over, and to impute it to the importunity of his enemies, and to the King's easiness: But he could not prevail. Yet he said little till his pardon was past. But then he openly denied, that he had confessed the plot. By that he engaged himself in a plain contradiction

tradiction to what the King had said. Some were brought by the Duke to the King, who confirmed, they had heard the Duke of *Monmouth* say, that he had not confessed the plot: Upon which the King ordered him to give a confession of it under his hand. Lord *Halifax* pressed him to write a letter to the King, acknowledging he had confessed the plot. Plot was a general word, that might signify as much or little as a man pleased: They had certainly dangerous consultations among them, which might be well called plots. He said, the service he might do his friends by such a general letter, and by his gaining the King's heart upon it, would quickly balance the seeming prejudice that such a general acknowledgment would bring them under, which could do them no hurt. Upon that he got him to write a letter to that purpose which he carried to the King. And the King was satisfied. But the Duke of *Monmouth*, whether of himself, or upon the suggestion of others, reflected on what he had done, and thought it a base thing. Tho' this was no evidence, yet he thought it might have an influence on Juries, to make them believe every thing that might be sworn by other witnesses, when from his confession they were possessed with a general belief of the plot. So he went full of uneasiness to the King, and desired he might have his letter again, in the terms of an agony like despair. The King gave it back, but pressed him vehemently to comply with his desire: And among other things the Duke of *Monmouth* said, that the King used this expression, If you do not yield in this you will ruin me. Yet he was firm. So the King forbid him the Court, and spoke of him more severely than he had ever done formerly. He was upon this more valued, and trusted by his own party than ever. After some days he went beyond sea: And after a short concealment he appeared publickly in *Holland*, and was treated by the Prince of *Orange* with a very particular respect.

But soon after disgraced.

The Prince had come for a few days to *England* after the *Oxford* Parliament, and had much private discourse with the King at *Windsor*. The King assured him, that he would keep things quiet, and not give way to the Duke's eagerness, as long as he lived: And added, he was confident, whenever the Duke should come to reign, he would be so restless and violent, that he could not hold it four years to an end. This I had from the Prince's own mouth. Another passage was told me by the Earl of *Portland*. The King shewed the

1684 the Prince one of his seals; and told him, that whatever he might write to him, if the letter was not sealed with that seal, he was to look on it as only drawn from him by importunity. The reason for which I mention that in this place is, because, tho' the King wrote some terrible letters to the Prince against the countenance he gave to the Duke of *Monmouth*, yet they were not sealed with that seal; from which the Prince inferred, that the King had a mind that he should keep him about him, and use him well. And the King gave orders, that in all the entries that were made in the Council books of this whole business nothing should be left on record that could blemish him.

Hamden's trial.

Hamden was now the only man of the six that was left. Yet there was nothing but *Howard's* evidence against him, without so much as any circumstance to support it. So since two witnesses were necessary to treason, (whereas one was enough for a misdemeanor,) he was indicted of a misdemeanor, tho' the crime was either treason or nothing. *Jef-feries*, upon *Howard's* evidence, charged the Jury to bring him in guilty: Otherwise, he told them, they would discredit all that had been done before. So they brought him in guilty. And the Court set 40000 *l.* fine on him, the most extravagant fine that had ever been set for a misdemeanor in that Court. It amounted indeed to an imprisonment for life.

Halloway's execution.

Some time in the spring eighty four *Halloway* was taken in the *West-Indies*, and sent over. He was under an outlawry for treason. The Attorney General offered him a trial, if he desired it. But he was prevailed on, by the hope of a pardon, to submit and confess all he knew. He said, he was drawn into some meetings, in which they consulted how to raise an insurrection, and that he and two more had undertaken to manage a design for seizing on *Bristol*, with the help of some that were to come to them from *Taunton*: But he added, that they had never made any progress in it. He said, at their meetings at *London*, *Rumsey* and *West* were often talking of *lopping* the King and the Duke: But that he had never entred into any discourse with them upon that subject: And he did not believe, there were above five persons that approved of it. These were *West*, *Rumsey*, *Rumbold*, and his brother: The fifth person is not named in the printed relation. Some said, it was *Ferguson*: Others said, it was *Goodenough*. *Halloway* was thought by the Court not to be sincere in his confession. And so, since what he had acknowledged made himself very guilty, he was executed,

cuted, and died with a firm constancy. He shewed great presence of mind. He observed the partiality that was evident in managing this plot, different from what had appeared in managing the Popish plot. The same men who were called rogues, when they swore against Papists, were looked on as honest men, when they turned their evidence against Protestants. In all his answers to the Sheriffs, who at the place of execution troubled him with many impertinent questions, he answered them with so much life, and yet with so much temper, that it appeared he was no ordinary man. His speech was suppressed for some days: But it broke out at last. In it he expressed a deep sense of Religion: His prayer was an excellent composition. The credit of the *Rye-Plot* received a great blow by his confession. All that discourse about an insurrection, in which the day was said to be set, appeared now to be a fiction; since *Bristol* had been so little taken care of, that three persons had only undertaken to dispose people to that design, but had not yet let it out to any of them. So that it was plain, that after all the story they had made of the plot, it had gone no further, than that a company of seditious and inconsiderable persons were framing among themselves some treasonable schemes, that were never likely to come to any thing; and that *Rumsey* and *West* had pushed on the execrable design of the assassination, in which, tho' there were few that agreed to it, yet too many had heard it from them, who were both so foolish, and so wicked, as not to discover them.

But if the Court lost much by the death of *Halloway*, whom they had brought from the *West-Indies*, they lost much more by their proceedings against Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, who was surpris'd at *Leyden*, by vertue of a warrant that *Chudleigh* the King's Envoy had obtained from the States, for seizing on such as should fly out of *England* on the account of the plot. So the Scout at *Leyden*, for 5000 guilders, seized on him; and delivered him to *Chudleigh*, who sent him over in great haste. *Armstrong* in that confusion forgot to claim that he was a native of the States: For he was born at *Nimeguen*: And that would have obliged the *Dutch* to have protected him, as one of their natural born subjects. He was trusted in every thing by the Duke of *Monmouth*: And he having led a very vitious life, the Court hoped that he, not being able to bear the thoughts of dying, would discover every thing. He shewed such a dejection of mind, while he was concealing himself before he escaped out of

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England, that *Hamden*, who saw him at that time, told me, he believed he would certainly do any thing that would save his life. Yet all were disappointed in him: For when he was examined before the Council, he said, he knew of no plot but the Popish plot: He desired, he might have a fair trial for his life: That was all he asked. He was loaded with irons; tho' that was not ordinary for a man who had served in such posts, as to be Lieutenant of the first troop of guards, and Gentleman of the horse to the King. There was nothing against him, but what *Rumsey* and *Shepherd* had sworn of the discourses at *Shepherd's*, for which Lord *Russel* had suffered. But by this time the credit of the witnesses was so blasted, that it seems the Court was afraid that Juries would not now be so easy as they had been. The thing that *Rumsey* had sworn against him seemed not very credible: For he swore that at the first meeting *Armstrong* undertook to go and view the guards in order to the seizing them; and that upon a view he said at a second meeting that the thing was very feasible. But *Armstrong*, who had commanded the guards so long, knew every thing that related to them so well, that without such a transient view he could of the sudden have answered every thing relating to them. The Court had a mind to proceed in a summary way with him, that he should by the hurry of it be driven to say any thing that could save him. He was now in an outlawry: But tho' the statute was express, that if an outlawed person came in at any time within the year, he was to have a trial notwithstanding his outlawry. It was pretended in answer to this, that he not coming in, but being taken, had not a right to the benefit of the statute. But there were several months of the year yet to run. And since a trial was a demand founded on natural justice, he insisted on it. And when he was brought to the King's bench bar, and asked what he had to say why sentence should not be executed, he claimed the benefit of the statute. He said, he had yet, when he was taken, several months to deliberate upon his coming in: And the seizing on him before his time was out, ought not to bar him a right that the law gave him. He also mentioned *Halloway*, to whom a trial was offered the former term. And, since it was a point of law, he desired Council might be heard to argue it. *Jefseries* rejected all this: He said, the King might either offer a trial or not, as he saw cause: And he refused to hear Council: Which being demanded upon a point of law, the

the denying it was thought a very impudent piece of injustice. And when *Armstrong* insisted, that he asked nothing but the law, *Jefferies* in his brutal way said, he should have it to the full; and so ordered his execution within six days. And the law was executed on him with the utmost rigor: For he was carried to *Tyburn* in a sledge, and was quartered, and his quarters were set up. His carriage, during his imprisonment and at his death, was far beyond what could have been imagined. He turned himself wholly to the thoughts of God, and of another state; and was praying continually. He rejoiced, that he was brought to die in such a manner. He said, it was scarce possible for him to have been awaken'd into a due sense of his sins by any other method. His pride and his resentments were then so entirely conquered, that one who saw him said to me, that it was not easy to think it was the same person whom he had known formerly. He received the Sacrament; and died in so good a temper, and with so much quiet in his mind, and so serene a deportment, that we have scarce known in our time a more eminent instance of the grace and mercy of God. *Armstrong* in his last paper denied, that he ever knew of any design against the King's, or the Duke's life, or was in any plot against the government. There were no remarks published on his speech, which it was believed the Court ordered: For they saw how much ground they had lost by this stretch of law, and how little they had gained by his death. One passage in it was the occasion of their ordering no such reflections to be made on it, as had been made on the other speeches. The King had published a story all about the Court, and had told it to the foreign Ministers, as the reason of this extream severity against *Armstrong*: He said, that he was sent over by *Cromwell* to murder him beyond sea, and that he was warned of it, and challenged him on it; and that upon his confessing it he had promised him never to speak of it any more as long as he lived. So the King, counting him now dead in law, thought he was free from that promise. *Armstrong* took this heavily: And in one paper which I saw, writ in his own hand, the resentments upon it were sharper than I thought became a dying penitent. So, when that was represented to him, he changed it: And in the paper he gave the Sheriffs he had softned it much. But yet he shewed the falshood of that report: For he never went beyond sea but once, sent by the Earl of *Oxford*, and some other

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other Cavaliers, with a considerable present to the King in money, which he delivered; and brought back letters of thanks from the King to those who made the present. But *Cromwell* having a hint of this clapt him up in prison, where he was kept almost a year. And upon the merit of that service, he was made a Captain of horse soon after the Restoration. When *Jefferies* came to the King at *Windsor* soon after this trial, the King took a ring of good value from his finger, and gave it him for these services: The ring upon that was called his blood stone. The King gave him one advice, which was somewhat extraordinary from a King to a Judge; but it was not the less necessary to him: The King said, it was a hot summer, and he was going the circuit, he therefore desired he would not drink too much. With this I leave the affairs of *England* to look towards *Scotland*.

Great severity in Scotland.

Great pains were taken there to make a further discovery of the negotiation between the *English* and the *Scots*. A Gentleman, who had been at *Bothwell-Bridge*, was sent over by the *Cargillites* to some of their friends in *Holland*: And he carried with him some letters writ in an odd cant. He was seized at *New-Castle* together with his letters; and was so frightened, that he was easily managed to pretend to discover any thing that was suggested to him. But he had never been at *London*: So he could speak of that negotiation but upon hearsay. His story was so ill laid together, that the Court was ashamed to make any use of it: But it turned heavily on himself, for he went mad upon it. Two others came in, and charged Sir *Hugh Cambell* of *Cesnock*, an antient Gentleman of a good estate, that he had set on the rebellion of *Bothwell-Bridge*, and had chid' them for deserting it. Upon this he was brought to a trial. In *Scotland* the law allows of an exculpation, by which the prisoner is suffered before his trial to prove the thing to be impossible. This was prayed by that Gentleman, who had full proofs of his being elsewhere, and at a great distance from the place, at that time. But that is a favour which the Court may grant, or not: So that was denied him. The first witness that was examined at his trial began with a general story: And when he came to that, in which the prisoner was concerned, *Cambell* charged him to look him full in the face, and to consider well what he was to say of him; for he took God to witness, he never saw his face before, as far as he could remember. Upon that the witness was struck, and stopt; and said, he could

could say nothing of him. The Earl of *Perth* was then Justice General, and offered to lead him into his story. But the Jury stopt that; and said, that he upon his oath had declared he knew nothing of the prisoner, and that after that they could have no regard to any thing that he might say. Upon which some sharp words passed between Lord *Perth* and them, in which he shewed how ready he was to sacrifice justice and innocent blood to his ambition. And that was yet grosser in this case; because his brother was promised that Gentleman's estate, when it should be confiscated. The second witness said nothing, but seemed confounded: So *Cambell* was acquitted by the Jury, but was still kept in prison. These witnesses were again examined before the Council: And they adhered to their first deposition against the prisoner. The law in *Scotland* is very severe against false witnesses, and treats them as felons. But the government there would not discourage such practices; of which, when they should be more lucky, they intended to make good use. The Circuits went round the Country, as was directed by the Proclamation of the former year. Those who were most guilty compounded the matter, and paid liberally to a creature of the Lord Chancellor's, that their names might be left out of the citations. Others took the test: And that freed them from all further trouble. They said openly, that it was against their conscience; but they saw they could not live in *Scotland* unless they took it. Others observed, that the severity which the Presbyterians formerly had used, forcing all people to take their covenant, was now returned back on them in this test, that they were thus forced to take.

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In the mean while a great breach was formed, and appeared on all occasions, between the Earls of *Aberdeen* and *Queensbury*. The latter was very exact in his payments, both of the soldiers and of the pensions: So his party became the strongest. Lord *Aberdeen's* method was this: He writ up letters to the Duke of all affairs, and offered expedients, which he pretended were concerted at *Edenburgh*; and sent with them the draughts of such letters, as he desired should be sent down from the King. But these expedients were not concerted, as he said: They were only his own conceits. Lord *Queensbury*, offended with this, let the Duke understand how he had been deceived. So an order was sent down that all expedients should be concerted by a Junto, consisting of Lord *Queensbury's* creatures. Lord

A breach in the Ministry there.

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Aberdeen saw that by this he came to signify little: And seeing he was losing ground at Court, he intended to recover himself a little with the people. So he resolved for the future to keep to the law, and not to go beyond it. And such was the fury of that time, that this was called moderation and popularity. The Churches were now all well kept by the men: But their wives not being named in the act of Parliament, none of them went to Church. The matter was laid before the Council: And a debate arose upon it; whether, man and wife making one person in law, husbands should not be fined for their wife's offence, as well as for their own. Lord *Aberdeen* stood upon this, that the act did not mention the wives: It did indeed make the husbands liable to a fine, if their wives went to Conventicles; for they had it in their power to restrain them: And since the law provided in the one case, that the husband should suffer for his wife's fault, but had made no provision in the other case, as to their going to Church, he thought the fining them on that account could not be legally done. Lord *Queensbury* was for every thing that would bring money into the treasury: So, since in those parts the Ladies had for many years withdrawn wholly from the Churches, he reckoned the setting fines on their husbands to the rigour would make all the estates of the Country be at mercy; for the selling them outright would not have answered this demand for the offences of so many years. The Earl of *Perth* struck in with this, and seemed to set it up for a maxim, that the Presbyterians could not be governed, but with the extremity of rigour; and that they were irreconcilable enemies to the King and the Duke, and that therefore they ought to be extirpated. The Ministry in *Scotland* being thus divided, they referred the decision of the point to the King: And Lord *Perth* came up to have his resolution upon it. The King determined against the Ladies: Which was thought very indecent; for in dubious cases the nobleness of a Prince's temper should always turn him to the merciful side. This was the less expected from the King, who had all his life time expressed as great a neglect of women's consciences, as esteem for their persons.

The Duke
governed all
affairs.

But to do him right, he was determined to it by the Duke; who since the breaking out of the plot had got the whole management of affairs, *English* as well as *Scottish*, into his hands. *Scotland* was so entirely in his dependance, that the King would seldom ask what the papers imported, which the Duke

Duke brought to be signed by him. In *England*, the application and dependance was visibly on the Duke. The King had scarce company about him to entertain him, when the Duke's levees and couchees were so crowded, that the antichambers were full. The King walked about with a small train of the necessary attendants, when the Duke had a vast following: Which drew a lively reflection from *Waller* the celebrated wit. He said, the House of Commons had resolved that the Duke should not reign after the King's death: But the King in opposition to them was resolved he should reign even during his life. The breach grew to that height between Lord *Aberdeen* and Lord *Queensbury*, that both were called up to give an account of it. It ended in dismissing Lord *Aberdeen*, and making Lord *Perth* Chancellor, to which he had been long aspiring in a most indecent manner. He saw into the Duke's temper, that his spirit was turned to an unrelenting severity: For this had appeared very indecently in *Scotland*.

When any are to be struck in the boots, it is done in the presence of the Council: And upon that occasion almost all offer to run away. The sight is so dreadful, that without an order restraining such a number to stay the board would be forsaken. But the Duke, while he had been in *Scotland*, was so far from withdrawing, that he looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention, as if he had been to look on some curious experiment. This gave a terrible idea of him to all that observed it, as of a man that had no bowels nor humanity in him. Lord *Perth*, observing this, resolved to let him see how well qualified he was to be an Inquisitor General. The rule about the boots in *Scotland* was, that upon one witness and presumptions both together, the question might be given: But it was never known to be twice given; or that any other species of torture, besides the boots, might be used at pleasure. In the Court of Inquisition they do upon suspicion, or if a man refuses to answer upon oath as he is required, give him the torture; and repeat it, or vary it, as often as they think fit; and do not give over, till they have got out of their mangled prisoners all that they have a mind to know from them.

This Lord *Perth* resolved to make this his pattern: And was a little too early in letting the world see, what a government we were to expect under the influence of a Prince of that Religion. So, upon his going to *Scotland* one *Spence*, who was a servant of Lord *Argile's*, and was taken up at *London*,

The cruelty of the Duke, and of his Ministers, in torturing.

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1684 only upon suspicion, and sent down to *Scotland*, was required to take an oath to answer all the questions that should be put to him. This was done in a direct contradiction to an express law against obliging men to swear, that they will answer *super inquirendis*. *Spence* likewise said, that he himself might be concerned in what he might know: And it was against a very universal law, that excused all men from swearing against themselves, to force him to take such an oath. So he was struck in the boots, and continued firm in his refusal. Then a new species of torture was invented: He was kept from sleep eight or nine nights. They grew weary of managing this. So a third species was invented: Little screws of steel were made use of, that screwed the thumbs with so exquisite a torment, that he sunk under this; for Lord *Pertb* told him, they would screw every joint of his whole body, one after another, till he took the oath. Yet such was the firmness and fidelity of this poor man, that even in that extremity he capitulated, that no new questions should be put to him, but those already agreed on; and that he should not be obliged to be a witness against any person, and that he himself should be pardoned: So all he could tell them was, who were Lord *Argile's* correspondents. The chief of them was *Holmes* at *London*, to whom Lord *Argile* writ in a cypher, that had a peculiar curiosity in it: A double key was necessary: The one was, to shew the way of placing the words or cypher, in an order very different from that in which they lay in the paper: The other was, the key of the cyphers themselves, which was found among *Holmes's* papers, when he absconded. *Spence* knew only the first of these: But he putting all in its true order, then by the other key they were decyphered. In these it appeared, what *Argile* had demanded, and what he undertook to do upon the granting his demands: But none of his letters spoke any thing of any agreement then made.

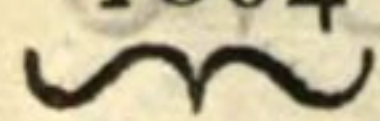
When the torture had this effect on *Spence*, they offered the same oath to *Carstairs*. And, upon his refusing to take it, they put his thumbs in the screws; and drew them so hard, that as they put him to extream torture, so they could not unscrew them, till the smith that made them was brought with his tools to take them off. So he confessed all he knew, which amounted to little more than some discourses of taking off the Duke; to which he said that he answered, his principles could not come up to that: Yet in this he, who was a preacher among them, was highly to blame, for

not revealing such black propositions; tho' it cannot be denied, but that it is a hard thing to discover any thing that is said in confidence: And therefore I saved my self out of those difficulties by saying to all my friends, that I would not be involved in any such confidence; for as long as I thought our circumstances were such that resistance was not lawful, I thought the concealing any design in order to it was likewise unlawful: And by this means I had preserved my self. But *Carstairs* had at this time some secrets of great consequence from *Holland* trusted to him by *Fagel*, of which they had no suspicion: And so they asked him no questions about them. Yet *Fagel* saw by that, as he himself told me, how faithful *Carstairs* was, since he could have saved himself from torture, and merited highly, if he had discovered them. And this was the foundation of his favour with the Prince of *Orange*, and of the great confidence he put in him to his death.

Upon what was thus screwed out of these two persons, the Earl of *Tarras*, who had married the Duchess of *Monmouth's* elder sister, and six or seven Gentlemen of Quality, were clapt up. The Ministers of State were still most earnestly set on *Baillie's* destruction; tho' he was now in so languishing a state, occasioned chiefly by the bad usage he met with in prison, that if his death would have satisfied the malice of the Court, that seemed to be very near. But they knew how acceptable a sacrifice his dying in a more violent way would prove. So they continued even in that extremity to use him barbarously. They were also trying what could be drawn from those Gentlemen against him. *Tarras* had married his niece, who was his second wife. So they concluded that their confidence was entire. *Baillie's* illness increased daily: And his wife prayed for leave to attend on him: And, if they feared an escape, she was willing to be put in irons: But that was denied. Nor would they suffer his daughter, a child of twelve years old, to attend him, even when he was so low, that it was not probable he could live many weeks, his legs being much swelled. But upon these examinations a new method in proceeding against him was taken. An accusation was sent him, not in the form of an indictment, nor grounded on any law, but on a letter of the King's, in which he charged him not only for a conspiracy to raise rebellion, but for being engaged in the *Rye-plot*; of all which he was now required to purge himself by oath, otherwise the Council would hold him guilty of it, and proceed accordingly.

Proceedings
against
Baillie.

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ingly. He was not, as they said, now in a criminal Court upon his life, but before the Council, who did only fine and imprison. It was to no purpose for him to say, that by no law, unless it was in a Court of Inquisition, a man could be required to swear against himself, the temptation to perjury being so strong when self-preservation was in the case, that it seemed against all law and religion to lay such a snare in a man's way. But to answer all this, it was pretended he was not now on his life, and that whatsoever he confessed was not to be made use of against his life; as if the ruin of his family, which consisted of nine children, and perpetual imprisonment, were not more terrible, especially to one so near his end as he was, than death it self. But he had to do with inexorable men: So he was required to take this oath within two days. And by that time, he not being able to appear before the Council, a Committee of Council was sent to tender him the oath, and to take his examination. He told them, he was not able to speak by reason of the low state of his health, which appeared very evidently to them: For he had almost died while they were with him. He in general protested his innocence, and his abhorrence of all designs against the King, or the Duke's life: For the other interrogatories, he desired they might be left with him, and he would consider them. They persisted to require him to take his oath: But he as firmly refused it. So, upon their report, the Council construed this refusal to be a confession: And fined him 6000 *l.* and ordered him to lie still in prison till it was paid. After this it was thought that this matter was at an end, and that this was a final sentence: But he was still kept shut up, and denied all attendance or assistance. He seemed all the while so composed, and even so cheerful, that his behaviour looked like the reviving of the spirit of the noblest of the old *Greeks* or *Romans*, or rather of the primitive *Christians*, and first Martyrs in those best days of the Church. But the Duke was not satisfied with all this. So the Ministry applied their arts to *Tarras*, and the other prisoners, threatening them with all the extremities of misery, if they would not witness treasonable matter against *Baillie*. They also practised on their wives, and frightening them set them on their husbands. In conclusion, they gained what had been so much laboured: *Tarras*, and one *Murray* of *Philipshaugh*, did depose some discourses that *Baillie* had with them before he went up to *London*, disposing them to a rebellion. In these they swelled up the matter beyond
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the truth. Yet all did not amount to a full proof. So the Ministers, being afraid that a Jury might not be so easy as they expected, ordered *Carstairs's* confession to be read in Court, not as an evidence, (for that had been promised him should not be done,) but as that which would fully satisfy the Jury, and dispose them to believe the witnesses. So *Bailie* was hurried on to a trial. And upon the evidence he was found guilty, and condemned to be executed that same day: So afraid they were lest death should be too quick for them. He was very little disturbed at all this: His languishing in so solitary a manner made death a very acceptable deliverance to him. He in his last speech shewed, that in several particulars the witnesses had wronged him: He still denied all knowledge of any design against the King's life, or the Duke's; and denied any plot against the government: He thought it was lawful for subjects, being under such pressures, to try how they might be relieved from them: And their design never went further: But he would enter into no particulars. Thus a learned, and a worthy Gentleman, after twenty months hard usage, was brought to such a death, in a way so full in all the steps of it of the spirit and practice of the Courts of Inquisition, that one is tempted to think that the methods taken in it were suggested by one well studied, if not practised in them. The only excuse that was ever pretended for this infamous prosecution was, that they were sure he was guilty; and that the whole secret of the negotiation between the two Kingdoms was trusted to him; and that, since he would not discover it, all methods might be taken to destroy him: Not considering what a precedent they made on this occasion, by which, if men were once possessed of an ill opinion of a man, they were to spare neither artifice nor violence, but to hunt him down by any means. I have been perhaps too long in this particular, but the case was so singular, and my relation to the person was so near, and my value for him was so great, that I hope I need make no apology for it.

In this I saw how ambition could corrupt one of the best tempered men that I had ever known: I mean Lord *Perth*, who for above ten years together seemed to me incapable of an immoral or cruel action, and yet was now deeply engaged in the foulest and blackest of crimes. I had not now seen him for two years. But I hoped, that still some good impressions had been left in him: And now, when he came to *London* to be made Lord Chancellor, I had a very earnest

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earnest message from him, desiring by my means to see *Leightoun*. I thought, that angelical man might have awaken'd in him some of those good principles which he seemed once to have, and which were now totally extinguished in him. I writ so earnestly to *Leightoun*, that he came to *London*. Upon his coming to me, I was amazed to see him at above seventy look so fresh and well, that age seemed as it were to stand still with him: His hair was still black, and all his motions were lively: He had the same quickness of thought, and strength of memory, but above all the same heat and life of devotion, that I had ever seen in him. When I took notice to him upon my first seeing him how well he looked, he told me, he was very near his end for all that; and his work and journey both were now almost done. This at that time, made no great impression on me. He was the next day taken with an oppression, and as it seemed with a cold and with stitches, which was indeed a plurify.

*Leightoun's death.*

The next day *Leightoun* sunk so, that both speech and sense went away of a sudden: And he continued panting about twelve hours; and then died without pangs or convulsions. I was by him all the while. Thus I lost him, who had been for so many years the chief guide of my whole life. He had lived ten years in *Suffex*, in great privacy, dividing his time wholly between study and retirement, and the doing of good: For in the parish where he lived, and in the parishes round about, he was always employed in preaching, and in reading prayers. He distributed all he had in charities, choosing rather to have it go thro' other people's hand than his own: For I was his almoner in *London*. He had gathered a well chosen library of curious, as well as useful books; which he left to the Diocess of *Dunblane*, for the use of the Clergy there, that Country being ill provided with books. He lamented oft to me the stupidity that he observed among the Commons of *England*, who seemed to be much more insensible in the matters of Religion, than the Commons of *Scotland* were. He retained still a peculiar inclination to *Scotland*: And if he had seen any prospect of doing good there, he would have gone and lived and died among them. In the short time that the affairs of *Scotland* were in the Duke of *Monmouth's* hands, that Duke had been possessed with such an opinion of him, that he moved the King to write to him, to go, and at least live in *Scotland*, if he would not engage in a Bishoprick there. But that fell with that Duke's credit. He was in his last years turned to a greater



greater severity against Popery than I had imagined a man of his temper, and of his largeness in point of opinion, was capable of. He spoke of the corruptions, of the secular spirit, and of the cruelty that appeared in that Church, with an extraordinary concern; and lamented the shameful advances that we seemed to be making towards Popery. He did this with a tenderness, and an edge, that I did not expect from so reclusive and mortified a man. He looked on the State the Church of *England* was in with very melancholy reflections, and was very uneasy at an expression then much used, that it was the best constituted Church in the world. He thought it was truly so, with relation to the doctrine, the worship, and the main part of our government. But as to the administration, both with relation to the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the pastoral care, he looked on it as one of the most corrupt he had ever seen. He thought, we looked like a fair carcase of a body without a spirit; without that zeal, that strictness of life, and that laboriousness in the Clergy, that became us.

There were two remarkable circumstances in his death. He used often to say, that if he were to choose a place to die in, it should be an inn; it looking like a Pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all as an inn, and who was weary of the noise and confusion in it. He added, that the officious tenderness and care of friends was an entanglement to a dying man; and that the unconcerned attendance of those that could be procured in such a place would give less disturbance. And he obtained what he desired; for he died at the *Bell* inn in *Warwick-Lane*. Another circumstance was, that while he was Bishop in *Scotland*, he took what his tenants were pleased to pay him: So that there was a great arrear due, which was raised slowly by one whom he left in trust with his affairs there: And the last payment that he could expect from thence was returned up to him about six weeks before his death: So that his provision and journey failed both at once. And thus in the several parts of this history I have given a very particular account of every thing relating to this apostolical man; whose life I would have writ, if I had not found proper places to bring the most material parts of it within this work. I reckon, that I owed this to that perfect friendship and fatherly care with which he had always treated me.

The mentioning his death leads me to name some other Clergymen of note, that died in this and in the former year.

The promotion of some Bishops.



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year. *Burnet* died in *Scotland*. And *Ross*, a poor, ignorant, worthless man, but in whom obedience and fury were so eminent, that these supplied all other defects, was raised to be the Primate of that Church: Which was indeed a sad omen, as well as a step to its fall and ruin. *Stearn*, Archbishop of *York*, died in the eighty sixth year of his age: He was a sour ill tempered man, and minded chiefly the enriching his family. He was suspected of Popery, because he was more than ordinarily compliant in all things to the Court, and was very zealous for the Duke. *Dolben*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, ſucceeded him, a man of more ſpirit than diſcretion, and an excellent preacher, but of a free converſation, which laid him open to much cenſure in a vitious Court. And indeed he proved a much better Archbishop than he had been a Biſhop. *Gunning* of *Ely* died this ſummer, a man of great reading: He had in him all the ſubtilty, and the diſputing humour of a ſchoolman: And he ſtudied to infuſe that into all thoſe who were formed by him. He was ſtrict in the whole courſe of his life: But was a dry man, and much inclined to ſuperſtition. He had a great confuſion of things in his head, and could bring nothing into method: So that he was a dark and perplexed preacher. His ſermons were full of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and of the opinions of the Fathers. Yet many of the Ladies of a high form loved to hear him preach: Which the King uſed to ſay, was becauſe they did not underſtand him. *Turner* ſucceeded him. He had been long in the Duke's family, and was in high favour with him. He was a ſincere and good natured man, of too quick an imagination, and too defective a judgment. He was but moderately learned, having converſed more with men than with books: And ſo he was not able to do the Duke great ſervice. But he was ſo zealous for his ſucceſſion, that this raiſed him high upon no great ſtock of ſufficiency. Old *Morley*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, died this winter, in the eighty ſeventh year of his age. He was in many reſpects a very eminent man, zealous againſt Popery, and yet a great enemy to the Diſſenters: He was conſiderably learned, and had a great vivacity of thought: But he was too ſoon provoked, and too little maſter of himſelf upon thoſe occaſions. *Mew*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, ſucceeded him: He had been a Captain during the wars, and had been *Middletoun's* Secretary, when he was ſent to command the inſurrection that the *Highlanders* of *Scotland* made for the King in fifty three. After that he came into Orders: And, tho' he knew  
very



very little of Divinity, or of any other learning, and was weak to a childish degree, yet obsequiousness and zeal raised him thro' several steps to this great See. *Ken* succeeded him in *Bath* and *Wells*; a man of an ascetick course of life, and yet of a very lively temper, but too hot and sudden. He had a very edifying way of preaching: But it was more apt to move the passions, than to instruct. So that his sermons were rather beautiful than solid: Yet his way in them was very taking. The King seemed fond of him. And by him and *Turner* the Papists hoped, that great progress might be made in gaining, or at least deluding the Clergy. It was observed, that all the men in favour among the Clergy were unmarried; from whom, they hoped, they might more probably promise themselves a disposition to come over to them.

The prosecution of the Dissenters was carried very high all this year: They were not only proceeded against for going to Conventicles, but for not going to Church, and for not receiving the Sacrament; the laws made against Papists with relation to those particulars being now applied to them. Many were excommunicated, and ruined by the prosecutions. The Earl of *Danby*, for all his severity against Lord *Shaftsbury* for moving in the King's bench to be bailed, tho' committed by the Lords only for contempt, yet had been forced to move often for his being let out upon bail. It was certainly a very great hardship that he lay under: For he had been now five years in the Tower. And three Parliaments had sat. The two last had not mentioned him. And now a Parliament seemed out of sight. Yet, tho' he offered a very long and learned argument for their bailing him, the Judges of the King's bench, even *Sanders* himself, were afraid to meddle in it. But *Jefferies* was bolder. So he bailed him. And upon the same grounds all the Popish Lords were also bailed. *Oates* was prosecuted at the Duke's suit for scandalous words: Rogue and traitor were very freely bestowed on the Duke by him: So an 100000 l. was given, which shut him up in a perpetual imprisonment, till they saw a fit opportunity to carry matters further against him. The Duke of *Beaufort*, Lord *Peterborough*, and some others, brought actions of *Scandalum Magnatum* against those who in the time of our great heat had spoke foul things of them: And great damages were given by obsequious and zealous Juries. An information of a higher nature was brought against *Williams*, who, tho' he was a worthless man, yet was for his zeal

*Danby* and the Popish Lords bailed.



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zeal chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in the two last Parliaments. He had licensed the printing the Votes, which had in them matters of scandal relating to some Lords. So an information was brought against him: And he upon it demurred to the jurisdiction of the Court. This was driven on purpose by the Duke's party, to cut off the thoughts of another Parliament; since it was not to be supposed, that any House of Commons could bear the punishing the Speaker for obeying their orders.

Some re-  
moves made  
at Court.

*Jenkins* had now done all the drudgery that the Court had occasion for from him: And being capable to serve them in nothing else, he was dismiss from being Secretary of State: And *Godolphin*, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, succeeded him. Another Commissioner of the Treasury, *Deering*, dying at the same time, the Earl of *Rocheſter* hoped to have been made Lord Treasurer. He had lost much ground with the King. And the whole Court hated him, by reason of the stop of all payments, which was chiefly imputed to him. Lord *Halifax* and Lord *North* joined their interest to bring in two other Commissioners upon him, without so much as letting him know of it, till it was resolved on. These were *Thynn* and *North*. This last was to be rewarded for his service during his Shrievalry in *London*. Lord *Rocheſter* engaged both the Duke and the Lady *Portsmouth* to divert this, if it was possible. But the King was not to be shaken. So he resolved to quit the Treasury. The Earl of *Radnor* was discharged from being Lord President of the Council, where he had for some years acted a very mean part, in which he had lost the character of a steady, cynical, *Englishman*, which he had maintained in the former course of his life. And Lord *Rocheſter* was made Lord President: Which being a post superior in rank, but much inferior both in advantage and credit to that he held formerly, drew a jest from Lord *Halifax* that may be worth remembring: He said, he had heard of many kicked down stairs, but never of any that was kickt up stairs before. *Godolphin* was weary of the drudgery that lay on a Secretary of State. He chose rather to be the first Commissioner of the Treasury. And he was made a Baron. The Earl of *Middletoun*, son to him that had governed *Scotland*, was made Secretary of State, a man of a generous temper, but without much religion, well learned, of a good judgment, and a lively apprehension.

The bom-  
barding of  
*Genoa*.

If foreign affairs could have awaken'd the King, the *French* did enough this summer in order to it. Besides their pos-  
+  
sessing



fessing themselves of *Luxembourg*, they sent a fleet against *Genoa* upon no sort of provocation, but because *Genoa* would not comply with some demands, that were both unjust and unreasonable: The King of *France* ordered it to be bombard- ed, hoping that in that confusion he might by landing a few men have made himself easily master of that State. This would very probably have succeeded, if the attempt had been made upon the first consternation they were in, when the bombardment began. But the thing was delayed a day or two. And by that time the *Genoese* not only re- covered themselves out of their first fright; but putting them- selves in order, they were animated with that indignation and fury that they beat off the *French* with a courage that was not expected from them. Such an assault, that looked liker the violence of a robber, than the attack of one that would observe forms in his conquests, ought to have provoked all Princes, especially such as were powerful at sea, to have joined against a Prince, who by these practices was become the common enemy of mankind. But we were now pursuing other designs, from which it was resolved that nothing from beyond sea should divert us.

After the King had kept *Tangier* about twenty years, and had been at a vast charge in making a mole before it, in which several sets of undertakers had failed indeed in the main designs, but had succeeded well in the enriching of themselves, and the work was now brought near perfecti- on, which seemed to give us the key of the *Mediterranean*; He, to deliver himself from that charge, sent Lord *Dartmouth* with a fleet to destroy all the works, and to bring home all our men. The King, when he communicated this to the Cabinet Council, charged them to be secret. But it was believed, that he himself spoke of it to the Lord *Arlington*, and that Lord *Arlington* told it to the *Portugal* Ambassador: For the Ambassador took fire upon it; and desired, that, if the King was weary of keeping it, he would restore it to his Master: And he undertook to pay a great sum for the charge the King had been at, all these years that he had it. But the King believed, that as the money would never be paid, so the King of *Portugal* would not be able to main- tain that place against the *Moors*: So that it would fall in their hands, and by that means prove too important to com- mand the Straits. The thing was boldly denied by the Mi- nisters, when pressed by the Ambassador upon the subject. Lord *Dartmouth* executed the design as he was ordered. So

*Tangier*  
abandoned.



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an end was put to our possessing that place. This was done only to save charge, that the Court might hold out the longer without a Parliament. So the Republick of *Genoa*, seeing that we would not, and that without us the *Dutch* could not undertake their protection, were forced to make a very abject compliment to the King of *France*; if any thing could be abject, that was necessary to save their Country. The Doge and some of the Senators were sent to *Versailles* to ask the King pardon, tho' it was not easy to tell for what; unless it was, because they presumed to resist his invasion. I hapned to be at *Paris* when the Doge was there. One saying of his was much repeated: When all the glory of *Versailles* was set open to him, and the flatterers of the Court were admiring every thing, he seemed to look at them with the coldness that became a person who was at the head of a free Common Wealth: And when he was asked, if the things he saw were not very extraordinary, he said, the most extraordinary thing that he saw was, that he saw himself there.

Affairs be-  
yond sea.

The affairs of *Holland* were much broken: The Prince of *Orange* and the Town of *Amsterdam* were in very ill terms by the *French* management, to which *Chudleigh* the *English* Envoy joined his strength, to such a degree of insolence, that he offered personal affronts to the Prince; who upon that would see him no more: Yet the Prince was not considered enough at our Court to get *Chudleigh* to be recalled upon it. The Town of *Amsterdam* went so far, that a motion was made of setting up the Prince of *Friezeland* as their Statholder: And he was invited to come to their Town in order to it. But the Prince of *Orange* prevented this by coming to a full agreement with that Town. So he and his Princess were invited thither: And that misunderstanding was removed, or at least laid asleep for that time. The war of *Hungary* went on with slow success on the Emperor's side: He was poor, and his revenue was exhausted, so that he could not press so hard upon the *Turks*, as he might have done with advantage; for they were in great confusion. The King of *Poland* had married a *French* wife: And she had a great ascendant over him: And not being able to get her family raised in *France*, she had turned that King to the Emperor's interests. So that he had the glory of raising the siege of *Vienna*. The *French* saw their error; and were now ready to purchase her at any rate: So that all the rest of that poor King's inglorious life, after that great action at

*Vienna*,



*Vienna*, was a perpetual going backwards and forwards between the interests of *France* and *Vienna*; which depended entirely upon the secret negotiations of the Court of *France* with his Queen, as they came to her terms, or as they did not quite comply with them.

The misunderstanding between the Court of *Rome* and *France* went on still. The Pope declared openly for the House of *Austria* against the *Turk*; and made great returns of money into *Germany*. He engaged the *Venetians* into the alliance. He found also fault with many of the proceedings in *France*, with relation to the Regale. And now the tables were turned: The *Jesuits*, who were wont to value themselves on their dependance on the Court of *Rome*, were now wholly in the interests of *France*; for they resolved to be on the stronger side: And the *Jansenists*, whom *Rome* had treated very ill, and who were looked on as the most zealous assertors of the liberties of the *Gallican* Church, were now the men that admired the Pope, and declared for him. The persecution of the Protestants went on still in *France*: And no other care was had of them here, but that we sheltered them, and so had great numbers of them coming over to us. A quarrel was in debate between the *English* and *Dutch East-India* company. The *Dutch* had a mind to drive us out of *Bantam*; for they did not love to see the *English* settle so near *Batavia*. So they engaged the old King of *Bantam* into a war with his son, who was in possession of *Bantam*: And the son was supported by the *English*. But the old King drove out his son by the help that the *Dutch* gave him: And he drove out the *English* likewise, as having espoused his son's rebellion against him; tho' we understood it, that he had resigned the Kingdom to his son, but that by the instigation of the *Dutch* he had now invaded him. It is certain, our Court laid up this in their heart, as that upon which they would lay the foundation of a new war with the States, as soon as we should be in condition to undertake it. The *East-India* company saw this, and that the Court pressed them to make publick remonstrances upon it, which gave a jealousy of an ill design under it: So they resolved to proceed rather in a very slow negotiation, than in any thing that might give a handle to a rupture.

I must now mix in somewhat with relation to my self, tho' that may seem too inconsiderable to be put into a series of matters of such importance. But it is necessary to give some account of that which set me at liberty to go round some parts

The hardships that the author met with.



1684 parts of *Europe*, and to stay for some years out of *England*.  
 I preached a lecture at *St. Clements* on the *Thursdays*: But after the Lord *Russel's* death the King sent an order to Dr. *Hascard*, then Rector of the parish, to discharge me from it. I continued at the Rolls, avoiding very cautiously every thing that related to the publick: For I abhorred the making the pulpit a stage for venting of passion, or for the serving of interests. There was a parish in *London* vacant, where the election lay in the inhabitants: And it was probable it would have fallen on me; tho' *London* was in so divided a state, that every thing was managed by the strength of parties. Yet the King, apprehending the choice might have fallen on me, sent a message to them, to let them know, he would take it amiss if they chose me. Old Sir *Harbotle Grimstone* lived still to the great indignation of the Court: When the fifth of *November*, being gunpowder treason day, came, in which we had always sermons at the Chapel of the Rolls, I beg'd the Master of the Rolls to excuse me then from preaching; for that day led one to preach against Popery, and it was indecent not to do it. He said, he would end his life as he had led it all along, in an open detestation of Popery. So, since I saw this could not be avoided, tho' I had not meddled with any point of Popery for above a year together, I resolved, since I did it so seldom, to do it to purpose. I chose for my text these words: *Save me from the lion's mouth, thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns.* I made no reflection in my thoughts on the lion and unicorn, as being the two supporters of the King's scutcheon: (For I ever hated all points of that sort, as a profanation of Scriptures:) But I shewed how well Popery might be compared to the lion's mouth, then open to devour us: And I compared our former deliverance from the extremities of danger to the being on the horn of a rhinoceros. And this leading me to the subject of the day, I mentioned that wish of King *James* the first against any of his posterity that should endeavour to bring that religion in among us. This was immediately carried to the Court. But it only raised more anger against me; for nothing could be made of it. They talked most of the choice of the text, as levelled against the King's coat of arms. That had never been once in my thoughts. Lord Keeper *North* diverted the King from doing any thing on the account of my sermon. And so the matter slept till the end of the term. And then *North* writ to the Master of the Rolls, that the King considered



dered the Chapel of the Rolls as one of his own Chapels: And, since he looked on me as a person disaffected to his government, and had for that reason dismissed me from his own service, he therefore required him not to suffer me to serve any longer in that Chapel. And thus all my service in the Church was now stopt. For upon such a publick declaration made against me, it was not fit for any Clergyman to make use of my assistance any more. And by these means I was set at liberty by the procurement of my enemies. So that I did not abandon my post, either out of fear, or out of any giddiness to ramble about *Europe*. But, being now under such publick marks of jealousy, and put out of a capacity of serving God and the Church in the way of my function, it seemed a prudent and a decent thing for me to withdraw my self from that fury, which I saw was working so strongly, and in so many repeated instances, against me.

These disgraces from the Court were the occasion of my going out of *England*; which both preserved me from what I had reason to apprehend, when the Duke, by the change that hapned soon after, might have had it in his power to make me feel all that displeasure, which had been growing upon him in a course of so many years against me; and it also put me in a way to do the greatest services I was capable of, both to the interest of religion, and of these Nations. So that what was intended as a mischief to me proved my preservation. My employment at the Rolls would have fallen in course within a month, if the Court had delayed the putting me from it in such an open manner; for that worthy man, Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, died about *Christmas*. Nature sunk all at once, he being then eighty two: He died, as he had lived, with great piety and resignation to the will of God.

There were two famous trials in *Michaelmas* term: Three women came and deposed against *Roswell*, a Presbyterian preacher, treasonable words that he had delivered at a Conventicle. They swore to two or three periods, in which they agreed so exactly together, that there was not the smallest variation in their depositions. *Roswell* on the other hand made a strong defence: He proved, that the witnesses were leud and infamous persons. He proved, that he had always been a loyal man, even in *Cromwell's* days; that he prayed constantly for the King in his family, and that in his sermons he often insisted on the obligations to loyalty. And as for that sermon, in which the witnesses swore he deli-

Trials for  
treason of  
*Roswell* and  
*Haies*.



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vered those words, he shewed what his text was, which the witnesses could not remember, as they remembered nothing else in his sermon besides the words they had deposed. That text, and his sermon upon it, had no relation to any such matter. Several witnesses who heard the sermon, and some who writ it in short hand, declared, he said no such words, nor any thing to that purpose. He offered his own notes to prove this further: But no regard was had to them. The women could not prove by any circumstance that they were at his meeting; or that any person saw them there on that day. The words they swore against him were so gross, that it was not to be imagined any man in his wits could express himself so, were he ever so wickedly set, before a mixed assembly. It was also urged, that it was highly improbable, that three women could remember so long a period upon one single hearing; and that they should all remember it so exactly, as to agree in the same deposition. He offered to put the whole upon this issue: He would pronounce a period, as long as that which they had sworn, with his usual tone of voice with which he preached, and then leave it to them to repeat it, if they could. I set down all this defence more particularly, that it may appear what a spirit was in that time, when a verdict could be brought in upon such an evidence, and against such a defence. *Jefferies* urged the matter with his ordinary vehemence: He laid it for a foundation, that all preaching at Conventicles was treasonable, and that this ought to dispose the Jury to believe any evidence whatsoever upon that head, and that here were three positive concurring witnesses: So the Jury brought him in guilty. And there was a shameful rejoicing upon this. It was thought, now Conventicles would be all suppressed by it; since any person that would witness that treasonable words were delivered at them would be believed, how improbable soever it might be. But when the importance of the words came to be examined, by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treason by any statute. So *Roswell* moved for an arrest of judgment, till Counsel should be heard to that point, whether the words were treason, or not. In *Sidney's* case they refused to grant that, unless he would first confess the fact. And, tho' that was much censured, yet it was more doubtful, whether Council ought to be heard after the Jury had brought in the verdict. But the King was so put out of countenance with the many stories that were brought him of his witnesses, that the Attorney General had orders



orders to yield to the arrest of judgment; tho' it had been more to the King's honour to have put an end to the business by a pardon. It was thought a good point gained, which might turn to the advantage of the subject, to allow that a point of law might be argued after conviction. The impudence of this verdict was the more shameful, since, tho' we had a Popish successor in view, here was a precedent made, by which positive witnesses, swearing to any thing as said in a sermon, were to be believed against so many probabilities, and so much proof to the contrary; which might have been at another time very fatal to the Clergy.

The other trial was of more importance to the Court. In *Armstrong's* pocket, when he was taken, a letter was found writ by *Haies*, a Banquier in *London*, directed to another name, which was believed a feigned one: In it credit was given him upon *Haies's* correspondent in *Holland* for money: He was desired not to be too lavish: And he was promised, that he should be supplied as he needed it. Here was an abetting of a man outlawed for treason. Much pains was taken on *Haies*, both by persuasion and threatning, to induce him to discover that whole cabal of men, that, it seemed, joined in a common purse to supply those who had fled beyond sea on the account of the plot. And they hoped to know all *Monmouth's* friends; and either to have attainted them, or at least to have fined them severely for it. But *Haies* shewed a fidelity and courage far beyond what could have been expected from such a man: So he was brought to a trial. He made a strong defence. The letter was not exactly like his hand. It was not addressed to *Armstrong*, but to another person, from whom he perhaps had it. No entry was made of it in his books, nor of any sum paid in upon it. But his main defence was, that a Banquier examined into no person's concerns; and therefore, when money or good security was brought him, he gave bills of exchange, or letters of credit, as they were desired. *Jefferies* pressed the Jury, in his impetuous way, to find *Haies* guilty of high treason; because, tho' there was not a witness against *Haies*, but only presumptions appeared upon the proof, yet, *Jefferies* said, it was proved by two witnesses that the letter was found in *Armstrong's* pocket; and that was sufficient, the rest appearing by circumstances. The little difference between the writing in the letter and his ordinary hand, was said to be only a feint to hide it, which made him the more guilty. He required the Jury to bring him in guilty: And said,



1684 said, that the King's life and safety depended upon this trial: So that if they did it not, they exposed the King to a new *Rye-Plot*; with other extravagancies, with which his fury prompted him. But a Jury of merchants could not be wrought up to this pitch. So he was acquitted, which mortified the Court a little: For they had reckoned, that now Juries were to be only a point of form in a trial, and that they were always to find bills as they were directed.

Strange  
practices,  
and very un-  
becoming a  
King.

A trial in a matter of blood came on after this. A Gentleman of a noble family being at a publick supper with much company, some hot words past between him and another Gentleman, which raised a sudden quarrel, none but three persons being engaged in it. Swords were drawn, and one was killed out-right: But it was not certain by whose hand he was killed: So the other two were both indited upon it. The proof did not carry it beyond manslaughter, no marks of any precedent malice appearing. Yet the young Gentleman was prevailed on to confess the indictment, and to let sentence pass on him for murder; a pardon being promised him if he should do so, and he being threatned with the utmost rigour of the law if he stood upon his defence. After the sentence had past, it appeared on what design he had been practised on. It was a rich family, and not well affected to the Court: So he was told that he must pay well for his pardon: And it cost him 16000 *l*; of which the King had the one half, the other half being divided between two Ladies that were in great favour. It is a very ill thing for Princes to suffer themselves to be prevailed on by importunities to pardon blood, which cries for vengeance. Yet an easiness to importunity is a feebleness of good nature, and so is in it self less criminal. But it is a monstrous perverting of justice, and a destroying the chief end of government, which is the preservation of the people, when their blood is set to sale; and that not as a compensation to the family of the person murdered, but to the Prince himself, and to some who are in favour with him upon unworthy accounts: And it was robbery if the Gentleman was innocent.

Another thing of a strange nature hapned about this time. The Earl of *Clancarty* in *Ireland*, when he died, had left his Lady the guardian of his children. It was one of the noblest and richest families of the *Irish* Nation, which had always been Papists. But the Lady was a Protestant. And she, being afraid to trust the education of her son to *Ireland*, tho' in Protestant hands, considering the danger he might



might be in from his kindred of that religion, brought him over to *Oxford*, and put him in *Fell's* hands, who was both Bishop of *Oxford* and Dean of *Christ Church*; where he reckoned he would be safe. Lord *Clancarty* had an uncle, Coll. *Maccarty*, who was in most things, where his religion was not concerned, a man of honour. So he, both to pervert his nephew, and to make his own court, got the King to write to the Bishop of *Oxford* to let the young Lord come up, and see the diversions of the Town in the *Christmas* time; to which the Bishop did too easily consent. When he came to Town, he, being then at the age of consent, was married to one of the Lord *Sunderland's* daughters. And so he broke thro' all his education, and soon after turned Papist. Thus the King suffered himself to be made an instrument in one of the greatest of crimes, the taking an infant out of the hand of a guardian, and marrying him secretly; against which the laws of all nations have taken care to provide very effectually. But this leads me into a further view of the designs at Court.

The Earl of *Rocheſter* grew weary of the insignificant place of President, which procured him neither confidence nor dependance. And, since the government of *Ireland* was the greatest post next to the Treasury, he obtained by the Duke's favour to be named Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The King seemed to be so uneasy with him, that he was glad to send him away from the Court. And the King intended to begin in his person a new method in the government of *Ireland*. Formerly the Lords Lieutenants were Generals of the army, as well as the Governors of the Kingdom. Their interest in recommending to posts in the army, and the giving the commissions for them, brought the army into their dependance, and encreased the profits of their Secretaries. It was now suggested by Lord *Sunderland*, that this was too much in one person: And therefore he proposed, that there should be a General of the army, independent on the Lord Lieutenant, and who should be a check upon him: When there were but a few troops kept up there, it might be more reasonable to leave them in the Lord Lieutenant's hands: But now that an army was kept, it seemed too much to put that, as well as the civil administration of the Kingdom, into the power of one man. In this the Earl of *Sunderland's* design was, to keep that Kingdom in a dependance upon himself. And he told the King, that if he thought that was a good

Papists employed in *Ireland*.



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maxim for the government of *Ireland*, he ought to begin it when a creature of his own was sent thither, who had not such a right to dispute points of that kind with him, as ancient noblemen might pretend to. Lord *Rocheſter* was much mortified with this. He ſaid, the chief Governor of *Ireland* could not be answerable for the peace of that Kingdom, if the army was not in a dependance on him. Yet little regard was had to all that he could object to this new method; for the King ſeemed to be the more pleaſed with it, becauſe it afflicted him ſo much. The firſt inſtance, in which the King intended to begin the immediate dependance of the *Iriſh* army on himſelf, was not ſo well choſen, as to make it generally acceptable: For it was, that Coll. *Maccarty* was to have a regiment there. He had a regiment in the *French* ſervice for ſeveral years, and was called home upon that appearance that we had put on of engaging with the allies in a war with *France* in the year 1678. The Popiſh plot had kept the King from employing him for ſome years, in which the Court was in ſome management with the Nation. But now that being at an end, the King intended to employ him, upon this acceptable ſervice he had done with relation to his nephew. The King ſpoke of it to Lord *Halifax*: And he, as he told me, aſked the King, if he thought that was to govern according to law. The King answered, he was not tied up by the laws of *Ireland*, as he was by the laws of *England*. Lord *Halifax* offered to argue that point with any perſon that aſſerted it before him: He ſaid, that army was raiſed by a Proteſtant Parliament, to ſecure the Proteſtant intereſt: And would the King give occaſion to any to ſay, that where his hands were not bound up, he would ſhew all the favour he could to the Papiſts? The King answered, he did not trouble himſelf with what people ſaid, or would ſay. Lord *Halifax* replied to this, that it was a juſt piece of greatneſs in the King not to mind what his enemies ſaid; but he hoped he would never deſpiſe what his friends ſaid, eſpecially when they ſeemed to have reaſon on their ſide: And he wiſhed the King would chooſe rather to make up *Maccarty's* loſſes for his ſervice in penſions, and other favours, than in a way that would raiſe ſo much clamour and jealousy. In all this Lord *Halifax* only offered his advice to the King, upon the King's beginning the diſcourſe with him. Yet the King told it all to *Maccarty*; who came and expoſtulated the matter with that Lord. So he ſaw by that how little ſafe a man



man was, who spoke freely to the King, when he crossed the King's own inclinations.

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There was a great expectation in the Court of *France*, that at this time the King would declare himself a Papist. They did not keep the secret very carefully there: For the Archbishop of *Rheims* had said to my self, that the King was as much theirs as his brother was, only he had not so much conscience. This I reported to Lord *Halifax* to tell the King. Whether he did it, or not, I know not. But it was written over at this time from *Paris*, that the King of *France* had said at his levee, or at table, that a great thing would quickly break out in *England* with relation to religion. The occasion of that was afterwards better known. One of our *East-India* ships had brought over one of the Missionaries of *Siam*, who was a man of a warm imagination, and who talked of his having converted and baptized many thousands in that Kingdom. He was well received at Court: And the King diverted himself with hearing him relate the adventures, and other passages of his travels. Upon this encouragement he desired a private audience; in which in a very inflamed speech, and with great vehemence, he pressed the King to return into the bosom of the Church. The King entertained this civilly, and gave him those answers, that he, not knowing the King's way, took them for such steps and indications, as made him conclude the thing was very near done: And upon that he writ to *P. de la Chaise*, that they would hear the news of the King's conversion very quickly. The Confessor carried the news to the King; who, not doubting it, gave the general hint of that great turn, of which he was then full of hopes.

Suspicious  
of the King's  
declaring  
himself a  
Papist.

That Priest was directed by some to apply himself to Lord *Halifax*, to try if he could convert him. Lord *Halifax* told me, he was so vain and so weak a man, that none could be converted by him, but such as were weary of their religion, and wanted only a pretence to throw it off. Lord *Halifax* put many questions to him, to which he made such simple answers, as furnished that Lord with many very lively fallies upon the conversions so much boasted of, as made by such men. Lord *Halifax* asked him, how it came that, since the King of *Siam* was so favourable to their religion, they had not converted him? The Missionary upon that told him, that the King had said, he would not examine into the truth of all that they had told him concerning *Jesus Christ*:



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*Christ*: He thought it was not reasonable to forsake the religion of his fathers, unless he saw good grounds to justify the change: And, since they pretended that the author of their religion had left a power of working miracles with his followers, he desired they would apply that to himself: He had a palsey both in his arm, and in his leg: And if they could deliver him from that, he promised to them he would change immediately. Upon which the Missionary said, that the Bishop, who was the head of that mission, was bold enough (*assez hardi*, were the Priest's own words) to undertake it. A day was set for it. And the Bishop, with his Priest and some others, came to the King. And after some prayers, the King told them, he felt some heat and motion in his arm; but the palsey was more rooted in his thigh: So he desired the Bishop would go on, and finish that which was so happily begun. The Bishop thought he had ventured enough, and would engage no further; but told the King, that since their God had made one step towards him, he must make the next to God, and at least meet him half way. But the King was obstinate, and would have the miracle finished before he would change. On the other hand the Bishop stood his ground. And so the matter went no further. Upon which Lord *Halifax* said, since the King was such an infidel, they ought to have prayed the palsey into his arm again, as well as they prayed it out: Otherwise, here was a miracle lost on an obstinate infidel: And, if the palsey had immediately returned into his arm, that would perhaps have given him a full conviction. This put the Missionary into some confusion. And Lord *Halifax* repeated it both to the King and to the Duke with that air of contempt, that the Duke was highly provoked by it: And the Priest appeared at Court no more.

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A new  
scheme of  
government.

There was at this time a new scheme formed, that very probably would have for ever broken the King and the Duke. But how it was laid was so great a secret, that I could never penetrate into it. It was laid at Lady *Portsmouth's*. *Barillon* and Lord *Sunderland* were the chief managers of it. Lord *Godolphin* was also in it. The Duke of *Monmouth* came over secretly. And tho' he did not see the King, yet he went back very well pleased with his journey. But he never told his reason to any that I know of. Mr. *May* of the privy purse told me, that he was told there was a design to break out, with which he himself would be well pleased: And when it was ripe, he was to be called on to come and manage

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the



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the King's temper, which no man understood better than he did; for he had been bred about the King ever since he was a child: And by his post he was in the secret of all his amours; but was contrary to his notions in every thing else, both with relation to Popery, to *France*, and to arbitrary government. Yet he was so true to the King in that leud confidence in which he employed him, that the King had charged him never to press him in any thing so as to provoke him. By this means he kept all this while much at a distance; for he would not enter into any discourse with the King on matters of state, till the King began with him. And he told me, he knew by the King's way things were not yet quite ripe, nor he thoroughly fixed on the design. That with which they were to begin was, the sending the Duke to *Scotland*. And it was generally believed, that if the two brothers should be once parted, they would never meet again. The King spoke to the Duke concerning his going to *Scotland*: And he answered, that there was no occasion for it: Upon which the King replied, that either the Duke must go, or that he himself would go thither.

The King was observed to be more than ordinarily pensive. And his fondness to Lady *Portsmouth* increased, and broke out in very indecent instances. The Grand Prior of *France*, the Duke of *Vendome's* brother, had made some applications to that Lady, with which the King was highly offended. It was said, the King came in on a sudden, and saw that which provoked him: So he commanded him immediately to go out of *England*. Yet after that the King carested her in the view of all people, which he had never done on any occasion or to any person formerly. The King was observed to be colder and more reserved to the Duke than ordinary. But what was under all this was still a deep secret. Lord *Halifax* was let into no part of it. He still went on against Lord *Rochester*. He complained in Council, that there were many razures in the books of the Treasury, and that several leaves were cut out of those books: And he moved the King to go to the Treasury chamber, that the books might be laid before him, and that he might judge of the matter upon sight. So the King named the next *Monday*. And it was then expected, that the Earl of *Rochester* would have been turned out of all, if not sent to the Tower. And a message was sent to Mr. *May*, then at *Windsor*, to desire him to come to Court that day, which it was ex-



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The King's  
sickness.

pected would prove a critical day. And it proved to be so indeed, tho' in a different way.

All this winter the King looked better than he had done for many years. He had a humour in his leg, which looked like the beginning of the gout: So that for some weeks he could not walk, as he used to do generally three or four hours a day in the Park; which he did commonly so fast, that as it was really an exercise to himself, so it was a trouble to all about him to hold up with him. In the state the King was in, he not being able to walk, spent much of his time in his laboratory, and was running a process for the fixing of *Mercury*. On the first of *February*, being a *Sunday*, he eat little all day, and came to Lady *Portsmouth* at night, and called for a porringer of spoon meat. It was made too strong for his stomach. So he eat little of it: And he had an unquiet night. In the morning one Dr. *King*, a Physician, and a Chymist, came, as he had been ordered, to wait on him. All the King's discourse to him was so broken, that he could not understand what he meant. And the Doctor concluded, he was under some great disorder, either in his mind, or in his body. The Doctor amazed at this, went out, and meeting with Lord *Peterborough*, he said, the King was in a strange humour, for he did not speak one word of sense. Lord *Peterborough* desired he would go in again to the bed-chamber, which he did. And he was scarce come in, when the King, who seemed all the while to be in great confusion, fell down all of a sudden in a fit like an apoplexy: He looked black, and his eyes turned in his head. The physician, who had been formerly an eminent Surgeon, said, it was impossible to save the King's life, if one minute was lost: He would rather venture on the rigour of the law, than leave the King to perish. And so he let him blood. The King came out of that fit: And the physicians approved what Dr. *King* had done: Upon which the Privy Council ordered him a thousand pound, which yet was never paid him. Tho' the King came out of that fit, yet the effects of it hung still upon him, so that he was much oppressed. And the physicians did very much apprehend the return of another fit, and that it would carry him off: So they looked on him as a dead man. The Bishop of *London* spoke a little to him, to dispose him to prepare for whatever might be before him; to which the King answered not a word. But that was imputed partly to the Bishop's cold way of speaking, and partly to the ill opinion they had of him at Court, as too busy



busy in opposition to Popery. *Sancroft* made a very weighty exhortation to him; in which he used a good degree of freedom, which he said was necessary, since he was going to be judged by one who was no respecter of persons. To him the King made no answer neither; nor yet to *Ken*, tho' the most in favour with him of all the Bishops. Some imputed this to an insensibility; of which too visible an instance appeared, since Lady *Portsmouth* sat in the bed taking care of him as a wife of a husband. Others guessed truer, that it would appear he was of another religion. On *Thursday* a second fit returned. And then the physicians told the Duke, that the King was not like to live a day to an end.

The Duke immediately ordered *Hudleston*, the Priest that had a great hand in saving the King at *Worcester* fight, (for which he was excepted out of all severe acts that were made against Priests,) to be brought to the lodgings under the bed-chamber. And when he was told what was to be done, he was in great confusion, for he had no hostie about him. But he went to another Priest, that lived in the Court, who gave him the pix with an hostie in it. But that poor Priest was so frightened, that he run out of *Whitehall* in such haste that he struck against a post, and seemed to be in a fit of madness with fear. As soon as *Hudleston* had prepared every thing that was necessary, the Duke whispered the King in the ear. Upon that the King ordered that all who were in the bedchamber should withdraw, except the Earls of *Bath*, and *Feversham*: And the door was double locked. The company was kept out half an hour: Only Lord *Feversham* opened the door once, and called for a glass of water. Cardinal *Howard* told me at *Rome*, that *Hudleston*, according to the relation that he sent thither, made the King go thro' some acts of contrition, and, after such a confession as he could then make, he gave him absolution and the other Sacraments. The hostie stuck in his throat: And that was the occasion of calling for a glass of water. He also gave him extream Unc-tion. All must have been performed very superficially, since it was so soon ended. But the King seemed to be at great ease upon it. It was given out, that the King said to *Hudleston*, that he had saved him twice, first his body, and now his soul; and that he asked him, if he would have him declare himself to be of their Church. But it seems he was prepared for this, and so diverted the King from it; and said, he took it upon him to satisfy the world in that particular. But tho' by the principles of all religions whatsoever he ought to have obliged

He received  
the Sacra-  
ments from  
a Popish  
Priest.



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obliged him to make open profession of his religion, yet, it seems, the consequences of that were apprehended; for without doubt that poor Priest acted by the directions that were given him. The company was suffered to come in. And the King went thro' the agonies of death with a calm and a constancy, that amazed all who were about him, and knew how he had lived. This made some conclude, that he had made a will, and that his quiet was the effect of that. *Ken* applied himself much to the awaking the King's conscience. He spoke with a great elevation, both of thought and expression, like a man inspired, as those who were present told me. He resumed the matter often, and pronounced many short ejaculations and prayers, which affected all that were present, except him that was the most concerned, who seemed to take no notice of him, and made no answers to him. He pressed the King six or seven times to receive the Sacrament. But the King always declined it, saying, he was very weak. A table with the elements upon it ready to be consecrated was brought into the room; which occasioned a report to be then spread about, that he had received it. *Ken* pressed him to declare that he desired it, and that he died in the Communion of the Church of *England*. To that he answered nothing. *Ken* asked him, if he desired absolution of his sins. It seems the King, if he then thought any thing at all, thought that would do him no hurt. So *Ken* pronounced it over him: For which he was blamed, since the King expressed no sense or sorrow for his past life, nor any purpose of amendment. It was thought to be a prostitution of the peace of the Church, to give it to one, who, after a life led as the King's had been, seemed to harden himself against every thing that could be said to him. *Ken* was also censured for another piece of indecency: He presented the Duke of *Richmond*, Lady *Portsmouth's* son, to be blessed by the King. Upon this some that were in the room cried out, the King was their common father. And upon that all kneeled down for his blessing, which he gave them. The King suffered much inwardly, and said, he was burnt up within; of which he complained often, but with great decency. He said once, he hoped he should climb up to heaven's gates, which was the only word favouring of religion that he was heard to speak.

He gathered all his strength to speak his last words to the Duke, to which every one hearkned with great attention. He expressed his kindness to him, and that he now delivered all over to him with great joy. He recommended Lady *Port-*

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*m outh*



mouth over and over again to him. He said, he had always <sup>1685</sup> loved her, and he loved her now to the last; and besought the Duke, in as melting words as he could fetch out, to be very kind to her and to her son. He recommended his other children to him: And concluded, let not poor *Nelly* starve; that was Mrs. *Gwyn*. But he said nothing of the Queen, nor any one word of his people, or of his servants: Nor did he speak one word of religion, or concerning the payment of his debts, tho' he left behind him about 90000 guineas, which he had gathered, either out of the privy purse, or out of the money which was sent him from *France*, or by other methods, and which he had kept so secretly that no person whatsoever knew any thing of it.

He continued in the agony till *Friday* at eleven a clock, <sup>His death,</sup> being the sixth of *February* 168 $\frac{4}{5}$ ; and then died in the fifty fourth year of his age, after he had reigned, if we reckon from his father's death, thirty six years, and eight days; or, if we reckon from his Restoration, twenty four years, eight months, and nine days. There were many very apparent suspicions of his being poisoned: For tho' the first access looked like an apoplexy, yet it was plain in the progress of it that it was no apoplexy. When his body was opened, the physicians who viewed it were, as it were, led by those who might suspect the truth to look upon the parts that were certainly sound. But both *Lower* and *Needham*, two famous physicians, told me, they plainly discerned two or three blew spots on the outside of the stomach. *Needham* called twice to have it opened: But the surgeons seemed not to hear him. And when he moved it the second time, he, as he told me, heard *Lower* say to one that stood next him, *Needham* will undo us, calling thus to have the stomach opened, for he may see they will not do it. They were diverted to look to somewhat else: And when they returned to look upon the stomach, it was carried away: So that it was never viewed. *Le Fevre*, a *French* physician, told me, he saw a blackness in the shoulder: Upon which he made an incision, and saw it was all mortified. *Short*, another physician, who was a Papist, but after a form of his own, did very much suspect foul dealing: And he had talked more freely of it, than any of the Protestants durst do at that time. But he was not long after taken suddenly ill, upon a large draught of wormwood wine which he had drunk in the house of a Popish patient, that lived near the Tower, who had sent for him, of which he died. And, as he said to *Lower*, *Millington*, and some other physicians, he believed that he himself was poisoned for his having spoken so freely of



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the King's death. The King's body was indecently neglected. Some parts of his inwards, and some pieces of the fat, were left in the water in which they were washed: All which were so carelessly looked after, that the water being poured out at a scullery hole that went to a drain, in the mouth of which a grate lay, these were seen lying on the grate many days after. His funeral was very mean. He did not lie in state: No mournings were given: And the expence of it was not equal to what an ordinary Nobleman's funeral will rise to. Many upon this said, that he deserved better from his brother, than to be thus ungratefully treated in ceremonies that are publick, and that make an impression on those who see them, and who will make severe observations and inferences upon such omissions. But since I have mentioned the suspicions of poison, as the cause of his death, I must add, that I never heard any lay those suspicions on his brother. But his dying so critically, as it were in the minute in which he seemed to begin a turn of affairs, made it to be generally the more believed, and that the Papists had done it, either by the means of some of Lady *Portsmouth's* servants, or, as some fancied, by poisoned snuff; for so many of the small veins of the brain were burst, that the brain was in great disorder, and no judgment could be made concerning it. To this I shall add a very surprising story, \* that I had in *November* 1709 from Mr. *Henly* of *Hampshire*. He told me, that, when the *Duchess of Portsmouth* came over to *England* in the year 1699, he heard, that she had talked as if King *Charles* had been poisoned; which he desiring to have from her own mouth, she gave him this account of it. She was always pressing the King to make both himself and his people easy, and to come to a full agreement with his Parliament: And he was come to a final resolution of sending away his brother, and of calling a Parliament; which was to be executed the next day after he fell into that fit of which he died. She was put upon the secret, and spoke of it to no person alive, but to her Confessor: But the Confessor, she believed, told it to some, who seeing what was to follow took that wicked course to prevent it. Having this from so worthy a person, as I have set it down without adding the least circumstance to it, I thought it too important not to be mentioned in this history. It discovers both the knavery of Confessors, and the practices of Papists, so evidently, that there is no need of making any further reflections on it.

\* N. B. This is added to the original in a loose sheet.

Thus



Thus lived and died King *Charles* the second. He was <sup>1685</sup> the greatest instance in history of the various revolutions of which any one man seemed capable. He was bred up, the first twelve years of his life, with the splendor that became the heir of so great a Crown. After that he past thro' eighteen years in great inequalities, unhappy in the war, in the loss of his Father, and of the Crown of *England*. *Scotland* did not only receive him, tho' upon terms hard of digestion, but made an attempt upon *England* for him, tho' a feeble one. He lost the battle of *Worcester* with too much indifference: And then he shewed more care of his person, than became one who had so much at stake. He wandered about *England* for ten weeks after that, hiding from place to place. But, under all the apprehensions he had then upon him, he shewed a temper so careless, and so much turned to levity, that he was then diverting himself with little household sports, in as unconcerned a manner, as if he had made no loss, and had been in no danger at all. He got at last out of *England*. But he had been obliged to so many, who had been faithful to him, and careful of him, that he seemed afterwards to resolve to make an equal return to them all: And finding it not easy to reward them all as they deserved, he forgot them all alike. Most Princes seem to have this pretty deep in them; and to think that they ought never to remember past services, but that their acceptance of them is a full reward. He, of all in our age, exerted this piece of prerogative in the amplest manner: For he never seemed to charge his memory, or to trouble his thoughts, with the sense of any of the services that had been done him. While he was abroad at *Paris*, *Colen*, or *Brussels*, he never seemed to lay any thing to heart. He pursued all his diversions, and irregular pleasures, in a free carrier; and seemed to be as serene under the loss of a Crown, as the greatest Philosopher could have been. Nor did he willingly hearken to any of those projects, with which he often complained that his Chancellor persecuted him. That in which he seemed most concerned was, to find money for supporting his expence. And it was often said, that, if *Cromwell* would have compounded the matter, and have given him a good round pension, that he might have been induced to resign his title to him. During his exile he delivered himself so entirely to his pleasures, that he became incapable of application. He spent little of his time in reading or study, and yet less in thinking. And, in the state his affairs were then in, he accustomed himself to say to every person, and upon all occasions,



1685 occasions, that which he thought would please most: So that words or promises went very easily from him. And he had so ill an opinion of mankind, that he thought the great art of living and governing was, to manage all things and all persons with a depth of craft and dissimulation. And in that few men in the world could put on the appearances of sincerity better than he could: Under which so much artifice was usually hid, that in conclusion he could deceive none, for all were become mistrustful of him. He had great vices, but scarce any vertues to correct them: He had in him some vices that were less hurtful, which corrected his more hurtful ones. He was during the active part of life given up to sloth and lewdness to such a degree, that he hated business, and could not bear the engaging in any thing that gave him much trouble, or put him under any constraint. And, tho' he desired to become absolute, and to overturn both our religion and our laws, yet he would neither run the risque, nor give himself the trouble, which so great a design required. He had an appearance of gentleness in his outward deportment: But he seemed to have no bowels nor tenderness in his nature: And in the end of his life he became cruel. He was apt to forgive all crimes, even blood it self: Yet he never forgave any thing that was done against himself, after his first and general act of indemnity, which was to be reckoned as done rather upon maxims of state than inclinations of mercy. He delivered himself up to a most enormous course of vice, without any sort of restraint, even from the consideration of the nearest relations: The most studied extravagancies that way seemed, to the very last, to be much delighted in, and pursued by him. He had the art of making all people grow fond of him at first, by a softness in his whole way of conversation, as he was certainly the best bred man of the age. But when it appeared how little could be built on his promise, they were cured of the fondness that he was apt to raise in them. When he saw young men of quality, who had something more than ordinary in them, he drew them about him, and set himself to corrupt them both in religion and morality; in which he proved so unhappily successful, that he left *England* much changed at his death from what he had found it at his Restoration. He loved to talk over all the stories of his life to every new man that came about him. His stay in *Scotland*, and the share he had in the war of *Paris*, in carrying messages from the one side to the other, were his common topicks. He went over these in a very graceful manner; but so often, and so copiously, that all those



those who had been long accustomed to them grew weary of them: And when he entred on those stories they usually withdrew: So that he often began them in a full audience, and before he had done there were not above four or five left about him: Which drew a severe jest from *Wilmot*, Earl of *Rocheſter*. He ſaid, he wondred to ſee a man have ſo good a memory as to repeat the ſame ſtory without loſing the leaſt circumſtance, and yet not remember that he had told it to the ſame perſons the very day before. This made him fond of ſtrangers; for they hearkned to all his often repeated ſtories, and went away as in a rapture at ſuch an uncommon condeſcenſion in a King.

His perſon and temper, his vices as well as his fortunes, reſemble the character that we have given us of *Tiberius* ſo much, that it were eaſy to draw the parallel between them. *Tiberius's* baniſhment, and his coming afterwards to reign, makes the compariſon in that reſpect come pretty near. His hating of buſineſs, and his love of pleaſures; his raiſing of favourites, and truſting them entirely; and his pulling them down, and hating them exceſſively; his art of covering deep deſigns, particularly of revenge, with an appearance of ſoftneſs, brings them ſo near a likeneſs, that I did not wonder much to obſerve the reſemblance of their face and perſon. At *Rome* I ſaw one of the laſt ſtatues made for *Tiberius*, after he had loſt his teeth. But, bating the alteration which that made, it was ſo like King *Charles*, that Prince *Borgheſe*, and Signior *Dominico* to whom it belonged, did agree with me in thinking that it looked like a ſtatue made for him.

Few things ever went near his heart. The Duke of *Gloceſter's* death ſeemed to touch him much. But thoſe who knew him beſt thought it was, becauſe he had loſt him by whom only he could have balanced the ſurviving brother, whom he hated, and yet embroiled all his affairs to preſerve the ſucceſſion to him.

His ill conduct in the firſt *Dutch* war, and thoſe terrible calamities of the plague, and fire of *London*, with that loſs and reproach which he ſuffered by the inſult at *Chatham*, made all people conclude there was a curſe upon his government. His throwing the publick hatred at that time upon Lord *Clarendon* was both unjuſt and ungrateful. And when his people had brought him out of all his difficulties upon his entring into the triple alliance, his ſelling that to *France*, and his entring on the ſecond *Dutch* war with as little colour as he had for the firſt; his beginning it with the attempt on the *Dutch Smirna* fleet;



1685 the shutting up the Exchequer; and his declaration for toleration, which was a step for the introduction of Popery; make such a chain of black actions, flowing from blacker designs, that it amazed those who had known all this to see with what impudent strains of flattery addresses were penned during his life, and yet more grossly after his death. His contributing so much to the raising the greatness of *France*, chiefly at sea, was such an error, that it could not flow from want of thought, or of true sense. *Rouvigny* told me, he desired that all the methods the *French* took in the increase and conduct of their naval force might be sent him. And, he said, he seemed to study them with concern and zeal. He shewed what errors they committed, and how they ought to be corrected, as if he had been a Viceroy to *France*, rather than a King that ought to have watched over and prevented the progress they made, as the greatest of all the mischiefs that could happen to him or to his people. They that judged the most favourably of this, thought it was done out of revenge to the *Dutch*, that, with the assistance of so great a fleet as *France* could join to his own, he might be able to destroy them. But others put a worse construction on it; and thought, that seeing he could not quite master or deceive his subjects by his own strength and management, he was willing to help forward the greatness of the *French* at sea, that by their assistance he might more certainly subdue his own people; according to what was generally believed to have fallen from Lord *Clifford*, that, if the King must be in a dependance, it was better to pay it to a great and generous King, than to five hundred of his own insolent subjects.

No part of his character looked wickeder, as well as meaner, than that he, all the while that he was professing to be of the Church of *England*, expressing both zeal and affection to it, was yet secretly reconciled to the Church of *Rome*: Thus, mocking God and deceiving the world with so gross a prevarication. And his not having the honesty or courage to own it at the last: His not shewing any sign of the least remorse for his ill led life, or any tenderness either for his subjects in general, or for the Queen and his servants: And his recommending only his mistresses and their children to his brother's care, would have been a strange conclusion to any other's life, but was well enough suited to all the other parts of his.

The two papers found in his strong box concerning religion, and afterwards published by his brother, looked like study and reasoning. *Tennison* told me, he saw the original in *Pepy's* hand, to whom King *James* trusted them for some time.



They were interlined in several places. And the interlinings seemed to be writ in a hand different from that in which the papers were writ. But he was not so well acquainted with the King's hand, as to make any judgment in the matter, whether they were writ by him or not. All that knew him, when they read them, did without any sort of doubting conclude, that he never composed them: For he never read the Scriptures, nor laid things together, further than to turn them to a jest, or for some lively expression. These papers were probably writ either by Lord *Bristol*, or by Lord *Aubigny*, who knew the secret of his religion, and gave him those papers, as abstracts of some discourses they had with him on those heads, to keep him fixed to them. And it is very probable that they, apprehending their danger if any such papers had been found about him writ in their hand, might prevail with him to copy them out himself, tho' his laziness that way made it certainly no easy thing to bring him to give himself so much trouble. He had talked over a great part of them to my self: So that, as soon as I saw them, I remembered his expressions, and perceived that he had made himself master of the argument, as far as those papers could carry him. But the publishing them shewed a want of judgment, or of regard to his memory, in those who did it: For the greatest kindness, that could be shewn to his memory, would have been, to let both his papers and himself be forgotten.

Which I should certainly have done, if I had not thought that the laying open of what I knew concerning him and his affairs might be of some use to posterity. And therefore, how ungrateful soever this labour has proved to my self, and how unacceptable soever it may be to some, who are either obliged to remember him gratefully, or by the engagement of parties and interests are under other biasses, yet I have gone thro' all that I knew relating to his life and reign with that regard to truth, and what I think may be instructive to mankind, which became an impartial writer of history, and one who believes, that he must give an account to God of what he writes, as well as of what he says and does.

*The E N D of King CHARLES the second's Reign.*



T H E



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The END of King Charles the Second's Reign.





THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
My Own Times.

BOOK IV.

*Of the reign of King James II.*



AM now to prosecute this work, and to give the relation of an inglorious and unprosperous reign, that was begun with great advantages: But these were so poorly managed, and so ill improved, that bad designs were ill laid, and worse conducted; and all came in conclusion under one of the strangest catastrophe's that is in any history. A great King with strong armies, and mighty fleets, a vast treasure, and powerful allies, fell all at once: And his whole strength, like a spider's web, was so irrecoverably broken with a touch, that he was never able to retrieve, what for want both of judgment and heart he

threw

1685

A reign happily begun, but inglorious all over.



1685  
w

threw up in a day. Such an unexpected revolution deserves to be well opened: I will do it as fully as I can. But, having been beyond sea almost all this reign, many small particulars, that may well deserve to be remembered, may have escaped me: Yet as I had good opportunities to be well informed, I will pass over nothing that seems of any importance to the opening such great and unusual transactions. I will endeavour to watch over my pen with more than ordinary caution, that I may let no sharpness, from any ill usage I my self met with, any way possess my thoughts, or bias my mind: On the contrary, the sad fate of this unfortunate Prince will make me the more tender in not aggravating the errors of his reign. As to my own particular, I will remember how much I was once in his favour, and how highly I was obliged to him. And as I must let his designs and miscarriages be seen, so I will open things as fully as I can, that it may appear on whom we ought to lay the chief load of them: Which indeed ought to be chiefly charged on his religion, and on those who had the management of his conscience, his Priests, and his *Italian* Queen; which last had hitherto acted a popular part with great artifice and skill, but came now to take off the mask, and to discover her self.

The King's  
first educa-  
tion.

This Prince was much neglected in his childhood, during the time he was under his Father's care. The Parliament, getting him into their hands, put him under the Earl of *Northumberland's* government, who, as the Duke himself told me, treated him with great respect, and a very tender regard. When he escaped out of their hands, by the means of Coll. *Bamfield*, his Father writ to him a letter in cypher, concluding in these plain words, *Do this as you expect the blessing of your loving Father.* This was sent to *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, but came after he had made his escape: And so I found it among his papers: And I gave it to the Duke of *York* in the year 1674. He said to me, he believed he had his Father's cypher among his papers, and that he would try to decypher the letter: But I believe he never did it. I told him, I was confident, that as the letter was writ when his escape was under consideration, so it contained an order to go to the Queen, and to be obedient to her in all things, except in matters of religion. The King appointed Sir *John Berkeley*, afterwards Lord *Berkeley*, to be his Governor. It was a strange choice, if it was not that, in such a want of men who stuck to the King as was then, there were



were few capable in any sort of such a trust. *Berkeley* was bold and insolent, and seemed to lean to Popery: He was certainly very arbitrary, both in his temper and notions. The Queen took such a particular care of this Prince, that he was soon observed to have more of her favour than either of his two brothers: And she was so set on making protestants, hoping that *to save a soul would cover a multitude of sins*, that it is not to be doubted but she used more than ordinary arts to draw him over to her religion. Yet, as he himself told me, he stood out against her practices.

1685

During his stay in *France* he made some campaigns under Mr. *de Turenne*, who took him so particularly under his care, that he instructed him in all that he undertook, and shewed him the reasons of every thing he did so minutely, that he had great advantages by being formed under the greatest General of the age. *Turenne* was so much taken with his application, and the heat that he shewed, that he recommended him out of measure. He said often of him: There was the greatest Prince, and like to be the best General of his time. This raised his character so much, that the King was not a little eclipsed by him. Yet he quickly ran into amours and vice. And that by degrees wore out any courage that had appeared in his youth. And in the end of his life he came to lose the reputation of a brave man and a good Captain so entirely, that either he was never that which flatterers gave out concerning him, or his age and affairs wrought a very unusual change on him.

He learned war under *Turenne*.

He seemed to follow his mother's maxims all the while he was beyond sea. He was the head of a party that was formed in the King's small Court against Lord *Clarendon*. And it was believed that his applications to Lord *Clarendon's* daughter were made at first on design to dishonour his family, tho' she had the address to turn it another way.

After his brother's Restoration he applied himself much to the Marine, in which he arrived at great skill, and brought the fleet so entirely into his dependance, that even after he laid down the command he was still the master of our whole sea force. He had now for these last three years directed all our counsels with so absolute an authority, that the King seemed to have left the government wholly in his hands: Only the unlooked for bringing in the Duke of *Monmouth* put him under no small apprehensions, that at some time or other the King might slip out of his hands: Now that fear was over.

He was Admiral of *England*.



1685

He was pro-  
claimed  
King.

The King was dead: And so all the Court went immediately and paid their duty to him. Orders were presently given for proclaiming him King. It was a heavy solemnity: Few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present King. A dead silence, but without any disorder or tumult, followed it thro' the streets. When the Privy Counsellors came back from the proclamation, and waited on the new King, he made a short speech to them; which it seems was well considered, and much liked by him, for he repeated it to his Parliament, and upon several other occasions.

His first  
speech

He began with an expostulation for the ill character that had been entertained of him. He told them, in very positive words, that he would never depart from any branch of his prerogative: But with that he promised, that he would maintain the liberty and property of the subject. He expressed his good opinion of the Church of *England*, as a friend to monarchy. Therefore, he said, he would defend and maintain the Church, and would preserve the government in Church and State, as it was established by law.

well re-  
ceived.

This speech was soon printed, and gave great content to those who believed that he would stick to the promises made in it. And those few, who did not believe it, yet durst not seem to doubt of it. The pulpits of *England* were full of it, and of thanksgivings for it. It was magnified as a security far greater than any that laws could give. The common phrase was, We have now the *word of a King, and a word never yet broken.*

Addreses  
made to him.

Upon this a new set of addreses went round *England*, in which the highest commendations that flattery could invent were given to the late King; and assurances of loyalty and fidelity were renewed to the King, in terms that shewed there were no jealousies nor fears left. The University of *Oxford* in their address promised to obey the King *without limitations or restrictions.* The King's promise past for a thing so sacred, that they were looked on as ill bred that put in their address, *our Religion established by law*; which looked like a tie on the King to maintain it: Whereas the stile of the more courtly was to put all our security upon the King's promise. The Clergy of *London* added a word to this in their address, *our Religion established by law, dearer to us than our lives.* This had such an insinuation in it, as made it very unacceptable. Some followed their pattern. But this was

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marked



marked to be remembred against those that used so menacing a form. 1685

All employments were ended of course with the life of the former King. But the King continued all in their places: Only the posts in the Household were given to those who had served the King, while he was Duke of *York*. The Marquis of *Halifax* had reason to look on himself as in ill terms with the King: So in a private audience he made the best excuses he could for his conduct of late. The King diverted the discourse; and said, he would forget every thing that was past, except his behaviour in the business of the Exclusion. The King also added, that he would expect no other service of him than what was consistent with law. He prepared him for the exaltation of the Earl of *Rocheſter*. He said, he had served him well, and had suffered on his account, and therefore he would now shew favour to him: And the next day he declared him Lord Treasurer. His brother the Earl of *Clarendon* was made Lord Privy Seal: And the Marquis of *Halifax* was made Lord President of the Council. The Earl of *Sunderland* was looked on as a man lost at Court: And so was Lord *Godolphin*. But the former of these insinuated himself so into the Queen's confidence, that he was, beyond all peoples expectation, not only maintained in his posts, but grew into great degrees of favour.

The Earl of  
*Rocheſter*  
made Lord  
Treasurer.

The Queen was made to consider the Earl of *Rocheſter* as a person that would be in the interest of the King's daughters, and united to the Church party. So she saw it was necessary to have one in a high post, who should depend wholly on her, and be entirely hers. And the Earl of *Sunderland* was the only person capable of that. The Earl of *Rocheſter* did upon his advancement become so violent and boisterous, that the whole Court joined to support the Earl of *Sunderland*, as the proper balance to the other. Lord *Godolphin* was put in a great post in the Queen's Household.

The Earl of  
*Sunderland*  
in favour.

But before the Earl of *Rocheſter* had the White Staff, the Court engaged the Lord *Godolphin*, and the other Lords of the Treasury, to send orders to the Commissioners of the Customs to continue to levy the Customs, tho' the act that granted them to the late King was only for his life, and so was now determined with it. It is known, how much this matter was contested in King *Charles* the first's time, and what had past upon it. The legal method was to have made entries, and to have taken bonds for those duties,

Customs  
and Excise  
levied a-  
gainst law.



1685 duties, to be paid when the Parliament should meet, and renew the grant. Yet the King declared, that he would levy the Customs, and not stay for the new grant. But, tho' this did not agree well with the King's promise of maintaining liberty and property, yet it was said in excuse for it, that, if the Customs should not be levied in this interval, great importations would be made, and the markets would be so stocked, that this would very much spoil the King's Customs. But in answer to this it was said again, entries were to be made, and bonds taken, to be sued when the act granting them should pass. Endeavours were used with some of the merchants to refuse to pay those duties, and to dispute the matter in *Westminster-Hall*: But none would venture on so bold a thing. He who should begin any such opposition would probably be ruined by it: So none would run that hazard. The Earl of *Rocheſter* got this to be done before he came into the Treasury: So he pretended, that he only held on in the course that was begun by others.

The additional Excise had been given to the late King only for life. But there was a clause in the act that empowered the Treasury to make a farm of it for three years, without adding a limiting clause, in case it should be so long due. And it was thought a great stretch of the clause, to make a fraudulent farm, by which it should continue to be levied three years after it was determined according to the letter and intendment of the act. A farm was now brought out, as made during the King's life, tho' it was well known that no such farm had been made; for it was made after his death, but a false date was put to it. This matter seemed doubtful. It was laid before the Judges. And they all, except two, were of opinion that it was good in law. So two Proclamations were ordered, the one for levying the Customs, and the other for the Excise.

These came out in the first week of the reign, and gave a melancholy prospect. Such beginnings did not promise well, and raised just fears in the minds of those who considered the consequences of such proceedings. They saw, that by violence and fraud duties were now to be levied without law. But all people were under the power of fear or flattery to such a degree, that none durst complain, and few would venture to talk of those matters.

The King's coldness to those who had been for the Exclusion.

Persons of all ranks went in such crouds to pay their duty to the King, that it was not easy to admit them all. Most of the Whigs that were admitted were received coldly at best.



Some were sharply reproached for their past behaviour. Others were denied access. The King began likewise to say, that he would not be served as his brother had been: He would have all about him serve him without reserve, and go thorough in his business. Many were amazed to see such steps made at first. The second *Sunday* after he came to the Throne, he, to the surprize of the whole Court, went openly to Mass, and sent *Caryl* to *Rome* with letters to the Pope, but without a character.

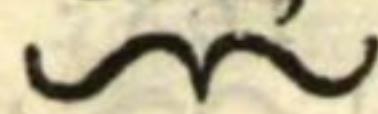
In one thing only the King seemed to comply with the genius of the Nation, tho' it proved in the end to be only a shew. He seemed resolved not to be governed by *French* counsels, but to act in an equality with that haughty Monarch in all things. And, as he entertained all the other foreign Ministers with assurances that he would maintain the balance of *Europe* with a more steady hand than had been done formerly; so when he sent over the Lord *Churchil* to the Court of *France* with the notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to observe exactly the ceremony and state with which he was received, that he might treat him, who should be sent over with the complement in return to that, in the same manner. And this he observed very punctually, when the Marshal *de Lorge* came over. This was set about by the Courtiers as a sign of another spirit, that might be looked for in a reign so begun. And this made some impression on the Court of *France*, and put them to a stand. But, not long after this, the *French* King said to the Duke of *Villeroy*, (who told it to young *Rouvigny*, now Earl of *Galloway*, from whom I had it,) that the King of *England*, after all the high things given out in his name, was willing to take his money, as well as his brother had done.

The King did also give out, that he would live in a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland*. And, because *Chudleigh* the Envoy there had openly broken with the Prince, (for he not only waited no more on him, but acted openly against him; and once in the *Vorbaut* had affronted him, while he was driving the Princess upon the snow in a *Trainau*, according to the *German* manner, and pretending they were masked, and that he did not know them, had ordered his coachman to keep his way, as they were coming towards the place where he drove;) the King recalled him, and sent *Shelton* in his room, who was the haughtiest, but withal the weakest man, that he could have found out. He talked out all secrets, and made him-

He seemed to be on equal terms with the French King.



1685



The King's  
course of  
life.

himself the scorn of all *Holland*. The Courtiers now said every where, that we had a martial Prince who loved glory, who would bring *France* into as humble a dependance on us, as we had been formerly on that Court.

The King did, some days after his coming to the Crown, promise the Queen and his Priests, that he would see Mrs. *Sidley* no more, by whom he had some children. And he spoke openly against leudness, and expressed a detestation of drunkenness. He sate many hours a day about business with the Council, the Treasury, and the Admiralty. It was upon this said, that now we should have a reign of action and business, and not of sloth and luxury, as the last was. Mrs. *Sidley* had lodgings in *Whitehall*: Orders were sent to her to leave them. This was done to mortify her; for she pretended that she should now govern as absolutely as the Duchess of *Portsmouth* had done: Yet the King still continued a secret commerce with her. And thus he began his reign with some fair appearances. A long and great frost had so shut up the *Dutch* ports, that for some weeks they had no letters from *England*: At last the news of the King's sickness and death, and of the beginnings of the new reign, came to them all at once.

The Prince  
of Orange  
sent away  
the Duke of  
*Monmouth*.

The first difficulty the Prince of *Orange* was in, was with relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*. He knew the King would immediately, after the first compliments were over, ask him to dismiss him, if not to deliver him up. And as it was no way decent for him to break with the King upon such a point, so he knew the States would never bear it. He thought it better to dismiss him immediately, as of himself. The Duke of *Monmouth* seemed surprised at this. Yet at parting he made great protestations both to the Prince and Princess of an inviolable fidelity to their interests. So he retired to *Brussels*, where he knew he could be suffered to stay no longer than till a return should come from *Spain*, upon the notice of King *Charles's* death, and the declarations that the King was making of maintaining the balance of *Europe*. The Duke was upon that thinking to go to *Vienna*, or to some Court in *Germany*. But those about him studied to inflame him both against the King and the Prince of *Orange*. They told him, the Prince by casting him off had cancelled all former obligations, and set him free from them: He was now to look to himself: And instead of wandring about as a vagabond, he was to set himself to deliver his countrey, and to raise his party and his friends, who were now like



to be used very ill for their adhering to him and to his interest. 1685

They sent one over to *England* to try mens pulses, and to see if it was yet a proper time to make an attempt. *Some in England began to move for him.* *Wildman, Charlton,* and some others went about trying, if men were in a disposition to encourage an invasion. They talked of this in so remote a way of speculation, that tho' one could not but see what lay at bottom, yet they did not run into treasonable discourse. I was in general sounded by them: Yet nothing was proposed that ran me into any danger from concealing it. I did not think fears and dangers, nor some illegal acts in the administration, could justify an insurrection, as lawful in it self: And I was confident an insurrection undertaken on such grounds would be so ill seconded, and so weakly supported, that it would not only come to nothing, but it would precipitate our ruin. Therefore I did all I could to divert all persons with whom I had any credit from engaging in such designs. These were for some time carried on in the dark. The King, after he had put his affairs in a method, resolved to hasten his Coronation, and to have it performed with great magnificence: And for some weeks he was so entirely possessed with the preparations for that solemnity, that all business was laid aside, and nothing but ceremony was thought on.

At the same time a Parliament was summoned: And all arts were used to manage elections so, that the King should have a Parliament to his mind. *Strange practices in elections of Parliament men.* Complaints came up from all the parts of *England* of the injustice and violence used in elections, beyond what had ever been practised in former times. And this was so universal over the whole Nation, that no corner of it was neglected. In the new Charters that had been granted, the election of the members was taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and restrained to the Corporation-men, all those being left out who were not acceptable at Court. In some Boroughs they could not find a number of men to be depended on: So the neighbouring Gentlemen were made the Corporation-men: And, in some of these, persons of other Counties, not so much as known in the Borough, were named. This was practised in the most avowed manner in *Cornwall* by the Earl of *Bath*; who to secure himself the Groom of the Stole's place, which he held all King *Charles's* time, put the officers of the guards names in almost all the Charters of that County; which sending up



1685 forty four members, they were for most part so chosen, that the King was sure of their votes on all occasions.

These methods were so successful over *England*, that when the elections were all returned, the King said, there were not above forty members, but such as he himself wished for. They were neither men of parts nor estates: So there was no hope left, either of working on their understandings, or of making them see their interest, in not giving the King all at once. Most of them were furious and violent, and seemed resolved to recommend themselves to the King by putting every thing in his power, and by ruining all those who had been for the Exclusion. Some few had designed to give the King the revenue only from three years to three years. The Earl of *Rocheſter* told me, that was what he looked for, tho' the post he was in made it not so proper for him to move in it. But there was no prospect of any strength in opposing any thing that the King should ask of them.

Evil prospect from a bad Parliament.

This gave all thinking men a melancholy prospect. *England* now seemed lost, unless some happy accident should save it. All people saw the way for packing a Parliament now laid open. A new set of Charters and Corporation-men, if those now named should not continue to be still as compliant as they were at present, was a certain remedy, to which recourse might be easily had. The Boroughs of *England* saw their privileges now wrested out of their hands, and that their elections, which had made them so considerable before, were hereafter to be made as the Court should direct: So that from henceforth little regard would be had to them; and the usual practices in courting, or rather in corrupting them, would be no longer pursued. Thus all people were alarmed: But few durst speak out, or complain openly. Only the Duke of *Monmouth's* agents made great use of this to inflame their party. It was said, here was a Parliament to meet, that was not the choice and representative of the Nation, and therefore was no Parliament. So they upon this possessed all people with dreadful apprehensions that a blow was now given to the constitution, which could not be remedied, but by an insurrection. It was resolved to bring up petitions against some elections, that were so indecently managed that it seemed scarce possible to excuse them: But these were to be judged by a majority of men, who knew their own elections to be so faulty, that to secure themselves they would justify the rest: And fair



fair dealing was not to be expected from those, who were so deeply engaged in the like injustice. 1685

All that was offered on the other hand to lay those fears, which so ill an appearance did raise, was, that it was probable the King would go into measures against *France*. All the offers of submission possible were made him by *Spain*, the Empire, and the States.

The King had begun with the Prince of *Orange* upon a hard point. He was not satisfied with his dismissing the Duke of *Monmouth*, but wrote to him to break all those officers who had waited on him while he was in *Holland*. In this they had only followed the Prince's example: So it was hard to punish them for that, which he himself had encouraged. They had indeed shewed their affections to him so evidently, that the King wrote to the Prince, that he could not trust to him, nor depend on his friendship, as long as such men served under him. This was of a hard digestion. Yet, since the breaking them could be easily made up by employing them afterwards, and by continuing their appointments to them, the Prince complied in this likewise. And the King was so well pleased with it, that when Bishop *Turner* complained of some things relating to the Prince and Princess, and proposed rougher methods, the King told him, it was absolutely necessary that the Prince and he should continue in good correspondence. Of this *Turner* gave an account to the other Bishops, and told them very solemnly, that the Church would be in no hazard during the present reign; but that they must take care to secure themselves against the Prince of *Orange*, otherwise they would be in great danger.

The Prince of *Orange* submits in every thing to the King.

The submission of the Prince and the States to the King made some fancy, that this would overcome him. All people concluded, that it would soon appear whether bigotry, or a desire of glory was the prevailing passion; since if he did not strike in with an alliance that was then projected against *France*, it might be concluded that he was resolved to deliver himself up to his Priests, and to sacrifice all to their ends. The season of the year made it to be hoped, that the first session of Parliament would be so short that much could not be done in it, but that when the revenue should be granted, other matters might be put off to a winter session. So that, if the Parliament should not deliver up the Nation in a heat all at once, but should leave half their work to another session, they might come under some management,



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nagement, and either see the interest of the Nation in general, or their own in particular; and so manage their favours to the Court in such a manner as to make themselves necessary, and not to give away too much at once, but be sparing in their bounty; which they had learned so well in King *Charles's* time, that it was to be hoped they would soon fall into it, if they made not too much haste at their first setting out. So it was resolved not to put them on too hastily in their first session to judge of any election, but to keep that matter entire for some time, till they should break into parties.

The King  
was crown-  
ed

The Coronation was set for St. *George's* day. *Turner* was ordered to preach the sermon: And both King and Queen resolved to have all done in the Protestant form, and to assist in all the prayers: Only the King would not receive the Sacrament, which is always a part of the ceremony. In this certainly his Priests dispensed with him, and he had such senses given him of the oath, that he either took it as a sin with a resolution not to keep it, or he had a reserved meaning in his own mind. The Crown was not well fitted for the King's head: It came down too far, and covered the upper part of his face. The canopy carried over him did also break. Some other smaller things happen'd that were looked on as ill omens: And his son by Mrs. *Sidley* died that day. The Queen with the Peereſſes made a more graceful figure. The best thing in *Turner's* sermon was, that he set forth that part of *Constantius Chlorus's* history very handsomely, in which he tried who would be true to their religion, and reckoned that those would be faithfullest to himself who were truest to their God.

I went out  
of England.

I must now say somewhat concerning my self. At this time I went out of *England*. Upon King *Charles's* death, I had desired leave to come and pay my duty to the King by the Marquis of *Halifax*. The King would not see me. So, since I was at that time in no sort of employment, not so much as allowed to preach any where, I resolved to go abroad. I saw we were like to fall into great confusion; and were either to be rescued, in a way that I could not approve of, by the Duke of *Monmouth's* means, or to be delivered up by a meeting that had the face and name of a Parliament. I thought the best thing for me was to go out of the way. The King approved of this, and consented to my going: But still refused to see me. So I was to go beyond sea, as to a voluntary Exile. This gave me great credit with all the

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male-



male-contents: And I made the best use of it I could. I spoke very earnestly to the Lord *de la Meer*, to Mrs. *Hambden*, and such others as I could meet with, who I feared might be drawn in by the agents of the Duke of *Monmouth*. The King had not yet done that which would justify extream counsels. A raw rebellion would be soon crushed, and give a colour for keeping up a standing army, or for bringing over a force from *France*. I perceived, many thought the constitution was so broken into by the elections of the House of Commons, that they were disposed to put all to hazard. Yet most people thought the crisis was not so near, as it proved to be.

The deliberations in *Holland*, among the *English* and *Scotch* that fled thither, came to ripen faster than was expected. Lord *Argile* had been quiet ever since the disappointment in the year eighty three. He had lived for most part in *Frizeland*, but came oft to *Amsterdam*, and met with the rest of his countrymen that lay concealed there: The chief of whom were the Lord *Melville*, Sir *Patrick Hume*, and Sir *John Cockran*. With these Lord *Argile* communicated all the advices that were sent him. He went on still with his first project. He said, he wanted only a sum of money to buy arms, and reckoned, that as soon as he was furnished with these, he might venture on *Scotland*. He resolved to go to his own country, where he hoped he could bring five thousand men together. And he reckoned that the *Western* and *Southern* Counties were under such apprehensions, that without laying of matters, or having correspondence among them, they would all at once come about him, when he had gathered a good force together in his own country. There was a rich widow in *Amsterdam*, who was full of zeal: So she, hearing at what his designs stuck, sent to him, and furnished him with ten thousand pounds. With this money he bought a stock of arms and ammunition, which was very dextrously managed by one that traded to *Venice*, as intended for the service of that Republick. All was performed with great secrecy, and put on board. They had sharp debates among them about the course they were to hold. He was for sailing round *Scotland* to his own country. *Hume* was for the shorter passage: The other was a long navigation, and subject to great accidents. *Argile* said, the fastnesses of his own country made that to be the safer place to gather men together. He presumed so far on his own power, and on his management hitherto, that he took much

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*Argile* designed to invade *Scotland*.



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The Duke  
of *Mon-*  
*mouth* forced  
on an ill-  
timed inva-  
sion.

upon him: So that the rest were often on the point of breaking with him.

The Duke of *Monmouth* came secretly to them, and made up all their quarrels. He would willingly have gone with them himself: But *Argile* did not offer him the command: On the contrary he pressed him to make an impression on *England* at the same time. This was not possible: For the Duke of *Monmouth* had yet made no preparations. So he was hurried into a fatal undertaking, before things were in any sort ready for it. He had been indeed much pressed to the same thing by *Wade*, *Ferguson*, and some others about him, but chiefly by the Lord *Grey*, and the Lady *Wentworth*, who followed him to *Brussels* desperately in love with him. And both he and she came to fancy, that he being married to his Duchess while he was indeed of the age of consent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: So they lived together: And she had heated both her self and him with such enthusiastical conceits, that they fancied what they did was approved of God. With this small council he took his measures. *Fletcher*, a *Scotch* Gentleman of great parts, and many virtues, but a most violent republican, and extravagantly passionate, did not like *Argile's* scheme: So he resolved to run fortunes with the Duke of *Monmouth*. He told me, that all the *English* among them were still pressing the Duke of *Monmouth* to venture. They said, all the West of *England* would come about him, as soon as he appeared, as they had done five or six years ago. They reckoned there would be no fighting, but that the guards, and others who adhered to the King, would melt to nothing before him. They fancied, the City of *London* would be in such a disposition to revolt, that if he should land in the West the King would be in great perplexity. He could not have two armies: And his fear of tumults near his person would oblige him to keep such a force about him, that he would not be able to send any against him. So they reckoned he would have time to form an army, and in a little while be in a condition to seek out the King, and fight him on equal terms.

This appeared a mad and desperate undertaking to the Duke of *Monmouth* himself. He knew what a weak body a rabble was, and how unable to deal with troops long trained. He had neither money nor officers, and no encouragement from the men of estates and interest in the country. It seemed too early yet to venture. It was the throwing away  
all



all his hopes in one day. *Fletcher*, how vehemently soever he was set on the design in general, yet saw nothing in this scheme that gave any hopes: So he argued much against it. And he said to me, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason: But he could not refuse to hazard his person, when others were so forward. Lord *Grey* said, that *Henry* the seventh landed with a smaller number, and succeeded. *Fletcher* answered, he was sure of several of the Nobility, who were little Princes in those days. *Ferguson* in his enthusiastical way said, it was a good cause, and that God would not leave them unless they left him. And tho' the Duke of *Monmouth's* course of life gave him no great reason to hope that God would appear signal-ly for him, yet even he came to talk enthusiastically on the subject. But *Argile's* going, and the promise he had made of coming to *England* with all possible haste, had so fixed him, that, all further deliberations being laid aside, he pawned a parcel of jewels, and bought up arms; and they were put aboard a ship freighted for *Spain*.

King *James* was so intent upon the pomp of his Corona-tion, that for some weeks more important matters were not thought on. Both *Argile* and *Monmouth's* people were so true to them, that nothing was discovered by any of them. Yet some days after *Argile* had sailed, the King knew of it: For the night before I left *London*, the Earl of *Aran* came to me, and told me, the King had an advertisement of it that very day. I saw, it was fit for me to make haste: Otherwise I might have been seized on, if it had been only to put the affront on me, of being suspected of holding correspondence with traitors.

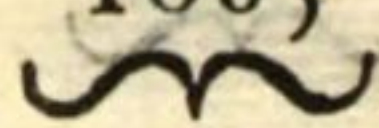
*Argile* had a very prosperous voyage. He sent out a boat at *Orkney* to get intelligence, and to take prisoners. This had no other effect, but that it gave intelligence where he was: And the wind chopping, he was obliged to sail away, and leave his men to mercy. The winds were very favour-able, and turned as his occasions required: So that in a very few days he arrived in *Argileshire*. The misunderstandings between him and *Hume* grew very high; for he carried all things with an air of authority, that was not easy to those who were setting up for liberty. At his landing he found, that the early notice the Council had of his designs had spoiled his whole scheme; for they had brought in all the Gentlemen of his country to *Edenburgh*, which saved them, tho' it helped on his ruin. Yet he got above five and twen-

These de-  
signs were  
carried on  
with great  
secrecy.

*Argile* land-  
ed in Scot-  
land.



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ty hundred men to come to him. If with these he had immediately gone over to the *Western* counties of *Air* and *Renfrew*, he might have given the government much trouble. But he lingered too long, hoping still to have brought more of his *Highlanders* together. He reckoned these were sure to him, and would obey him blindfold: Whereas, if he had gone out of his own country with a small force, those who might have come in to his assistance might also have disputed his authority: And he could not bear contradiction. Much time was by this means lost: And all the country was summoned to come out against him. At last he crossed an arm of the sea, and landed in the isle of *Bute*; where he spent twelve days more, till he had eat up that Island, pretending still, that he hoped to be joined by more of his *Highlanders*.

But was defeated and taken.

He had left his arms in a castle, with such a guard as he could spare: But they were routed by a party of the King's forces. And with this he lost both heart and hope. And then, apprehending that all was gone, he put himself in a disguise, and had almost escaped: But he was taken. A body of Gentlemen that had followed him stood better to it, and forced their way thro': So that the greater part of them escaped. Some of these were taken: The chief of them were Sir *John Cochran*, *Ailoffe*, and *Rumbold*. These two last were *Englishmen*: But I knew not upon what motive it was, that they chose rather to run fortunes with *Argile*, than with the Duke of *Monmouth*. Thus was this rebellion brought to a speedy end, with the effusion of very little blood. Nor was there much shed in the way of justice; for it was considered, that the *Highlanders* were under such ties by their tenures, that it was somewhat excusable in them to follow their Lord. Most of the Gentlemen were brought in by order of Council to *Edenburgh*, which preserved them. One of those that were with *Argile*, by a great presence of mind, got to *Carlisle*, where he called for post horses; and said, he was sent by the General to carry the good news by word of mouth to the King. And so he got to *London*: And there he found a way to get beyond sea.

*Argile's execution.*

*Argile* was brought in to *Edenburgh*. He expressed even a cheerful calm under all his misfortunes. He justified all he had done: For, he said, he was unjustly attainted: That had dissolved his allegiance: So it was justice to himself and his family, to endeavour to recover what was so wrongfully taken from him. He also thought, that no allegiance was due to the King, till he had taken the oath which the law

prescribed



prescribed to be taken by our Kings at their Coronation, or the receipt of their princely dignity. He desired that Mr. *Charteris* might be ordered to attend upon him; which was granted. When he came to him, he told him he was satisfied in conscience with the lawfulness of what he had done, and therefore desired he would not disturb him with any discourse on that subject. The other, after he had told him his sense of the matter, complied easily with this. So all that remained was to prepare him to die, in which he expressed an unshaken firmness. The Duke of *Queensbury* examined him in private. He said, he had not laid his business with any in *Scotland*. He had only found credit with a person that lent him money; upon which he had trusted, perhaps too much, to the dispositions of the people, sharpened by their administration. When the day of his execution came, Mr. *Charteris* happen'd to come to him as he was ending dinner: He said to him pleasantly, *serò venientibus ossa*. He prayed often with him, and by himself, and went to the scaffold with great serenity. He had complained of the Duke of *Monmouth* much, for delaying his coming so long after him, and for assuming the name of King; both which, he said, were contrary to their agreement at parting. Thus he died, pitied by all. His death, being pursuant to the sentence past three years before, of which mention was made, was looked on as no better than murder. But his conduct in this matter was made up of so many errors, that it appeared he was not made for designs of this kind.

*Ailoffe* had a mind to prevent the course of justice, and having got a penknife into his hands gave himself several stabbs. And thinking he was certainly a dead man, he cried out, and said, now he defied his enemies. Yet he had not pierced his guts: So his wounds were not mortal. And, it being believed that he could make great discoveries, he was brought up to *London*.

*Rumbold* was he that dwelt in *Rye-House*, where it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and the present King. He denied the truth of that conspiracy. He owned, he thought the Prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the Prince; and that, when a King departed from the legal measures of government, the people had a right to assert their liberties, and to restrain him. He did not deny, but that he had heard many propositions at *West's* chambers about killing the two brothers; and upon that he had said, it could have been easily executed near his house;

*Rumbold* at his death denied the *Rye-Plot*.



1685 upon which some discourse had followed, how it might have been managed. But, he said, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or so much as resolved on. He said, he was not for a Commonwealth, but for Kingly government according to the laws of *England*: But he did not think that the King had his authority by any divine right, which he expressed in rough, but significant words. He said, he did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and some few booted and spurred to ride the rest.

*Cochran* had a rich father, the Earl of *Dundonald*: And he offered the Priests 5000 *l.* to save his son. They wanted a stock of money for managing their designs: So they interposed so effectually, that the bargain was made. But, to cover it, *Cochran* petitioned the Council that he might be sent to the King; for he had some secrets of great importance, which were not fit to be communicated to any but to the King himself. He was upon that brought up to *London*: And, after he had been for some time in private with the King, the matters he had discovered were said to be of such importance, that in consideration of that the King pardoned him. It was said, he had discovered all their negotiations with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Prince of *Orange*. But this was a pretence only given out to conceal the bargain; for the Prince told me, he had never once seen him. The secret of this came to be known soon after.

When *Ailoffe* was brought up to *London*, the King examined him, but could draw nothing from him, but one severe repartee. He being sullen, and refusing to discover any thing, the King said to him; Mr. *Ailoffe*, you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore say that which may deserve it. It was said that he answered, that tho' it was in his power, yet it was not in his nature to pardon. He was nephew to the old Earl of *Clarendon* by marriage; for *Ailoffe's* aunt was his first wife, but she had no children. It was thought, that the nearness of his relation to the King's children might have moved him to pardon him, which would have been the most effectual confutation of his bold repartee: But he suffered with the rest.

A Parliament in Scotland.

Immediately after *Argile's* execution, a Parliament was held in *Scotland*. Upon King *Charles's* death, the Marquis of *Queensbury*, soon after made a Duke, and the Earl of *Perth*, came to Court. The Duke of *Queensbury* told the



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the King, that if he had any thoughts of changing the established religion, he could not make any one step with him in that matter. The King seemed to receive this very kindly from him; and assured him, he had no such intention, but that he would have a Parliament called, to which he should go his Commissioner, and give all possible assurances in the matter of religion, and get the revenue to be settled, and such other laws to be past as might be necessary for the common safety. The Duke of *Queensbury* pressed the Earl of *Perth* to speak in the same strain to the King. But, tho' he pretended to be still a Protestant, yet he could not prevail on him to speak in so positive a stile. I had not then left *London*: So the Duke sent me word of this, and seemed so fully satisfied with it, that he thought all would be safe. So he prepared instructions by which both the revenue and the King's authority were to be carried very high. He has often since that time told me, that the King made those promises to him in so frank and hearty a manner, that he concluded it was impossible for him to be acting a part. Therefore he always believed, that the Priests gave him leave to promise every thing, and that he did it very sincerely; but that afterwards they pretended, they had a power to dissolve the obligation of all oaths and promises; since nothing could be more open and free than his way of expressing himself was, tho' afterwards he had no sort of regard to any of the promises he then made. The Test had been the King's own act while he was in *Scotland*. So he thought, the putting that on all persons would be the most acceptable method, as well as the most effectual, for securing the Protestant Religion. Therefore he proposed an instruction obliging all people to take the Test, not only to qualify them for publick employments, but that all those to whom the Council should tender it should be bound to take it under the pain of treason: And this was granted. He also projected many other severe laws, that left an arbitrary power in the Privy Council. And, as he was naturally violent and imperious in his own temper, so he saw the King's inclinations to those methods, and hoped to have recommended himself effectually by being instrumental in setting up an absolute and despotick form of government. But he found afterwards how he had deceived himself, in thinking that any thing, but the delivering up his religion, could be acceptable long. And he saw, after he had prepared a cruel scheme of government, other men were trusted with the



1685 the management of it: And it had almost proved fatal to himself.

Granted all  
that the King  
desired.

The Parliament of *Scotland* sat not long. No opposition was made. The Duke of *Queensbury* gave very full assurances in the point of religion, that the King would never alter it, but would maintain it, as it was established by law. And in confirmation of them he proposed that act enjoining the Test, which was past, and was looked on as a full security; tho' it was very probable, that all the use that the Council would make of this discretionary power lodged with them, would be only to tender the Test to those that might scruple it on other accounts, but that it would be offered to none of the Church of *Rome*. In return for this the Parliament gave the King for life all the revenue that had been given to his brother: And with that some additional taxes were given.

Severe laws  
were passed.

Other severe laws were also past. By one of these an Inquisition was upon the matter set up. All persons were required, under the pain of treason, to answer to all such questions as should be put to them by the Privy Council. This put all men under great apprehensions, since upon this act an Inquisition might have been grafted, as soon as the King pleased. Another act was only in one particular case: But it was a crying one, and so deserves to be remembered.

When *Castairs* was put to the torture, and came to capitulate in order to the making a discovery, he got a promise from the Council, that no use should be made of his deposition against any person whatsoever. He in his deposition said somewhat that brought Sir *Hugh Cambell* and his son under the guilt of treason, who had been taken up in *London* two years before, and were kept in prison all this while. The Earl of *Melfort* got the promise of his estate, which was about 1000 *l.* a year, as soon as he should be convicted of high treason. So an act was brought in, which was to last only six weeks; and enacted, that if within that time any of the Privy Council would depose that any man was proved to be guilty of high treason, he should upon such a proof be attainted. Upon which, as soon as the act was past, four of the Privy Council stood up, and affirmed that the *Cambells* were proved by *Castairs's* deposition to be guilty. Upon this both father and son were brought to the bar, to see what they had to say, why the sentence should not be executed. The old Gentleman, then near eighty, seeing the ruin of his family was determined, and that he was con-

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demned



demned in so unusual a manner, took courage, and said, the oppression they had been under had driven them to despair, and made them think how they might secure their lives and fortunes: Upon this he went to *London*, and had some meetings with *Baillie*, and others: That one was sent to *Scotland* to hinder all risings: That an oath of secrecy was indeed offered, but was never taken upon all this. So it was pretended, he had confessed the crime, and by a shew of mercy they were pardoned: But the Earl of *Melfort* possessed himself of their estate. The old Gentleman died soon after. And very probably his death was hastned by his long and rigorous imprisonment, and this unexampled conclusion of it; which was so universally condemned, that when the news of it was writ to foreign parts, it was not easy to make people believe it possible.

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But now the sitting of the Parliament of *England* came on. And, as a preparation to it, *Oates* was convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of the witnesses from *St. Omar's*, who had been brought over before to discredit his testimony. Now Juries were so prepared, as to believe more easily than formerly. So he was condemned to have his Priestly habit taken from him, to be a prisoner for life, to be set on the pillory in all the publick places of the City, and ever after that to be set on the pillory four times a year, and to be whipt by the common hangman from *Aldgate* to *Newgate* one day, and the next from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; which was executed with so much rigour, that his back seemed to be all over flead. This was thought too little if he was guilty, and too much if innocent, and was illegal in all the parts of it: For as the secular Court could not order the Ecclesiastical habit to be taken from him, so to condemn a man to a perpetual imprisonment was not in the power of the Court: And the extream rigour of such whipping was without a precedent. Yet he, who was an original in all things, bore this with a constancy that amazed all those who saw it. So that this treatment did rather raise his reputation, than sink it.

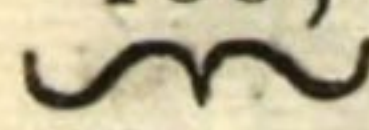
*Oates* convicted of perjury,

and cruelly whipt.

And, that I may join things of the same sort together, tho' they were transacted at some distance of time, *Dangerfield*, another of the witnesses in the Popish plot, was also found guilty of perjury, and had the same punishment. But it had a more terrible conclusion; for a brutal student of the law, who had no private quarrel with him, but was only transported with the heat of that time, struck him over the

*Dangerfield* killed.



1685  head with his cane, as he got his last lash. This hit him so fatally, that he died of it immediately. The person was apprehended. And the King left him to the law. And, tho' great intercession was made for him, the King would not interpose. So he was hanged for it.

A Parli-  
ment in  
England.

At last the Parliament met. The King in his speech repeated that, which he had said to the Council upon his first accession to the Throne. He told them, some might think, the keeping him low would be the surest way to have frequent Parliaments: But they should find the contrary, that the using him well would be the best argument to persuade him to meet them often. This was put in to prevent a motion, which was a little talked of abroad, but none would venture on it within doors, that it was safest to grant the revenue only for a term of years.

Grants the  
revenue for  
life.

The revenue was granted for life, and every thing else that was asked, with such a profusion, that the House was more forward to give, than the King was to ask: To which the King thought fit to put a stop by a message, intimating that he desired no more money that session. And yet this forwardness to give in such a reign was set on by *Musgrave* and others, who pretended afterwards, when money was asked for just and necessary ends, to be frugal patriots, and to be careful managers of the publick treasure.

And trusts  
to the King's  
promise.

As for religion, some began to propose a new and firmer security to it. But all the Courtiers run out into eloquent harangues on that subject: And pressed a vote, that they took the King's word in that matter, and would trust to it; and that this should be signified in an address to him. This would bind the King in point of honour, and gain his heart so entirely, that it would be a tie above all laws whatsoever. And the tide run so strong that way, that the House went into it without opposition.

The Lord *Preston*, who had been for some years Envoy in *France*, was brought over, and set up to be a manager in the House of Commons. He told them, the reputation of the Nation was beginning to rise very high all *Europe* over, under a Prince whose name spread terror every where: And if this was confirmed by the entire confidence of his Parliament, even in the tenderest matters, it would give such a turn to the affairs of *Europe*, that *England* would again hold the balance, and their King would be the arbiter of *Europe*. This was seconded by all the Court flatterers. So in their address



address to the King, thanking him for his speech, they told him, they trusted to him so entirely, that they relied on his word, and thought themselves and their religion safe, since he had promised it to them. 1685

When this was settled, the petitions concerning the elections were presented. Upon those *Seimour* spoke very high, and with much weight. He said, the complaints of the irregularities in elections were so great, that many doubted whether this was a true representative of the Nation, or not. He said, little equity was expected upon petitions, where so many were too guilty to judge justly and impartially. He said, it concerned them to look to these: For if the Nation saw no justice was to be expected from them, other methods would be found, in which they might come to suffer that justice which they would not do. He was a haughty man, and would not communicate his design in making this motion to any: So all were surprised with it, but none seconded it. This had no effect, not so much as to draw on a debate.

The Courtiers were projecting many laws to ruin all who opposed their designs. The most important of these was an act declaring treasons during that reign, by which words were to be made treason. And the clause was so drawn, that any thing said to disparage the King's person or government was made treason; within which every thing said to the dishonour of the King's religion would have been comprehended, as Judges and Juries were then modelled. This was chiefly opposed by Serjeant *Maynard*, who in a very grave speech laid open the inconvenience of making words treason: They were often ill heard and ill understood, and were apt to be misrecited by a very small variation: Men in passion or in drink might say things they never intended: Therefore he hoped they would keep to the law of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third, by which an overt-act was made the necessary proof of ill intentions. And when others insisted, that *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth spake*, he brought the instance of our Saviour's words, *Destroy this Temple*; and shewed how near *the Temple* was to *this Temple*, pronouncing it in *Syriack*, so that the difference was almost imperceptible. There was nothing more innocent than these words, as our Saviour meant, and spoke them: But nothing was more criminal than the setting on a multitude to destroy the Temple. This made some impression at that time. But if the Duke of *Monmouth's* landing had

The Parli-  
ment was  
violent.



1685  
~The Lords  
were more  
cautious.

had not brought the session to an early conclusion, that, and every thing else which the officious Courtiers were projecting, would have certainly past.

The most important business that was before the House of Lords was the reversing the attainder of the Lord *Stafford*. It was said for it, that the witnesses were now convicted of perjury, and therefore the restoring the blood that was tainted by their evidence was a just reparation. The proceedings in the matter of the Popish plot were chiefly founded on *Oates's* discovery, which was now judged to be a thread of perjury. This stuck with the Lords, and would not go down. Yet they did justice both to the Popish Lords then in the Tower, and to the Earl of *Danby*, who moved the House of Lords, that they might either be brought to their trial, or be set at liberty. This was sent by the Lords to the House of Commons, who returned answer, that they did not think fit to insist on the impeachments. So upon that they were discharged of them, and set at liberty. Yet, tho' both Houses agreed in this of prosecuting the Popish plot no further, the Lords had no mind to reverse and condemn past proceedings.

The Duke  
of Mon-  
mouth land-  
ed at Lime.

But while all these things were in agitation, the Duke of *Monmouth's* landing brought the session to a conclusion. As soon as Lord *Argile* sailed for *Scotland*, he set about his design with as much haste as was possible. Arms were bought, and a ship was freighted for *Bilbao* in *Spain*. The Duke of *Monmouth* pawned all his jewels: But these could not raise much: And no money was sent him out of *England*. So he was hurried into an ill designed invasion. The whole company consisted but of eighty two persons. They were all faithful to one another. But some spies, whom *Shelton* the new Envoy set on work, sent him the notice of a suspected ship sailing out of *Amsterdam* with arms. *Shelton* neither understood the laws of *Holland*, nor advised with those who did: Otherwise he would have carried with him an order from the Admiralty of *Holland*, that sat at the *Hague*, to be made use of as the occasion should require. When he came to *Amsterdam*, and applied himself to the Magistrates there, desiring them to stop and search the ship that he named, they found the ship was already sailed out of their port, and their jurisdiction went no further. So he was forced to send to the Admiralty at the *Hague*. But those on board, hearing what he was come for, made all possible haste. And, the wind favour-  
ing



ing them, they got out of the *Texel*, before the order desired could be brought from the *Hague*.

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After a prosperous course, the Duke landed at *Lime* in *Dorsetshire*: And he with his small company came ashore with some order, but with too much day light, which discovered how few they were.

The alarm was brought hot to *London*: Where, upon the general report and belief of the thing an act of Attainder past both Houses in one day; some small opposition being made by the Earl of *Anglesey*, because the evidence did not seem clear enough for so severe a sentence, which was grounded on the notoriety of the thing. The sum of 5000 *l.* was set on his head. And with that the session of Parliament ended; which was no small happiness to the Nation, such a body of men being dismissed with doing so little hurt. The Duke of *Monmouth's Manifesto* was long, and ill penned: Full of much black and dull malice. It was plainly *Ferguson's* stile, which was both tedious and fulsome. It charged the King with the burning of *London*, the Popish plot, *Godfrey's* murder, and the Earl of *Essex's* death: And to crown all, it was pretended, that the late King was poisoned by his orders: It was set forth, that the King's religion made him incapable of the Crown; that three subsequent Houses of Commons had voted his Exclusion: The taking away the old Charters, and all the hard things done in the last reign, were laid to his charge: The elections of the present Parliament were also set forth very odiously, with great indecency of stile: The Nation was also appealed to, when met in a free Parliament, to judge of the Duke's own pretensions: And all sort of liberty, both in temporals and spirituals, was promised to persons of all persuasions.

An act of  
Attainder  
passed a-  
gainst him.

Upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* landing, many of the country people came in to join him, but very few of the Gentry. He had quickly men enough about him to use all his arms. The Duke of *Albermale*, as Lord Lieutenant of *Devonshire*, was sent down to raise the Militia, and with them to make head against him. But their ill affection appeared very evidently: Many deserted, and all were cold in the service. The Duke of *Monmouth* had the whole country open to him for almost a fortnight, during which time he was very diligent in training and animating his men. His own behaviour was so gentle and obliging, that he was master of all their hearts, as much as was possible. But he quickly found, what it was to be at the head of undisciplined men, that knew nothing

A rabble  
came and  
joined him.



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 Lord Grey's  
 cowardise.

of war, and that were not to be used with rigour. Soon after their landing, Lord Grey was sent out with a small party. He saw a few of the Militia, and he ran for it: But his men stood, and the Militia ran from them. Lord Grey brought a false alarm, that was soon found to be so: For the men whom their leader had abandoned came back in good order. The Duke of *Monmouth* was struck with this, when he found that the person on whom he depended most, and for whom he designed the command of the horse, had already made himself infamous by his cowardise. He intended to join *Fletcher* with him in that command. But an unhappy accident made it not convenient to keep him longer about him. He sent him out on another party: And he, not being yet furnished with a horse, took the horse of one who had brought in a great body of men from *Taunton*. He was not in the way: So *Fletcher*, not seeing him to ask his leave, thought that all things were to be in common among them, that could advance the service. After *Fletcher* had rid about, as he was ordered, as he returned, the owner of the horse he rode on, who was a rough and ill-bred man, reproached him in very injurious terms, for taking out his horse without his leave. *Fletcher* bore this longer than could have been expected from one of his impetuous temper. But the other persisted in giving him foul language, and offered a switch or a cane: Upon which he discharged his pistol at him, and fatally shot him dead. He went and gave the Duke of *Monmouth* an account of this, who saw it was impossible to keep him longer about him, without disgusting and losing the country people, who were coming in a body to demand justice. So he advised him to go aboard the ship, and to sail on to *Spain*, whither she was bound. By this means he was preserved for that time.

*Ferguson* ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man, that affected to pass for an enthusiast, tho' all his performances that way were forced and dry. The Duke of *Monmouth*'s great error was, that he did not in the first heat venture on some hardy action, and then march either to *Exeter* or *Bristol*; where, as he would have found much wealth, so he would have gained some reputation by it. But he lingered in exercising his men, and staid too long in the neighbourhood of *Lime*.

By this means the King had time both to bring troops out of *Scotland*, after *Argile* was taken, and to send to *Holland* for the *English* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in the service



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service of the States; which the Prince sent over very readily, and offered his own person, and a greater force, if it was necessary. The King received this with great expressions of acknowledgment and kindness. It was very visible, that he was much distracted in his thoughts, and that what appearance of courage soever he might put on, he was inwardly full of apprehensions and fears. He durst not accept of the offer of assistance, that the *French* made him: For by that he would have lost the hearts of the *English* Nation. And he had no mind to be much obliged to the Prince of *Orange*, or to let him into his counsels or affairs. *Prince George* committed a great error in not asking the command of the Army: For the command, how much soever he might have been bound to the counsels of others, would have given him some lustre; whereas his staying at home in such time of danger brought him under much neglect.

The King could not choose worse than he did, when he gave the command to the Earl of *Feverham*, who was a *Frenchman* by birth, and nephew to Mr. *de Turenne*. Both his brothers changing religion, tho' he continued still a Protestant, made that his religion was not much trusted to. He was an honest, brave, and good natured man, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived. And he conducted matters so ill, that every step he made was like to prove fatal to the King's service. He had no parties abroad. He got no intelligence: And was almost surprised, and like to be defeated, when he seemed to be under no apprehension, but was abed without any care or order. So that, if the Duke of *Monmouth* had got but a very small number of good soldiers about him, the King's affairs would have fallen into great disorder.

The Earl of *Feverham* commanded the King's army.

The Duke of *Monmouth* had almost surprised Lord *Feverham*, and all about him, while they were abed. He got in between two bodies, into which the Army lay divided. He now saw his error in lingring so long. He began to want bread, and to be so straitned, that there was a necessity of pushing for a speedy decision. He was so misled in his march, that he lost an hour's time: And when he came near the Army, there was an inconsiderable ditch, in the passing which he lost so much more time, that the officers had leisure to rise and be dressed, now they had the alarm. And they put themselves in order. Yet the Duke of *Monmouth's* foot stood longer, and fought better than could have been expected; especially, when the small body of horse they had ran upon the first charge,



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The Duke  
of Mon-  
mouth de-  
feated.

charge, the blame of which was cast on the Lord Grey. The foot being thus forsaken, and galled by the cannon, did run at last. About a thousand of them were killed on the spot: And fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. Their numbers when fullest were between five and six thousand. The Duke of *Monmouth* left the field too soon for a man of courage, who had such high pretensions: For a few days before he had suffered himself to be called King, which did him no service, even among those that followed him. He rode towards *Dorsetshire*: And when his horse could carry him no further, he changed clothes with a shepherd, and went as far as his legs could carry him, being accompanied only with a *German*, whom he had brought over with him. At last, when he could go no further, he lay down in a field where there was hay and straw, with which they covered themselves, so that they hoped to lie there unseen till night. Parties went out on all hands to take prisoners. The shepherd was found by the Lord *Lumley* in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s clothes. So this put them on his track, and having some dogs with them they followed the scent, and came to the place where the *German* was first discovered. And he immediately pointed to the place where the Duke of *Monmouth* lay. So he was taken in a very indecent dress and posture.

And taken.

His body was quite sunk with fatigue: And his mind was now so low, that he begged his life in a manner that agreed ill with the courage of the former parts of it. He called for pen, ink, and paper; and wrote to the Earl of *Feverham*, and both to the Queen, and the Queen Dowager, to intercede with the King for his life. The King's temper, as well as his interest, made it so impossible to hope for that, that it shewed a great meanness in him to ask it in such terms as he used in his letters. He was carried up to *Whitehall*; where the King examined him in person, which was thought very indecent, since he was resolved not to pardon him. He made new and unbecoming submissions, and insinuated a readiness to change his religion: For he said, the King knew what his first education was in religion. There were no discoveries to be got from him; for the attempt was too rash to be well concerted, or to be so deep laid that many were involved in the guilt of it. He was examined on *Monday*, and orders were given for his execution on *Wednesday*.



## of King JAMES II.

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Soon after  
executed.

*Turner* and *Ken*, the Bishops of *Ely* and of *Bath* and *Wells*, were ordered to wait on him. But he called for Dr. *Tennison*. The Bishops studied to convince him of the sin of rebellion. He answered, he was sorry for the blood that was shed in it: But he did not seem to repent of the design. Yet he confessed that his Father had often told him, that there was no truth in the reports of his having married his Mother. This he set under his hand, probably for his childrens sake, who were then prisoners in the Tower, that so they might not be ill used on his account. He shewed a great neglect of his Duchess. And her resentments for his course of life with the Lady *Wentworth* wrought so much on her, that, tho' he desired to speak privately with her, she would have witnesses to hear all that past, to justify her self, and to preserve her family. They parted very coldly. He only recommended to her the breeding their children in the Protestant Religion. The Bishops continued still to press on him a deep sense of the sin of rebellion; at which he grew so uneasy, that he desired them to speak to him of other matters. They next charged him with the sin of living with the Lady *Wentworth* as he had done. In that he justified himself: He had married his Duchess too young to give a true consent: He said, that Lady was a pious worthy woman, and that he had never lived so well in all respects, as since his engagements with her. All the pains they took to convince him of the unlawfulness of that course of life had no effect. They did certainly very well in discharging their consciences, and speaking so plainly to him. But they did very ill to talk so much of this matter, and to make it so publick as they did; for divines ought not to repeat what they say to dying penitents, no more than what the penitents say to them. By this means the Duke of *Monmouth* had little satisfaction in them, and they had as little in him.

He was much better pleased with Dr. *Tennison*, who did very plainly speak to him, with relation to his publick actings, and to his course of life: But he did it in a softer and less peremptory manner. And having said all that he thought proper, he left those points, in which he saw he could not convince him, to his own conscience, and turned to other things fit to be laid before a dying man. The Duke begged one day more of life with such repeated earnestness, that as the King was much blamed for denying so small a favour, so it gave occasion to others to believe, that he had some hope from astrologers, that, if he out-lived that day,



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He died with  
great calm-  
ness.

he might have a better fate. As long as he fancied there was any hope, he was too much unfettered in his mind to be capable of any thing.

But when he saw all was to no purpose, and that he must die, he complained a little that his death was hurried on so fast. But all on the sudden he came into a composure of mind, that surprised those that saw it. There was no affectation in it. His whole behaviour was easy and calm, not without a decent cheerfulness. He prayed God to forgive all his sins, unknown as well as known. He seemed confident of the mercies of God, and that he was going to be happy with him. And he went to the place of execution on Tower Hill with an air of undisturbed courage, that was grave and composed. He said little there, only that he was sorry for the blood that was shed: But he had ever meant well to the Nation. When he saw the axe, he touched it, and said, it was not sharp enough. He gave the hangman but half the reward he intended; and said, if he cut off his head cleanly, and not so butcherly as he did the Lord *Russel's*, his man would give him the rest. The executioner was in great disorder, trembling all over: So he gave him two or three strokes without being able to finish the matter, and then flung the axe out of his hand. But the Sheriff forced him to take it up: And at three or four more strokes he severed his head from his body: And both were presently buried in the Chapel of the Tower. Thus lived and died this unfortunate young man. He had several good qualities in him, and some that were as bad. He was soft and gentle even to excess, and too easy to those who had credit with him. He was both sincere and good natured, and understood war well. But he was too much given to pleasure and to favourites.

Lord Grey  
pardoned.

The Lord Grey it was thought would go next. But he had a great estate that by his death was to go over to his brother. So the Court resolved to preserve him, till he should be brought to compound for his life. The Earl of *Rocheſter* had 16000 *l.* of him. Others had smaller shares. He was likewise obliged to tell all he knew, and to be a witness in order to the conviction of others, but with this assurance, that no body should die upon his evidence. So the Lord *Brandon*, son to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, was convicted by his and some other evidence. Mr. *Hambden* was also brought on his trial. And he was told, that he must expect no favour unless he would plead guilty. And he, knowing that



that legal evidence would be brought against him, submitted to this; and begged his life with a meanness, of which he himself was so ashamed afterwards, that it gave his spirits a depression and disorder that he could never quite master. And that had a terrible conclusion; for about ten years after he cut his own throat.

The King was now as successful as his own heart could wish. He had held a session of Parliament in both Kingdoms, that had settled his revenue: And now two ill prepared and ill managed rebellions had so broken all the party that was against him, that he seemed secure in his Throne, and above the power of all his enemies. And certainly a reign that was now so beyond expectation successful in its first six months seemed so well settled, that no ordinary mismanagement could have spoiled such beginnings. If the King had ordered a speedy execution of such persons, as were fit to be made publick examples, and had upon that granted a general indemnity, and if he had but covered his intentions till he had got thro' another session of Parliament, it is not easy to imagine with what advantage he might then have opened and pursued his designs.

But his own temper, and the fury of some of his Ministers, and the maxims of his Priests, who were become enthusiastical upon this success, and fancied that nothing could now stand before him: All these concurred to make him lose advantages that were never to be recovered: For the shews of mercy, that were afterwards put on, were looked on as an after-game, to retrieve that which was now lost. The Army was kept for some time in the *Western* Counties, where both officers and soldiers lived as in an enemy's country, and treated all that were believed to be ill affected to the King with great rudeness and violence.

*Kirk*, who had commanded long in *Tangier*, was become so savage by the neighbourhood of the *Moors* there, that some days after the battle he ordered several of the prisoners to be hanged up at *Taunton*, without so much as the form of law, he and his company looking on from an entertainment they were at. At every new health another prisoner was hanged up. And they were so brutal, that observing the shaking of the legs of those whom they hanged, it was said among them, they were dancing; and upon that musick was called for. This was both so illegal, and so inhuman, that it might have been expected that some notice would have been taken of it. But *Kirk* was only chid for it. And it was said, that

The King was lifted up with his successes.

But it had an ill effect on his affairs.

Great cruelties committed by his soldiers.



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And much  
greater by  
*Jefferies*.

that he had a particular order for some military executions: So that he could only be chid for the manner of it.

But, as if this had been nothing, *Jefferies* was sent the *Western* Circuit to try the prisoners. His behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized Nation. He was perpetually either drunk, or in a rage, liker a fury than the zeal of a Judge. He required the prisoners to plead guilty. And in that case he gave them some hope of favour, if they gave him no trouble: Otherwise he told them he would execute the letter of the law upon them in its utmost severity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great defence in law. But he shewed no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged up immediately, without allowing them a minute's time to say their prayers. He hanged, in several places, about six hundred persons. The greatest part of these were of the meanest sort, and of no distinction. The impieties with which he treated them, and his behaviour towards some of the Nobility and Gentry that were well affected, but came and pleaded in favour of some prisoners, would have amazed one, if done by a *Bashaw* in *Turkey*. *England* had never known any thing like it. The instances are too many to be reckoned up.

With which  
the King  
was well  
pleased.

But that which brought all his excesses to be imputed to the King himself, and to the orders given by him, was, that the King had a particular account of all his proceedings writ to him every day. And he took pleasure to relate them in the drawing room to foreign Ministers, and at his table, calling it *Jefferies's* campaign: Speaking of all he had done in a stile, that neither became the Majesty, nor the mercifulness, of a great Prince. *Dykfield* was at that time in *England*, one of the Embassadors whom the States had sent over to congratulate the King's coming to the Crown. He told me, that the King talked so often of these things in his hearing, that he wondered to see him break out into those indecencies. And upon *Jefferies's* coming back, he was created a Baron, and Peer of *England*: A dignity which, tho' anciently some Judges were raised to it, yet in these later ages, as there was no example of it, so it was thought inconsistent with the character of a Judge.

The execu-  
tions of two  
women.

Two executions were of such an extraordinary nature, that they deserve a more particular recital. The King apprehended that many of the prisoners had got into *London*, and were concealed there. So he said, those who concealed them were the worst sort of traitors, who endeavoured to preserve

such



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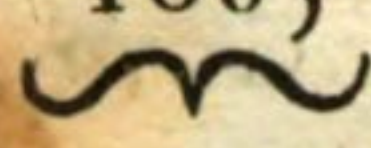


such persons to a better time. He had likewise a great mind to find out any among the rich merchants, who might afford great compositions to save their lives: For tho' there was much blood shed, there was little booty got to reward those who had served. Upon this the King declared, he would sooner pardon the rebels, than those who harboured them.

There was in *London* one *Gaunt*, a woman that was an Anabaptist, who spent a great part of her life in acts of charity, visiting the jayles, and looking after the poor of what persuasion soever they were. One of the rebels found her out, and she harboured him in her house; and was looking for an occasion of sending him out of the Kingdom. He went about in the night, and came to hear what the King had said. So he, by an unheard of baseness, went and delivered himself, and accused her that harboured him. She was seized on, and tried. There was no witness to prove that she knew that the person she harboured was a rebel, but he himself: Her maid witnessed only, that he was entertained at her house. But tho' the crime was her harbouring a traitor, and was proved only by this infamous witness, yet the Judge charged the Jury to bring her in guilty, pretending that the maid was a second witness, tho' she knew nothing of that which was the criminal part. She was condemned, and burnt, as the law directs in the case of women convict of treason. She died with a constancy, even to a cheerfulness, that struck all that saw it. She said, charity was a part of her religion, as well as faith: This at worst was the feeding an enemy: So she hoped, she had her reward with him, for whose sake she did this service, how unworthy soever the person was, that made so ill a return for it: She rejoiced, that God had honoured her to be the first that suffered by fire in this reign; and that her suffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love. *Pen* the Quaker told me, he saw her die. She laid the straw about her for burning her speedily; and behaved herself in such a manner, that all the spectators melted in tears.

The other execution was of a woman of greater quality: The Lady *Lisle*. Her husband had been a Regicide, and was one of *Cromwell's* Lords, and was called the Lord *Lisle*. He went at the time of the Restoration beyond sea, and lived at *Lausanne*. But three desperate *Irishmen*, hoping by such a service to make their fortunes, went thither, and killed him as he was going to Church; and being well mounted, and ill pursued, got into *France*. His Lady was known



1685  to be much affected with the King's death, and not easily reconciled to her husband for the share he had in it. She was a woman of great piety and charity. The night after the action, *Hicks*, a violent preacher among the Dissenters, and *Neltharp*, came to her house. She knew *Hicks*, and treated him civilly, not asking from whence they came. But *Hicks* told what brought them thither; for they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. Upon which she went out of the room immediately, and ordered her chief servant to send an information concerning them to the next Justice of Peace, and in the mean while to suffer them to make their escape. But, before this could be done, a party came about the house, and took both them, and her for harbouring them. *Jefferies* resolved to make a sacrifice of her; and obtained of the King a promise that he would not pardon her. Which the King owned to the Earl of *Feversham*, when he, upon the offer of a 1000 *l.* if he could obtain her pardon, went and begged it. So she was brought to her trial. No legal proof was brought, that she knew that they were rebels: The names of the persons found in her house were in no Proclamation: So there was no notice given to beware of them. *Jefferies* affirmed to the Jury upon his honour, that the persons had confessed that they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This was the turning a witness against her, after which he ought not to have judged in the matter. And, tho' it was insisted on, as a point of law, that till the persons found in her house were convicted, she could not be found guilty, yet *Jefferies* charged the Jury in a most violent manner to bring her in guilty. All the audience was strangely affected with so unusual a behaviour in a Judge. Only the person most concerned, the Lady herself, who was then past seventy, was so little moved at it, that she fell asleep. The Jury brought her in not guilty. But the Judge in great fury sent them out again. Yet they brought her in a second time not guilty. Then he seemed as in a transport of rage. He upon that threatened them with an attainder of Jury. And they, overcome with fear, brought her in the third time guilty. The King would shew no other favour, but that he changed the sentence from burning to beheading. She died with great constancy of mind; and expressed a joy, that she thus suffered for an act of charity and piety.

The behaviour of those who suffered.

Most of those that had suffered expressed at their death such a calm firmness, and such a zeal for their religion, which they believed was then in danger, that it made great impressions



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sions on the spectators. Some base men among them tried to save themselves by accusing others. *Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff of *London* when *Cornish* was Sheriff, offered to swear against *Cornish*; and also said, that *Rumsey* had not discovered all he knew. So *Rumsey* to save himself joined with *Goodenough*, to swear *Cornish* guilty of that for which the Lord *Russel* had suffered. And this was driven on so fast, that *Cornish* was seized on, tried, and executed within the week. If he had got a little time, the falshood of the evidence would have been proved from *Rumsey's* former deposition, which appeared so clearly soon after his death, that his estate was restored to his family, and the witnesses were lodged in remote prisons for their lives. *Cornish* at his death asserted his innocence with great vehemence; and with some acrimony complained of the methods taken to destroy him. And so they gave it out, that he died in a fit of fury. But *Pen*, who saw the execution, said to me, there appeared nothing but a just indignation that innocence might very naturally give. *Pen* might be well relied on in such matters, he being so entirely in the King's interests. He said to me, the King was much to be pitied, who was hurried into all this effusion of blood by *Jefferies's* impetuous and cruel temper. But, if his own inclinations had not been biassed that way, and if his Priests had not thought it the interest of their party to let that butcher loose, by which so many men that were like to oppose them were put out of the way, it is not to be imagined, that there would have been such a run of barbarous cruelty, and that in so many instances.

It gave a general horror to the body of the Nation: And it let all people see, what might be expected from a reign that seemed to delight in blood. Even some of the fairest of Tories began to relent a little, and to think they had trusted too much, and gone too far. The King had raised new regiments, and had given commissions to Papists. This was over-looked during the time of danger, in which all men's service was to be made use of: And by law they might serve three months. But now, as that time was near lapsing, the King began to say, the laws for the two Tests were made on design against himself: The first was made to turn him out of the Admiralty, and the second to make way for the Exclusion: And, he added, that it was an affront to him to insist on the observance of those laws. So these persons notwithstanding that act were continued in commission: And the

The Nation was much changed by this management.



1685 the King declared openly, that he must look on all those, who would not consent to the repeal of those laws, in the next session of Parliament, as his enemies.

Great disputes for and against the Tests.

The Courtiers began every where to declaim against them. It was said to be against the rights of the Crown to deny the King the service of all his subjects, to be contrary to the dignity of Peerage to subject Peers to any other Tests than their allegiance, and that it was an insufferable affront done the King, to oblige all those, whom he should employ, to swear that his religion was idolatrous. On the other hand all the people saw, that, if those acts were not maintained, no employment would be given to any but Papists, or to those who gave hopes that they would change: And, if the Parliament Test was taken off, then the way was opened to draw over so many members of both Houses, as would be in time a majority, to bring on an entire change of the laws with relation to religion. As long as the Nation reckoned their Kings were true and sure to their religion, there was no such need of those Tests, while the giving employments was left free, and our Princes were like to give them only to those of their own religion. But, since we had a Prince professing another religion, it seemed the only security that was left to the Nation, and that the Tests stood as a barrier to defend us from Popery. It was also said, that those Tests had really quieted the minds of the greater part of the Nation, and had united them against the Exclusion; since they reckoned their religion was safe by reason of them. The military men went in zealously into those notions; for they saw, that, as soon as the King should get rid of the Tests, they must either change their religion, or lose their employments. The Clergy, who for most part had hitherto run in with fury to all the King's interests, began now to open their eyes. Thus all on a sudden the temper of the Nation was much altered. The Marquis of *Halifax* did move in Council, that an order should be given to examine, whether all the officers in commission had taken the Test, or not. But none seconded him: So the motion fell. And now all endeavours were used, to fix the repeal of the Tests in the session that was coming on.

Some change their religion.

Some few converts were made at this time. The chief of these were the Earl of *Perth*, and his brother the Earl of *Melford*. Some differences fell in between the Duke of *Queensborough* and the Earl of *Perth*. The latter thought the former was haughty and violent, and that he used him in too



rious a manner. So they broke. At that time the King published the two papers found in his brother's strong box. So the Earl of *Perth* was either overcome with the reasons in them, or he thought it would look well at Court, if he put his conversion upon these. He came up to complain of the Duke of *Queensborough*. And his brother going to meet him at *Ware*, he discovered his design to him, who seemed at first much troubled at it: But he plied him so, that he prevailed on him to join with him in his pretended conversion, which he did with great shews of devotion and zeal. But when his objections to the Duke of *Queensborough's* administration were heard, they were so slight, that the King was ashamed of them; and all the Court justified the Duke of *Queensborough*. A repartee of the Marquis of *Halifax* was much talked of on this occasion. The Earl of *Perth* was taking pains to convince him, that he had just grounds of complaint, and seemed little concerned in the ill effect this might have on himself. The Marquis answered him, he needed fear nothing, *His faith would make him whole*: And it proved so.

Before he declared his change, the King seemed so well satisfied with the Duke of *Queensborough*, that he was resolved to bring the Earl of *Perth* to a submission, otherwise to dismiss him. But such converts were to be encouraged. So the King, having declared himself too openly to recal that so soon, ordered them both to go back to *Scotland*; and said, he would signify his pleasure to them when they should be there. It followed them down very quickly. The Duke of *Queensborough* was turned out of the Treasury, and it was put in Commission: And he, not to be too much irritated at once, was put first in the Commission. And now it became soon very visible, that he had the secret no more; but that it was lodged between the two brothers, the Earls of *Perth*, and *Melford*. Soon after that, the Duke of *Queensborough* was not only turned out of all his employments, but a design was laid to ruin him. All persons were encouraged to bring accusations against him, either with relation to the administration of the government, or of the Treasury. And, if any colourable matter could have been found against him, it was resolved to have made him a sacrifice. This sudden hatred, after so entire a confidence, was imputed to the suggestions the Earl of *Perth* had made of his zeal against Popery, and of his having engaged all his friends to stick firm in opposition to it. It was said, there was no need of mak-

The Duke of *Queensborough* disgraced.



1685 ing such promises, as he had engaged the King to make to the Parliament of *Scotland*: No body desired or expected them: He only drove that matter on his own account: So it was fit to let all about the King see, what was to be looked for, if they pressed any thing too severely with relation to religion.

The King  
declared a-  
gainst the  
Tests.

But to leave *Scotland*, and return to *England*: The King, after he had declared that he would be served by none but those who would vote for the repeal of the Tests, called for the Marquis of *Halifax*, and asked him, how he would vote in that matter. He very frankly answered, he would never consent to it: He thought, the keeping up those laws was necessary, even for the King's service, since the Nation trusted so much to them, that the publick quiet was chiefly preserved by that means. Upon this the King told him, that tho' he would never forget past services, yet since he could not be prevailed on in that particular, he was resolved to have all of a piece. So he was turned out. And the Earl of *Sunderland* was made Lord President, and continued still Secretary of State. More were not questioned at that time, nor turned out: For it was hoped, that, since all men saw what was to be expected if they should not comply with the King's intentions, this would have its full effect upon those, who had no mind to part with their places.

Proceedings  
in Ireland.

The King resolved also to model *Ireland*, so as to make that Kingdom a nursery for his army in *England*, and to be sure at least of an army there, while his designs were to go on more slowly in the isle of *Britain*. The *Irish* bore an inveterate hatred to the Duke of *Ormond*: So he was recalled. But, to dismiss him with some shew of respect, he was still continued Lord Steward of the household. The Earl of *Clarendon* was declared Lord Lieutenant. But the Army was put under the command of *Talbot*, who was made Earl of *Tirconnell*. And he began very soon to model it anew. The Archbishop of *Armagh* had continued Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and was in all points so compliant to the Court, that even his religion came to be suspected on that account. Yet, it seemed, he was not thought thorough paced. So Sir *Charles Porter*, who was a zealous promoter of every thing that the King proposed, and was a man of ready wit, and being poor was thought a person fit to be made a Tool of, was declared Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*. To these the King said, he was resolved to maintain the settlement of

*Ireland*.



*Ireland.* They had authority to promise this, and to act pursuant to it. But, as both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter* were poor, it was hoped, that they would understand the King's intentions, and see thro' those promises, that were made only to lay men asleep; and that therefore they would not insist too much on them, nor pursue them too far.

But now, before I come to relate the short session of Parliament that was abruptly broken off, I must mention one great transaction that went before it, and had no small influence on all men's minds. And since I saw that dismal tragedy, which was at this time acted in *France*, I must now change the scene, and give some account of my self. When I resolved to go beyond sea, there was no choice to be made. So many exiles and outlawed persons were scattered up and down the Towns of *Holland*, and other Provinces, that I saw the danger of going where I was sure many of them would come about me, and try to have involved me in guilt by coming into my company, that so they might engage me into their designs. So I resolved to go to *France*: And, if I found it not convenient to stay there, I intended to go on to *Geneva* or *Switzerland*. I asked the *French* Embassador, if I might be safe there. He after some days, I suppose after he had writ to the Court upon it, assured me, I should be safe there; and that, if the King should ask after me, timely notice should be given me, that I might go out of the way. So I went to *Paris*. And, there being many there whom I had reason to look on as spies, I took a little house, and lived by my self as privately as I could. I continued there till the beginning of *August*, that I went to *Italy*. I found the Earl of *Mountague* at *Paris*, with whom I conversed much, and got from him most of the secrets of the Court, and of the negotiations he was engaged in. The King of *France* had been for many years weakning the whole Protestant interest there, and was then upon the last resolution of recalling the edict of *Nantes*. And, as far as I could judge, the affairs of *England* gave the last stroke to that matter.

1685

The persecution in France.

A fatal year to the Protestant Religion,

This year, of which I am now writing, must ever be remembered, as the most fatal to the Protestant Religion. In *February*, a King of *England* declared himself a Papist. In *June*, *Charles* the Elector *Palatine* dying without issue, the Electoral dignity went to the House of *Newburgh*, a most bigotted Popish family. In *October*, the King of *France* recalled and vacated the edict of *Nantes*. And in *December*, the



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the Duke of *Savoy* being brought to it, not only by the persuasions, but even by the threatnings of the Court of *France*, recalled the edict that his father had granted to the *Vaudois*. So it must be confessed, that this was a very critical year. And I have ever reckoned this the fifth great crisis of the Protestant Religion.

For some years the Priests were every where making conversions in *France*. The hopes of pensions and preferment wrought on many. The plausible colours, that the Bishop of *Meaux*, then Bishop of *Condom*, put on all the errors of the Church of *Rome*, furnished others with excuses for changing. Many thought, they must change at last, or be quite undone: For the King seemed to be engaged to go thro' with the matter, both in compliance with the shadow of conscience that he seemed to have, which was to follow implicitly the conduct of his Confessor, and of the Archbishop of *Paris*, he himself being ignorant in those matters beyond what can be well imagined; and because his glory seemed also concerned to go thro' with every thing that he had once begun.

*Rouvigny's*  
behaviour.

Old *Rouvigny*, who was the Deputy General of the Churches, told me, that he was long deceived in his opinion of the King. He knew he was not naturally bloody. He saw his gross ignorance in those matters. His bigotry could not rise from any inward principle. So for many years he flattered himself with the hopes, that the design would go on so slowly, that some unlooked for accident might defeat it. But after the peace of *Nimeguen* he saw such steps made with so much precipitation, that he told the King he must beg a full audience of him upon that subject. He gave him one that lasted some hours. He came well prepared. He told him, what the State of *France* was during the wars in his Father's reign; how happy *France* had been now for fifty years, occasioned chiefly by the quiet it was in with relation to those matters. He gave him an account of their numbers, their industry and wealth, their constant readiness to advance the revenue, and that all the quiet he had with the Court of *Rome* was chiefly owing to them: If they were rooted out, the Court of *Rome* would govern as absolutely in *France*, as it did in *Spain*. He desired leave to undeceive him, if he was made believe they would all change, as soon as he engaged his authority in the matter: Many would go out of the Kingdom, and carry their wealth and industry into other countries. And by a scheme of particu-

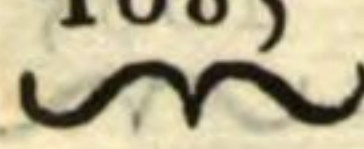


lars he reckoned how far that would go. In fine, he said, it would come to the shedding of much blood: Many would suffer, and others would be precipitated into desperate courses. So that the most glorious of all reigns would be in conclusion disfigured and defaced, and become a scene of blood and horror. He told me, as he went thro' these matters the King seemed to hearken to him very attentively. But he perceived they made no impression: For the King never asked any particulars, or any explanation, but let him go on. And, when he had ended, the King said, he took his freedom well, since it flowed from his zeal to his service. He believed all that he had told him, of the prejudice it might do him in his affairs: Only he thought, it would not go to the shedding of blood. But he said, he considered himself as so indispensably bound to endeavour the conversion of all his subjects, and the extirpation of heresy, that if the doing it should require that with one hand he should cut off the other, he would submit to that. After this *Rouvigny* gave all his friends hints of what they were to look for. Some were for flying out into a new civil war. But, their chief confidence being in the assistance they expected from *England*, he, who knew what our Princes were, and had reason to believe that King *Charles* was at least a cold Protestant, if not a secret Papist, and knew that the States would not embroil their affairs in assisting them, their maxims rather leading them to connive at any thing that would bring great numbers and much wealth into their Country than to oppose it, was against all motions of that kind. He reckoned, those risings would be soon crushed, and so would precipitate their ruin with some colour of justice. He was much censured for this by some hot men among them, as having betrayed them to the Court. But he was very unjustly blamed, as appeared both by his own conduct, and by his sons; who was received at first into the survivance of being Deputy General for the Churches, and afterwards, at his Father's desire, had that melancholy post given him, in which he daily saw new injustices done, and was only suffered, for form's sake, to inform against them, but with no hope of success.

The Father did, upon King *Charles's* death, write a letter of congratulation to the King, who wrote him such an obliging answer, that upon it he wrote to his niece the Lady *Russel*, that, having such assurances given him by the King of a high sense of his former services, he resolved to

He came over to *England*.



1685  come over, and beg the restoring her son's honour. The Marquis of *Halifax* did presently apprehend, that this was a blind, and that the King of *France* was sending him over to penetrate into the King's designs; since from all hands intimations were brought of the promises that he made to the Ministers of the other Princes of *Europe*. So I was ordered to use all endeavours to divert him from coming over: His niece had indeed begged that journey of him, when she hoped it might have saved her husband's life, but she would not venture to desire the journey on any other consideration, considering his great age, and that her son was then but five years old. I pressed this so much on him, that, finding him fixed in his resolution, I could not hinder my self from suspecting, that such a high act of friendship, in a man some years past fourscore, had somewhat under it: And it was said, that, when he took leave of the King of *France*, he had an audience of two hours of him. But this was a false suggestion: And I was assured afterwards that he came over only in friendship to his niece, and that he had no directions nor messages from the Court of *France*.

He came over, and had several audiences of the King, who used him with great kindness, but did not grant him that which he said he came for: Only he gave him a general promise of doing it in a proper time.

But whether the Court of *France* was satisfied, by the conversation that *Rouvigny* had with the King, that they needed apprehend nothing from *England*; or whether the King's being now so settled on the Throne made them conclude, that the time was come of repealing the edicts, is not certain: Mr. *de Louvois*, seeing the King so set on the matter, proposed to him a method, which he believed would shorten the work, and do it effectually: Which was, to let loose some bodies of Dragoons to live upon the Protestants on discretion. They were put under no restraint, but only to avoid rapes, and the killing them. This was begun in *Bearn*. And the people were so struck with it, that, seeing they were to be eat up first, and, if that prevailed not, to be cast in prison, when all was taken from them, till they should change, and being required only to promise to reunite themselves to the Church, they, overcome with fear, and having no time for consulting together, did universally comply. This did so animate the Court, that, upon it the same methods were taken in most places of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphinè*, where the greatest numbers of the Protestants were. A dismal consternation

Dragoons  
sent to live  
on discretion  
upon the  
Protestants.



on and feebleness ran thro' most of them, so that great numbers yielded. Upon which the King, now resolved to go thro' with what had been long projected, published the edict repealing the edict of *Nantes*, in which (tho' that edict was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law) he set forth, that it was only intended to quiet matters by it, till more effectual ways should be taken for the conversion of Hereticks. He also promised in it, that, tho' all the publick exercises of that religion were now suppressed, yet those of that persuasion who lived quietly should not be disturbed on that account, while at the same time not only the Dragoons, but all the Clergy, and the bigots of *France*, broke out into all the instances of rage and fury against such as did not change upon their being required in the King's name to be of his religion; for that was the stile every where.

1685  
Many of  
them yielded  
thro' fear.

Men and women of all ages, who would not yield, were not only stript of all they had, but kept long from sleep, driven about from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into Nunneries, in many of which they were almost starved, whipt, and barbarously treated. Some few of the Bishops, and of the secular Clergy, to make the matter easier, drew formularies, importing that they were resolved to reunite themselves to the Catholick Church, and that they renounced the errors of *Luther* and *Calvin*. People in such extremities are easy to put a stretched sense on any words, that may give them present relief. So it was said, what harm was it to promise to be united to the Catholick Church: And the renouncing those men's errors did not renounce their good and sound doctrine. But it was very visible, with what intent those subscriptions or promises were asked of them: So their compliance in that matter was a plain equivocation. But, how weak and faulty soever they might be in this, it must be acknowledged, here was one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history. In many respects it exceeded them all, both in the several inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over the greatest part of *France* while it was in its hottest rage, from *Marseilles* to *Montpelier*, and from thence to *Lions*, and so to *Geneva*. I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men set their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the Towns thro' which I past, I heard the most dismal accounts of those things possible;

Great cruelty every  
where.



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fible; but chiefly at *Valence*, where one *Dherapine* seemed to exceed even the furies of Inquisitors. One in the streets could have known the new converts, as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their escape, and were seized, (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontier of *France*,) were, if men, condemned to the galleys, and, if women, to monasteries. To compleat this cruelty, orders were given that such of the new converts, as did not at their death receive the Sacrament, should be denied burial, and that their bodies should be left where other dead carcases were cast out, to be devoured by wolves or dogs. This was executed in several places with the utmost barbarity: And it gave all people so much horror, that, finding the ill effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt none, but struck all that saw it, even with more horror than those sufferings that were more felt. The fury that appeared on this occasion did spread it self with a sort of contagion: For the Intendants and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, seemed now to have laid aside the compassion of Christians, the breeding of Gentlemen, and the common impressions of humanity. The greatest part of the Clergy, the Regulars especially, were so transported with the zeal that their King shewed on this occasion, that their sermons were full of the most inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their King in strains too indecent and blasphemous to be mentioned by me.

I went into  
*Italy*.

I staid at *Paris* till the beginning of *August*. *Barrillon* sent to me to look to my self; for the King had let some words fall importing his suspicion of me, as concerned in the Duke of *Monmouth's* business. Whether this was done on design, to see if such an insinuation could fright me away, and so bring me under some appearance of guilt, I cannot tell: For in that time every thing was deceitfully managed. But I, who knew that I was not so much as guilty of concealment, resolved not to stir from *Paris* till the rebellion was over, and that the prisoners were examined, and tried. When that was done, *Stoupe*, a Brigadier General, told me, that Mr. *de Louvoy* had said to him that the King was resolved to put an end to the business of the *Huguenots* that season: And, since he was resolved not to change, he advised him to make a *Tour* into *Italy*, that he might not seem to do any thing that opposed the King's service. *Stoupe* told me this in confidence. So we resolved to make that



journey together. Some thought it was too bold an adventure in me, after what I had written and acted in the matters of religion, to go to *Rome*. But others, who judged better, thought I ran no hazard in going thither: For, besides the high civility with which all strangers are treated there, they were at that time in such hopes of gaining *England*, that it was not reasonable to think, that they would raise the apprehensions of the Nation, by using any that belonged to it ill: And the destroying me would not do them the service, that could in any sort balance the prejudice that might arise from the noise it would make. And indeed I met with so high a civility at *Rome*, that it fully justified this opinion.

Pope *Innocent* the eleventh, *Odescalchi*, knew who I was the day after I came to *Rome*. And he ordered the Captain of the *Swiss* guards to tell *Stoupe*, that he had heard of me, and would give me a private audience abed, to save me from the ceremony of the *Pantoufle*. But I knew the noise that this would make: So I resolved to avoid it, and excused it upon my speaking *Italian* so ill as I did. But Cardinal *Howard* and the Cardinal *d'Estrees* treated me with great freedom. The latter talked much with me concerning the orders in our Church, to know whether they had been brought down to us by men truly ordained, or not: For, he said, they apprehended things would be much more easily brought about, if our orders could be esteemed valid, tho' given in heresy and schism. I told him, I was glad they were possessed with any opinion that made the reconciliation more difficult; but, as for the matter of fact, nothing was more certain, than that the ordinations in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign were canonical and regular. He seemed to be persuaded of the truth of this, but lamented that it was impossible to bring the *Romans* to think so.

Cardinal *Howard* shewed me all his letters from *England*, by which I saw, that those who wrote to him reckoned, that their designs were so well laid, that they could not miscarry. They thought, they should certainly carry every thing in the next session of Parliament. There was a high strain of insolence in their letters: And they reckoned, they were so sure of the King, that they seemed to have no doubt left of their succeeding in the reduction of *England*. The *Romans* and *Italians* were much troubled at all this: For they were under such apprehensions of the growth of the *French* power, and had conceived such hopes of the King of *England's* putting a stop to it, that they were sorry

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And was well received at *Rome*.

Cardinal *Howard's* freedom with me.



1685 to see the King engage himself so in the design of changing the religion of his subjects, which they thought would create him so much trouble at home, that he would neither have leisure nor strength to look after the common concerns of *Europe*. The Cardinal told me, that all the advices writ over from thence to *England* were for slow, calm, and moderate courses. He said, he wished he was at liberty to shew me the copies of them: But he saw violent courses were more acceptable, and would probably be followed. And he added, that these were the production of *England*, far different from the counsels of *Rome*.

He also told me, that they had not instruments enough to work with: For, tho' they were sending over all that were capable of the Mission, yet he expected no great matters from them. Few of them spoke true *English*. They came over young, and retained all the *English* that they brought over with them, which was only the language of boys: But, their education being among strangers, they had formed themselves so upon that model, that really they preached as *Frenchmen* or *Italians* in *English* words; of which he was every day warning them, for he knew this could have no good effect in *England*. He also spoke with great sense of the proceedings in *France*, which he apprehended would have very ill consequences in *England*. I shall only add one other particular, which will shew the soft temper of that good natured man.

He used me in such a manner, that it was much observed by many others. So two *French* Gentlemen desired a note from me to introduce them to him. Their design was to be furnished with Reliques; for he was then the Cardinal that looked after that matter. One evening I came in to him as he was very busy in giving them some Reliques. So I was called in to see them: And I whispered to him in *English*, that it was somewhat odd, that a Priest of the Church of *England* should be at *Rome* helping them off with the ware of *Babylon*. He was so pleased with this, that he repeated it to the others in *French*; and told the *Frenchmen*, that they should tell their countrymen, how bold the hereticks, and how mild the Cardinals were at *Rome*.

I staid in *Rome*, till Prince *Borghese* came to me, and told me it was time for me to go. I had got great acquaintance there. And, tho' I did not provoke any to discourse of points of controversy, yet I defended my self against all those who attacked me, with the same freedom that I had done in other

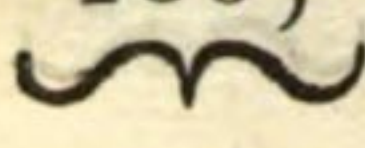


other places. This began to be taken notice of. So upon the first intimation I came away, and returned by *Marseilles*. And then I went thro' those *Southern* Provinces of *France*, that were at that time a scene of barbarity and cruelty. 1685

I intended to have gone to *Orange*: But *Tessè* with a body of Dragoons was then quartered over that small Principality, and was treating the Protestants there in the same manner that the *French* subjects were treated in other parts. So I went not in, but past near it, and had this account of that matter from some that were the most considerable men of the Principality. Many of the neighbouring places fled thither from the persecution: Upon which a letter was writ to the government there, in the name of the King of *France*, requiring them to put all his subjects out of their territory. This was hard. Yet they were too naked and exposed to dispute any thing with those who could command every thing. So they ordered all the *French* to withdraw: Upon which *Tessè*, who commanded in those parts, wrote to them, that the King would be well satisfied with the obedience they had given his orders. They upon this were quiet, and thought there was no danger. But the next morning *Tessè* marched his Dragoons into the Town, and let them loose upon them, as he had done upon the subjects of *France*. And they plied as feebly as most of the *French* had done. This was done while that Principality was in the possession of the Prince of *Orange*, pursuant to an article of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, of which the King of *England* was the guarantee. Whether the *French* had the King's consent to this, or if they presumed upon it, was not known. It is certain, he ordered two memorials to be given in at that Court, complaining of it in very high terms. But nothing followed on it. And, some months after, the King of *France* did unite *Orange* to the rest of *Provence*, and suppressed all the rights it had, as a distinct Principality. The King writ upon it to the Princess of *Orange*, that he could do no more in that matter, unless he should declare war upon it; which he could not think fit for a thing of such small importance. Cruelties in Orange.

But now the session of Parliament drew on. And there was a great expectation of the issue of it. For some weeks before it met there was such a number of Refugees coming over every day, who set about a most dismal recital of the persecution in *France*, and that in so many instances that were crying and odious, that, tho' all endeavours were used



1685  to lessen the clamour this had raised, yet the King did not stick openly to condemn it, as both unchristian and unpolitick. He took pains to clear the *Jesuits* of it, and laid the blame of it chiefly on the King, on *Madame de Maintenon*, and the Archbishop of *Paris*. He spoke often of it with such vehemence, that there seemed to be an affectation in it. He did more. He was very kind to the Refugees. He was liberal to many of them. He ordered a brief for a charitable collection over the Nation for them all: Upon which great sums were sent in. They were deposited in good hands, and well distributed. The King also ordered them to be denised without paying fees, and gave them great immunities. So that in all there came over first and last between forty and fifty thousand of that Nation. Here was such a real argument of the cruel and persecuting spirit of Popery, where-soever it prevailed, that few could resist this conviction. So that all men confessed, that the *French* persecution came very seasonably to awaken the Nation, and open mens eyes in so critical a conjuncture: For upon this session of Parliament all did depend.

The King's  
speech a-  
gainst the  
Test.

When it was opened, the King told them how happy his forces had been in reducing a dangerous rebellion, in which it had appeared, how weak and insignificant the Militia was: And therefore he saw the necessity of keeping up an Army for all their security. He had put some in commission, of whose loyalty he was well assured: And they had served him so well, that he would not put that affront on them, and on himself, to turn them out. He told them, all the world saw, and they had felt the happiness of a good understanding between him and his Parliament: So he hoped, nothing should be done on their part to interrupt that; as he, on his own part, would observe all that he had promised.

Thus he fell upon the two most unacceptable points that he could have found out; which were, a standing Army, and a violation of the Act of the Test. There were some debates in the House of Lords about thanking the King for his speech. It was pressed by the Courtiers, as a piece of respect that was always paid. To this some answered, that was done when there were gracious assurances given. Only the Earl of *Devonshire* said, he was for giving thanks, because the King had spoken out so plainly, and warned them of what they might look for. It was carried in the House to make an address of thanks for the speech. The Lord

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Guilford,



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*Guilford, North*, was now dead. He was a crafty and designing man. He had no mind to part with the great Seal: And yet he saw, he could not hold it without an entire compliance with the pleasure of the Court. An appeal against a decree of his had been brought before the Lords in the former session: And it was not only reversed with many severe reflections on him that made it, but the Earl of *Nottingham*, who hated him because he had endeavoured to detract from his father's memory, had got together so many instances of his ill administration of justice, that he exposed him severely for it. And, it was believed, that gave the crisis to the uneasiness and distraction of mind he was labouring under. He languished for some time; and died despised, and ill thought of by the whole Nation.

Nothing but his successor made him be remembered with regret: For *Jefferies* had the Seals. He had been made a Peer while he was Chief Justice, which had not been done for some ages: But he affected to be an original in every thing. A day or two after the session was opened, the Lords went upon the consideration of the King's speech: And, when some began to make remarks upon it, they were told, that by giving thanks for the speech they had precluded themselves from finding fault with any part of it. This was rejected with indignation, and put an end to that complement of giving thanks for a speech when there was no special reason for it. The Lords *Halifax*, *Nottingham*, and *Mordaunt*, were the chief arguers among the temporal Lords. The Bishop of *London* spoke often likewise: And twice or thrice he said, he spoke not only his own sense, but the sense of that whole Bench. They said, the Test was now the best fence they had for their religion: If they gave up so great a point, all the rest would soon follow: And if the King might by his authority supersede such a law, fortified with so many clauses, and above all with that of an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more: The government would become arbitrary and absolute. *Jefferies* began to argue in his rough manner: But he was soon taken down; it appearing, that how furiously soever he raved on the Bench, where he played the tyrant, yet where others might speak with him on equal terms, he was a very contemptible man: And he received as great a mortification, as such a brutal man as he was capable of.

But as the scene lay in the House of Commons, so the debates there were more important. A project was offered



1685  
 The House  
 of Com-  
 mons ad-  
 dress the  
 King for ob-  
 serving the  
 law.

for making the Militia more useful in order to the disbanding the Army. But, to oppose that, the Court shewed, how great a danger we had lately escaped, and how much of an ill leaven yet remained in the Nation, so that it was necessary a force should be kept up. The Court moved for a subsidy, the King having been at much extraordinary charge in reducing the late rebellion. Many, that were resolved to assert the business of the Test with great firmness, thought, the voting of money first was the decenter way of managing the opposition to the Court: Whereas others opposed this, having often observed, that the voting of money was the giving up the whole session to the Court. The Court wrought on many weak men with this topick, that the only way to gain the King, and to dispose him to agree to them in the business of the Test, was to begin with the supply. This had so great an effect, that it was carried only by one vote to consider the King's speech, before they should proceed to the supply. It was understood, that when they received satisfaction in other things, they were resolved to give 500000 *l*.

They went next to consider the Act about the Test, and the violations of it, with the King's speech upon that head. The reasoning was clear and full on the one hand. The Court offered nothing on the other hand in the way of argument, but the danger of offending the King, and of raising a misunderstanding between him and them. So the whole House went in unanimously into a vote for an address to the King, that he would maintain the laws, in particular that concerning the Test. But with that they offered to pass a bill for indemnifying those who had broken that law; and were ready to have considered them in the supply that they intended to give.

The King  
 was much  
 offended  
 with it.

The King expressed his resentments of this with much vehemence, when the address was brought to him. He said, some men intended to disturb the good correspondence that was between him and them, which would be a great prejudice to the Nation: He had declared his mind so positively in that matter, that he hoped, they would not have meddled with it: Yet, he said, he would still observe all the promises that he had made. This made some reflect on the violations of the edict of *Nantes* by many of the late edicts that were set out in *France* before the last that repealed it, in which the King of *France* had always declared, that he would maintain that edict, even when the breaches made upon



upon it were the most visible and notorious. The House, upon this rough answer, was in a high fermentation. Yet, when one *Cook* said, that they were *Englishmen*, and were not to be threatned, because this seemed to be a want of respect, they sent him to the Tower; and obliged him to ask pardon for those indecent words. But they resolved to insist on their address, and then to proceed upon the petitions concerning elections. And now those, that durst not open their mouth before, spoke with much force upon this head. They said, it was a point upon which the Nation expected justice, and they had a right to claim it. And it was probable, they would have condemned a great many elections: For an intimation was set round, that all those who had stuck to the interest of the Nation, in the main points then before them, should be chosen over again, tho' it should be found that their election was void, and that a new writ should go out. By this means those petitions were now encouraged, and were like to have a fair hearing, and a just decision: And it was believed, that the abject Courtiers would have been voted out.

The King saw, that both Houses were now so fixed, that he could carry nothing in either of them, unless he would depart from his speech, and let the Act of the Test take place. So he prorogued the Parliament, and kept it by repeated prorogations still on foot for about a year and a half, but without holding a session. All those, who had either spoken or voted for the Test, were soon after this disgraced, and turned out of their places, tho' many of these had served the King hitherto with great obsequiousness and much zeal. He called for many of them, and spoke to them very earnestly upon that subject in his closet: Upon which the term of closeting was much tossed about. Many of these gave him very flat and hardy denials: Others, tho' more silent, yet were no less steady. So that, when, after a long practice both of threatning and ill usage on the one hand, and of promises and corruption on the other, the King saw he could not bring them into a compliance with him, he at last dissolved the Parliament: By which he threw off a body of men that were in all other respects sure to him, and that would have accepted a very moderate satisfaction from him at any time. And indeed in all *England* it would not have been easy to have found five hundred men, so weak, so poor, and so devoted to the Court, as these were. So happily was the

The Parliament was prorogued.



1685  
~The Lord  
de la Meer  
tried, and  
acquitted.

the Nation taken out of their hands, by the precipitated violence of a bigotted Court.

Soon after the prorogation, the Lord *de la Meer* was brought to his trial. Some witnesses swore high treason against him only upon report, that he had designed to make a rebellion in *Cheshire*, and to join with the Duke of *Monmouth*. But, since those swore only upon hear-say, that was no evidence in law. One witness swore home against him, and against two other Gentlemen, who, as he said, were in company with him; and that treasonable messages were then given to him by them all to carry to some others. That which gave the greatest credit to the evidence was, that this Lord had gone from *London* secretly to *Cheshire* at the time of the Duke of *Monmouth's* landing, and that after he had staid a day or two in that Country, he had come up as secretly to *London*. This looked suspicious, and made it to be believed, that he went to try what could be done. The credit of that single witness was overthrown by many unquestionable proofs, by which it appeared that the two Gentlemen, who he said met with that Lord in *Cheshire*, were all that while still in *London*. The witness, to gain the more credit, had brought others into the plot, by the common fate of false swearers, who bring in such circumstances to support their evidence, as they think will make it more credible, but, being ill laid, give a handle to those concerned to find out their falshood. And that was the case of this witness: For, tho' little doubt was made of the truth of that which he swore against this Lord, as to the main of his evidence, yet he had added such a mixture of falshood to it, as being fully proved destroyed the evidence. As for the secret journey to and again between *London* and *Cheshire*, that Lord said, he had been long a prisoner in the Tower upon bare suspicion: He had no mind to be lodged again there: So he resolved in that time of jealousy to go out of the way: And hearing that a child, of which he was very fond, was sick in *Cheshire*, he went thither: And hearing from his Lady that his eldest son was very ill at *London*, he made haste back again. This was well proved by his physicians and domesticks, tho' it was a thing of very ill appearance, that he made such journies so quick and so secretly at such a time. The Solicitor General, *Finch*, pursuant to the doctrine he had maintained in former trials, and perhaps to atone for the zeal he had shewed in the House of Commons for maintaining the Act of the Test, made a violent



1685

declamation, to prove that one witness with presumptions was sufficient to convict one of high treason. The Peers did unanimously acquit the Lord. So that trial ended to the great joy of the whole Town; which was now turned to be as much against the Court, as it had been of late years for it. *Finch* had been continued in his employment only to lay the load of this judgment upon him: And he acted his part in it with his usual vehemence. He was presently after turned out. And *Powis* succeeded him, who was a compliant young aspiring Lawyer, tho' in himself he was no ill natured man. Now the posts in the law began to be again taken care of: For it was resolved to act a piece of pageantry in *Westminster-Hall*, with which the next year began.

Sir *Edward Hales*, a Gentleman of a noble family in *Kent*, declared himself a Papist, tho' he had long disguised it; and had once to my self so solemnly denied it, that I was led from thence to see, there was no credit to be given to that sort of men, where their Church or religion was concerned. He had an employment: And not taking the Test his coachman was set up to inform against him, and to claim the 500 *l.* that the law gave to the informer. When this was to be brought to trial, the Judges were secretly asked their opinions: And such as were not clear to judge as the Court did direct were turned out: And upon two or three canvassings the half of them were dismissed, and others of more pliable and obedient understandings were put in their places. Some of these were weak and ignorant to a scandal. The suit went on in a feeble prosecution: And in Trinity Term judgment was given.

1686

A trial upon the Act for the Test.

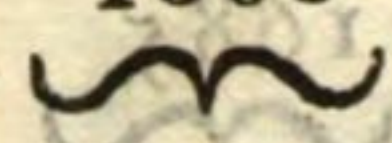
Many Judges turned out.

There was a new Chief Justice found out, very different indeed from *Jefferies*, Sir *Edward Herbert*. He was a well bred and a vertuous man, generous, and good natured. He was but an indifferent Lawyer; and had gone to *Ireland* to find practice and preferment there. He unhappily got into a set of very high notions with relation to the King's prerogative. His gravity and vertues gave him great advantages, chiefly his succeeding such a monster as had gone before him. So he, being found to be a fit tool, was, without any application of his own, raised up all at once to this high post. After the coachman's cause had been argued with a most indecent coldness, by those who were made use of on design to expose and betray it, it was said, in favour of the prerogative, that the government of *England* was en-

*Herbert*, Chief justice, gives Judgment for the King's dispensing power.



1686



tirely in the King: That the Crown was an Imperial Crown, the importance of which was, that it was absolute: All penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to limit or bind up the King's power: The King could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties: And why could not he as well dispense with them? Acts of Parliament had been oft superseded: The Judges had some times given directions in their charges at Circuits to enquire after some Acts of Parliament no more: Of which one late instance happen'd during the former reign: An Act passed concerning the size of carts and waggons, with many penalties upon the transgressors: And yet, when it appeared that the model prescribed in the Act was not practicable, the Judges gave direction not to execute the Act.

These were the arguments brought to support the King's dispensing power. In opposition to this it was said, tho' not at the bar, yet in the common discourse of the Town, that if penalties did arise only by vertue of the King's Proclamation, it was reasonable that the power of dispensing should be only in the King: But since the prerogative was both constituted and limited by law, and since penalties were imposed to force the observation of laws that were necessary for the publick safety, it was an overturning the whole government, and the changing it from a legal into a despotick form, to say that laws, made and declared not to be capable of being dispensed with, where one of the penalties was an incapacity, which by a maxim of law cannot be taken away even by a pardon, should at the pleasure of the Prince be dispensed with: A fine was also set by the Act on offenders, but not given to the King, but to the informer, which thereby became his. So that the King could no more pardon that, than he could discharge the debts of the subjects, and take away property: Laws of small consequence, when a visible error not observed in making them was afterwards found out, like that of the size of carts, might well be superseded: For the intention of the Legislature being the good of the subject, that is always to be presumed for the repeal of an impracticable law. But it was not reasonable to infer from thence, that a law made for the security of the government, with the most effectual clauses that could be contrived, on design to force the execution of it, even in bar to the power of the prerogative, should be made so precarious a thing, especially when it was so late-



ly asserted with so much vigour by the representatives of the Nation. It was said, that, tho' this was now only applied to one statute, yet the same force of reason would hold to annul all our laws: And the penalty being that which is the life of the law, the dispensing with penalties might soon be carried so far as to dissolve the whole government: And the security that the subjects had were only from the laws, or rather from the penalties, since laws without these were feeble things, which tied men only according to their own discretion.

Thus was this matter tossed about in the arguments, with which all peoples mouths were now filled. But Judges, who are beforehand determined how to give their opinions, will not be much moved even by the strongest arguments. The ludicrous ones used on this occasion at the bar were rather a farce, fitter for a mock trial in a play, than such as became men of learning in so important a matter. Great expectations were raised, to hear with what arguments the Judges would maintain the judgment that they should give. But they made nothing of it; and without any arguing gave judgment for the defendant, as if it had been in a cause of course.

Now the matter was as much settled, as a decision in the King's Bench could settle it. Yet so little regard had the Chief Justice's nearest friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother, Admiral *Herbert*, being pressed by the King to promise that he would vote the repeal of the Test, answered the King very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour nor conscience. The King said, he knew he was a man of honour, but the rest of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conscience. He answered boldly, he had his faults, but they were such, that other people, who talked more of conscience, were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice. But, tho' he was poor, and had much to lose, having places to the value of 4000 *l.* a year, he chose to lose them all rather than comply. This made much noise: For as he had a great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs, so he had been most passionately zealous in the King's service from his first setting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no past services would be considered, if men were not resolved to comply in every thing. The door was now opened. So all regard to the Test was laid aside. And all men that intended to recommend themselves took employments,

Admiral  
*Herbert's*  
firmness.



1686 ployments, and accepted of this dispensing power. This was done even by some of those who continued still Protestants, tho' the far greater number of them continued to qualify themselves according to law.

Father Peter  
a Jesuit in  
high favour.

Many of the Papists, that were men of quiet or of fearful tempers, did not like these methods. They thought the Priests went too fast, and the King was too eager in pursuing every thing that was suggested by them. One *Peter*, descended from a noble family, a man of no learning, nor any way famed for his vertue, but who made all up in boldness and zeal, was the *Jesuit* of them all that seemed animated with the most courage. He had, during the Popish plot, been introduced to the King, and had suggested things, that shewed him a resolute and undertaking man. Upon that the King looked on him as the fittest man to be set at the head of his counsels. So he was now considered, as the person who of all others had the greatest credit. He applied himself most to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and was for some time chiefly directed by him.

The King  
declared for  
a toleration.

The maxim that the King set up, and about which he entertained all that were about him, was, the great happiness of an universal toleration. On this the King used to enlarge in a great variety of topicks. He said, nothing was more reasonable, more christian, and more politick: And he reflected much on the Church of *England* for the severities with which Dissenters had been treated. This, how true or just soever it might be, yet was strange doctrine in the mouth of a professed Papist, and of a Prince on whose account, and by whose direction, the Church party had been, indeed but too obsequiously, pushed on to that rigour. But, since the Church party could not be brought to comply with the design of the Court, applications were now made to the Dissenters: And all on a sudden the Churchmen were disgraced, and the Dissenters were in high favour. Chief Justice *Herbert* went the Western Circuit after *Jes-feries's* bloody one. And now all was grace and favour to them. Their former sufferings were much reflected on, and pitied. Every thing was offered that could alleviate their sufferings. Their teachers were now encouraged to set up their Conventicles again, which had been discontinued, or held very secretly, for four or five years. Intimations were every where given, that the King would not have them, or their meetings, to be disturbed. Some of them began to grow insolent upon this shew of favour. But wiser men among them saw thro'

all



all this, and perceived the design of the Papists was now, to set on the Dissenters against the Church, as much as they had formerly set the Church against them: And therefore, tho' they returned to their Conventicles, yet they had a just jealousy of the ill designs that lay hid under all this sudden and unexpected shew of grace and kindness: And they took care not to provoke the Church party.

Many of the Clergy acted now a part that made good amends for past errors. They began to preach generally against Popery, which the Dissenters did not. They set themselves to study the points of controversy. And upon that there followed a great variety of small books, that were easily purchased and soon read. They examined all the points of Popery with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing that had before that time appeared in our language. The truth is, they were very unequally yoked: For, if they are justly to be reckoned among the best writers that have yet appeared on the Protestant side, those they wrote against were certainly among the weakest that had ever appeared on the Popish side. Their books were poorly but insolently writ; and had no other learning in them, but what was taken out of some *French* writers, which they put into very bad *English*: So that a victory over them need have been but a mean performance.

The Clergy managed the points of controversy with great zeal and success.

This had a mighty effect on the whole Nation: Even those who could not search things to the bottom, yet were amazed at the great inequality that appeared in this engagement. The Papists, who knew what service the Bishop of *Meaux's* book had done in *France*, resolved to pursue the same method here in several treatises, which they entitled *Papists represented and misrepresented*; to which such clear answers were writ, that what effect soever that artifice might have, where it was supported by the authority of a great King, and the terror of ill usage, and a dragoonade in conclusion, yet it succeeded so ill in *England*, that it gave occasion to enquire into the true opinions of that Church, not as some artful writers had disguised them, but as they were laid down in the books that are of authority among them, such as the decisions of Councils received among them, and their established Offices, and as they are held at *Rome*, and in all those countries where Popery prevails without any intermixture with hereticks, or apprehension of them, as in *Spain* and *Portugal*. This was done in so authentical



1686 a manner, that Popery it self was never so well understood by the Nation, as it came to be upon this occasion.

The persons  
who were  
chiefly en-  
gaged in this.

The persons, who both managed and directed this controversial war, were chiefly *Tillotson*, *Stillington*, *Tennison*, and *Patrick*. Next them were *Sherlock*, *Williams*, *Claget*, *Gee*, *Aldrich*, *Atterbury*, *Whitby*, *Hooper*, and above all these *Wake*, who having been long in *France*, Chaplain to the Lord *Preston*, brought over with him many curious discoveries that were both useful and surprising. Besides the chief writers of those books of controversy, there were many sermons preached and printed on those heads, that did very much edify the whole Nation. And this matter was managed with that concert, that for the most part once a week some new book or sermon came out, which both instructed and animated those who read them. There were but very few proselytes gained to Popery: And these were so inconsiderable, that they were rather a reproach than an honour to them. *Walker*, the head of *University College*, and five or six more at *Oxford*, declared themselves to be of that religion; but with this branch of infamy, that they had continued for several years complying with the doctrine and worship of the Church of *England* after they were reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. The Popish Priests were enraged at this opposition made by the Clergy, when they saw their religion so exposed, and themselves so much despised. They said, it was ill manners and want of duty to treat the King's religion with so much contempt.

Dr. Sharp in  
trouble.

It was resolved to proceed severely against some of the preachers, and to try if by that means they might intimidate the rest. Dr. *Sharp* was the Rector of *St. Giles's*, and was both a very pious man, and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his sermons with much life and zeal. He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper sent him, as he believed, by a Priest, containing a sort of challenge upon some points of controversy touched by him in some of his sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he should send an answer, preached a sermon in answer to it: And, after he had confuted it, he concluded shewing how unreasonable it was for Protestants to change their religion on such grounds. This was carried to Court, and represented there, as a reflection on the King for changing on those grounds.



The information, as to the words pretended to be spoken by *Sharp*, was false, as he himself assured me. But, without enquiring into that, the Earl of *Sunderland* sent an order to the Bishop of *London*, in the King's name, requiring him to suspend *Sharp* immediately, and then to examine the matter. The Bishop answered, that he had no power to proceed in such a summary way: But, if an accusation were brought into his Court in a regular way, he would proceed to such a censure as could be warranted by the Ecclesiastical law: Yet, he said, he would do that which was in his power, and should be upon the matter a suspension; for he desired *Sharp* to abstain from officiating, till the matter should be better understood. But to lay such a censure on a Clergyman, as a suspension, without proof, in a judiciary proceeding, was contrary both to law and justice. *Sharp* went to Court to shew the notes of his sermon, which he was ready to swear were those from which he had read it, by which the falshood of the information would appear. But, since he was not suspended, he was not admitted. Yet he was let alone. And it was resolved to proceed against the Bishop of *London* for contempt.

1689  
The Bishop  
of *London*  
required to  
suspend him.

Which he  
could not  
obey.

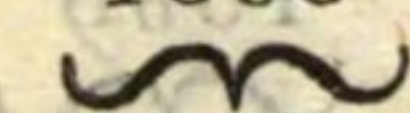
*Jefferies* was much sunk at Court, and *Herbert* was the most in favour. But now *Jefferies*, to recommend himself, offered a bold and illegal advice, for setting up an Ecclesiastical Commission, without calling it the High Commission, pretending it was only a standing Court of Delegates. The Act that put down the High Commission in the year 1640 had provided by a clause, as full as could be conceived, that no Court should be ever set up for those matters, besides the ordinary Ecclesiastical Courts. Yet in contempt of that a Court was erected, with full power to proceed in a summary and arbitrary way in all Ecclesiastical matters, without limitations to any rule of law in their proceedings. This stretch of the supremacy, so contrary to law, was assumed by a King, whose religion made him condemn all that supremacy that the law had vested in the Crown.

An Ecclesi-  
astical Com-  
mission set  
up.

The persons with whom this power was lodged were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *Duresme* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Chancellor being made President in the Court *sine quo non*; for they would trust this to no other management. The Bishop of *London* was marked out to be the first sacrifice. *Sancroft* lay silent at *Lambeth*. He seemed zealous against Popery in private discourse: But he was of such a timorous temper, and so set on the en-  
riching



1686



riching his nephew, that he shewed no sort of courage. He would not go to this Court, when it was first opened, and declare against it, and give his reasons why he could not sit and act in it, judging it to be against law: But he contented himself with his not going to it. The other two Bishops were more compliant. *Duresme* was lifted up with it, and said, now his name would be recorded in history: And, when some of his friends represented to him the danger of acting in a Court so illegally constituted, he said, he could not live if he should lose the King's gracious smiles: So low, and so fawning was he. *Dolben*, Archbishop of *York*, died this year. So, as *Sprat* had succeeded him in *Rocheſter*, he had some hopes let fall of succeeding likewise in *York*. But the Court had laid it down for a maxim to keep all the great Sees, that should become vacant, still empty, till they might fill them to their own mind: So he was mistaken in his expectations, if he ever had them.

The Bishop  
of *London*  
brought be-  
fore it.

The Bishop of *London* was the first person, that was summoned to appear before this new Court. He was attended on by many persons of great Quality, which gave a new offence: And the Lord Chancellor treated him in that brutal way, that was now become as it were natural to him. The Bishop said, here was a new Court of which he knew nothing: So he desired a copy of the commission that authorised them. And, after he had drawn out the matters by delays for some time, hoping that the King might accept of some general and respectful submission, and so let the matter fall, at last he came to make his defence, all secret methods to divert the storm proving ineffectual. The first part of it was an exception to the authority of the Court, as being not only founded on no law, but contrary to the express words of the Act of Parliament that put down the High Commission. Yet this point was rather insinuated, than urged with the force that might have been used: For it was said, that, if the Bishop should insist too much on that, it would draw a much heavier measure of indignation on him; therefore it was rather opened, and modestly represented to the Court, than strongly argued. But it may be easily believed, that those who sat by virtue of this illegal Commission would maintain their own authority. The other part of the Bishop of *London*'s plea was, that he had obeyed the King's orders, as far as he legally could do; for he had obliged *Dr. Sharp* to act as a man that was suspended; but that he could not lay an Ecclesiastical censure

on



on any of his Clergy without a process, and articles, and some proof brought. This was justified by the constant practice of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and by the judgment of all lawyers. But arguments, how strong soever, are feeble things, when a sentence is resolved on before the cause is heard. So it was proposed, that he should be suspended during the King's pleasure. The Lord Chancellor and the poor-spirited Bishop of *Duresme* were for this: But the Earl, and Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, were for acquitting him. There was not so much as a colour of law to support the sentence: So none could be given.

But the King was resolved to carry this point, and spoke roundly about it to the Earl of *Rocheſter*. He saw he must either concur in the sentence, or part with the White Staff. So he yielded. And the Bishop was suspended *ab officio*. They did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the lawyers had settled that point, that benefices were of the nature of freeholds. So, if the sentence had gone to the temporalties, the Bishop would have had the matter tried over again in the King's Bench, where he was like to find good justice, *Herbert* not being satisfied with the legality and justice of the sentence. While this matter was in dependance, the Princess of *Orange* thought it became her to interpose a little in the Bishop's favour. He had confirmed, and married her. So she wrote to the King, earnestly begging him to be gentle to the Bishop, who she could not think would offend willingly. She also wrote to the Bishop, expressing the great share she took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the same purpose. The King wrote an answer to the Princess, reflecting severely on the Bishop, not without some sharpness on her for meddling in such matters. Yet the Court seemed uneasy, when they saw they had gained so poor a victory: For now the Bishop was more considered than ever. His Clergy, for all the suspension, were really more governed by the secret intimations of his pleasure, than they had been by his authority before. So they resolved to come off as well as they could. Dr. *Sharp* was admitted to offer a general petition, importing how sorry he was to find himself under the King's displeasure: Upon which he was dismissed with a gentle reprimand, and suffered to return to the exercise of his function. According to the form of the Ecclesiastical Courts, a person under such a suspension must make a submission within six months:

And was  
suspended  
by it.



1686 Otherwise he may be proceeded against as obstinate. So, six months after the sentence, the Bishop sent a petition to the King, desiring to be restored to the exercise of his Episcopal function. But he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it stopt all further proceedings: Only the suspension lay still on him. I have laid all this matter together, tho' the progress of it ran into the year eighty seven.

Affairs in  
Scotland.

Affairs in *Scotland* went on much at the same rate as they did in *England*. Some few profelytes were gained. But as they were very few, so they could do little service to the side to which they joined themselves. The Earl of *Perth* prevailed with his Lady, as she was dying, to change her religion. And in a very few weeks after her death he married very indecently a sister of the Duke of *Gordon's*. They were first cousins: And yet without staying for a dispensation from *Rome* they ventured on a marriage, upon the assurances that they said their Confessor gave them that it would be easily obtained. But Pope *Innocent* was a stiff man, and did not grant those things easily: So that Cardinal *Howard* could not at first obtain it. The Pope said, these were strange converts, that would venture on such a thing without first obtaining a dispensation. The Cardinal pretended, that new converts did not so soon understand the laws of the Church: But he laid before the Pope the ill consequences of offending converts of such importance. So he prevailed at last, not without great difficulty. The Earl of *Perth* set up a private Chapel in the Court for Mass, which was not kept so private, but that many frequented it.

A tumult at  
*Edenburgh*.

The Town of *Edenburgh* was much alarmed at this. And the rabble broke in with such fury, that they defaced every thing in the Chapel. And if the Earl of *Perth* had not been conveyed away in disguise, he had very probably fallen a sacrifice to popular rage. The guards upon the alarm came, and dispersed the rabble. Some were taken: And one that was a ringleader in the tumult was executed for it. When he was at the place of execution, he told one of the Ministers of the Town, that was with him assisting him with his prayers, that he was offered his life, if he would accuse the Duke of *Queensborough*, as the person that had set on the tumult, but he would not save his life by so false a calumny. Mr. *Macom*, the Minister, was an honest but weak man. So, when the criminal charged him to make this discovery, he



did not call any of those who were present to bear witness of it: But in the simplicity of his heart he went from the execution to the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, and told him what had past. The Archbishop acquainted the Duke of *Queensborough* with it. And he writ to Court, and complained of it. The King ordered the matter to be examined. So the poor Minister, having no witness to attest what the criminal had said to him, was declared the forger of that calumny. And upon that he was turned out. But how severely soever those in authority may handle a poor incautious man, yet the publick is apt to judge true. And, in this case, as the Minister's weakness and misfortune was pitied, so the Earl of *Pertb's* malice and treachery was as much detested.

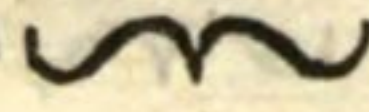
In summer this year, the Earl of *Murray*, another new convert, was sent the King's Commissioner to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, and to try if it would be more compliant than the *English* Parliament had been. The King did by his letter recommend to them in very earnest words the taking off all penal laws and tests relating to religion. And all possible methods were used to prevail on a majority. But two accidents happen'd before the opening the Parliament, which made great impression on the minds of many.

A Parliament held there.

*Whitford*, son to one of their Bishops before the wars, had turned a Papist. He was the person that killed *Daristlaus* in *Holland*. And, that he might get out of *Cromwell's* reach, he had gone into the Duke of *Savoy's* service; and was there when the last massacre was committed on the *Vaudois*. He had committed many barbarous murders with his own hands, and had a small pension given him after the Restoration. He died a few days before the Parliament met; and called for some Ministers, and to them declared his forsaking of Popery, and his abhorrence of it for its cruelty. He said, he had been guilty of some execrable murders in *Piedmont*, both of women and children, which had pursued him with an intolerable horror of mind ever after that. He had gone to Priests of all sorts, the strictest as well as the easiest: And they had justified him in what he had done, and had given him absolution. But his conscience pursued him so, that he died as in despair, crying out against that bloody religion.

The other was more solemn. Sir *Robert Sibbald*, a Doctor of physick, and the most learned antiquary in *Scotland*, who had



1686  had lived in a course of philosophical vertue, but in great doubts as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the Earl of *Perth* to turn Papist, in hopes to find that certainty among them, which he could not arrive at upon his own principles. But he had no sooner done this, than he began to be ashamed that he had made such a step upon so little enquiry. So he went to *London*, and retired for some months from all company, and went into a deep course of study, by which he came to see into the errors of Popery, with so full a conviction that he came down to *Scotland* some weeks before the Parliament, and could not be at quiet till he had published his recantation openly in a Church. The Bishop of *Edenburgh* was so much a Courtier, that, apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might give offence at Court, he sent him to do it in a Church in the Country. But the recantation of so learned a man, upon so much study, had a great effect upon many.

*Rosse* and *Paterfon*, the two governing Bishops, resolved to let the King see how compliant they would be. And they procured an address to be signed by several of their Bench, offering to concur with the King in all that he desired with relation to those of his own religion, (for the courtly stile now was not to name Popery any other way than by calling it the King's religion,) providing the laws might still continue in force and be executed against the Presbyterians. With this *Paterfon* was sent up. He communicated the matter to the Earl of *Middleton*, who advised him never to shew that paper: It would be made use of against them, and render them odious: And the King and all his Priests were so sensible that it was an indecent thing for them to pretend to any special favour, that they were resolved to move for nothing but a general toleration. And so he persuaded him to go back without presenting it. This was told me by one who had it from the Earl himself.

Which refused to comply with the King's desires.

When the session of Parliament was opened, Duke *Hamilton* was silent in the debate. He promised, he would not oppose the motion: But he would not be active to promote it. The Duke of *Queensborough* was also silent: But the King was made believe that he managed the opposition under hand. *Rosse* and *Paterfon* did so entirely forget what became their characters, that they used their utmost endeavours to persuade the Parliament to comply with the King's desire. The Archbishop of *Glasgow* opposed it, but fearfully.



fully. The Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Bruce*, did it openly and resolutely: And so did the Bishop of *Galloway*. The rest were silent, but were resolved to vote for the continuance of the laws. Such was the meanness of most of the Nobility, and of the other members, that few did hope that a resistance to the Court could be maintained. Yet the Parliament would consent to nothing, further than to a suspension of those laws during the King's life. The King despised this. So the session was put off, and the Parliament was quickly dissolved. And, soon after that, both the Archbishop of *Glasgow* and the Bishop of *Dunkeld* were turned out by an express command from the King. And *Paterfon* was made Archbishop of *Glasgow*. And one *Hamilton*, noted for profaneness and impiety, that sometimes broke out into blasphemy, was made Bishop of *Dunkeld*. No reason was assigned for turning out those Bishops, but the King's pleasure.

The Nation, which was become very corrupt, and both ignorant and insensible in the matters of religion, began now to return to its old zeal against Popery. Few professy-  
A zeal appeared there against Popery.  
 tytes were made after this. The Episcopal Clergy were in many places so sunk into sloth and ignorance, that they were not capable of conducting this zeal. Some of them about *Edenburgh*, and in divers other places, began to mind those matters, and recovered some degrees of credit by the opposition they made to Popery. But the Presbyterians, tho' they were now freed from the great severities they had long smarted under, yet expressed on all occasions their unconquerable aversion to Popery. So the Court was soon convinced, that they were not to be depended on.

But, what opposition soever the King met with in the isle of *Britain*, things went on more to his mind in *Ireland*.  
Affairs in Ireland.  
 The Earl of *Clarendon* upon his first coming over gave publick and positive assurances, that the King would maintain their Act of Settlement. This he did very often, and very solemnly; and proceeded accordingly. In the mean while the Earl of *Tirconnel* went on more roundly. He not only put *Irish* Papists in such posts in the Army as became void, but upon the slightest pretences he broke the *English* Protestant officers to make room for the others: And in conclusion, without so much as pretending a colour for it, he turned them all out. And now an Army, paid by vertue of the Act of Settlement to secure it, was wrested out of legal hands, and put in the hands of those who were  
 8 L engaged



1686 engaged both in religion and interest to destroy the Settlement, and those concerned in it; which was too gross a violation of law to be in any sort palliated. So the *English* Protestants of *Ireland* looked on themselves as at mercy, since the Army was now made up of their enemies. And all that the Lord Lieutenant, or the Lord Chancellor, could say did not quiet their fears: Good words could not give security against such deeds as they saw every day. Upon this the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Earl of *Tirconnell* fell into perpetual jarrings, and were making such complaints one of another, that the King resolved to put an end to those disorders by recalling both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter*. He made the Earl of *Tirconnell* Lord Lieutenant, and *Fitton* Lord Chancellor, who were both not only professed but zealous Papists. *Fitton* knew no other law but the King's pleasure.

This struck all people there with great terror, when a man of *Tirconnell's* temper, so entirely trusted and depended on by the *Irish*, capable of the boldest undertakings, and of the cruelest execution, had now the government put so entirely in his hands. The Papists of *England* either dissembled very artfully, or they were much troubled at this, which gave so great an alarm every where. It was visible, that Father *Peter* and the Jesuits were resolved to engage the King so far, that matters should be put past all retreating and compounding; that so the King might think no more of governing by Parliament, but by a military force; and, if that should not stick firm to him, by assistance from *France*, and by an *Irish* Army.

The King  
made his  
mistress  
Countess of  
*Dorchester*.

An accident happen'd at this time, that gave the Queen great offence, and put the Priests much out of countenance. The King continued to go still to Mrs. *Sidley*. And she gained so much on him, that at last she prevailed to be made Countess of *Dorchester*. As soon as the Queen heard of this, she gave order to bring all the Priests, that were admitted to a particular confidence, into her closet. And, when she had them about her, she sent to desire the King to come and speak to her. When he came, he was surprised to see such a company about her, but much more when they fell all on their knees before him. And the Queen broke out into a bitter mourning for this new honour, which they expected would be followed with the setting her up openly as mistress. The Queen was then in an ill habit of body; and had an illness that, as was thought, would end in a consumption.



sumption. And it was believed that her sickness was of such a nature, that it gave a very melancholy presage, that, if she should live, she could have no children. The Priests said to the King, that a blemish in his life blasted their designs: And the more it appeared, and the longer it was continued, the more ineffectual all their endeavours would prove. The King was much moved with this, and was out of countenance for what he had done. But, to quiet them all, he promised them, that he would see the Lady no more; and pretended, that he gave her this title in order to the breaking with her the more decently. And, when the Queen did not seem to believe this, he promised that he would send her to *Ireland*, which was done accordingly. But, after a stay there for some months, she came over again: And that ill commerce was still continued. The Priests were no doubt the more apprehensive of this, because she was bold and lively, and was always treating them and their proceedings with great contempt.

The Court was now much set on making of converts; which failed in most instances, and produced repartees, that, whether true or false, were much repeated, and were heard with great satisfaction.

The Earl of *Mulgrave* was Lord Chamberlain. He was apt to comply in every thing that he thought might be acceptable; for he went with the King to Mass, and kneeled at it. And, being looked on as indifferent to all religions, the Priests made an attack on him. He heard them gravely arguing for transubstantiation. He told them, he was willing to receive instruction: He had taken much pains to bring himself to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it: But it must not be an ordinary force of argument, that could make him believe, that man was quits with God, and made God again.

Attempts made on many to change their religion.

The Earl of *Middleton* had married into a Popish family, and was a man of great parts and a generous temper, but of loose principles in religion. So a Priest was sent to instruct him. He began with transubstantiation, of which he said he would convince him immediately: And began thus, You believe the Trinity. *Middleton* stopt him, and said, Who told you so? At which he seemed amazed. So the Earl said, he expected he should convince him of his belief, but not question him of his own. With this the Priest was so disordered, that he could proceed no further. One day the King gave the Duke of *Norfolk* the sword of State to carry before



1686 before him to the Chapel: And he stood at the door. Upon which the King said to him, My Lord, your father would have gone further: To which the Duke answered, Your Majesty's father was the better man, and he would not have gone so far. *Kirk* was also spoken to, to change his religion; and replied briskly, that he was already pre-engaged, for he had promised the King of *Morocco*, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

Particularly  
on the Earl  
of *Rochester*.

But the person that was the most considered, was the Earl of *Rochester*. He told me, that upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* defeat the King did so immediately turn to other measures, that, tho' before that the King talked to him of all his affairs with great freedom, and commonly every morning of the business that was to be done that day, yet the very day after his execution the King changed his method, and never talked more to him of any business, but what concerned the Treasury: So that, he saw, he had now no more the root he formerly had. He was looked on, as so much united to the Clergy, that the Papists were all set against him. He had, in a want of money, procured a considerable loan, by which he was kept in his post longer than was intended. At last, as he related the matter to me, the King spoke to him, and desired he would suffer himself to be instructed in religion. He answered, he was fully satisfied about his religion. But upon the King's pressing it, that he would hear his Priests, he said, he desired then to have some of the *English* Clergy present, to which the King consented: Only he excepted to *Tillotson*, and *Stillingfleet*. Lord *Rochester* said, he would take those who should happen to be in waiting; for the forms of the Chapel were still kept up. And Doctor *Patrick* and *Jane* were the men. Upon this a day was set for the conference.

But his enemies had another story. He had notice given him, that he would shortly lose the White Staff: Upon which his Lady, who was then sick, wrote to the Queen, and begged she would honour her so far as to come, and let her have some discourse with her. The Queen came, and staid above two hours with her. She complained of the ill offices that were done them. The Queen said, all the Protestants were now turning against them, so that they knew not how they could trust any of them. Upon which that Lady said, her Lord was not so wedded to any opinion, as not to be ready to be better instructed. And it was said, that this gave the rise to the King's proposing a conference: For



it has been observed to be a common method of making profelytes with the more pomp, to propose a conference: But this was generally done, after they were well assured, that, let the conference go which way it might, the person's decision for whom it was appointed should be on their side. The Earl denied, he knew any thing of all this to me: And his Lady died not long after. It was further said by his enemies, that the day before the conference he had an advertisement from a sure hand, that nothing he could do would maintain him in his post, and that the King had engaged himself to put the Treasury in commission, and to bring some of the Popish Lords into it. *Patrick* told me, that at the conference there was no occasion for them to say much.

1686  
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The Priests began the attack. And, when they had done, the Earl said, if they had nothing stronger to urge, he would not trouble those learned Gentlemen to say any thing: For he was sure he could answer all that he had heard. And so answered it all with much heat and spirit, not without some scorn, saying, were these grounds to persuade men to change their religion? This he urged over and over again with great vehemence. The King, seeing in what temper he was, broke off the conference, charging all that were present to say nothing of it.

Soon after that he lost his White Staff; but had a pension of 4000 *l.* a year for his own life and his son's, besides his grant upon the Lord Grey, and another valued at 20000 *l.* So here were great regards had to him: No place having ever been sold, even by a person in favour, to such advantage. The sum that he had procured to be lent the King being 400000 *l.* and it being all ordered to go towards the repair of the Fleet, this began to be much talked of. The stores were very ill furnished: And the vessels themselves were in decay. But now orders were given, with great dispatch to put the whole Fleet in condition to go to sea, tho' the King was then in full peace with all his neighbours. Such preparations seemed to be made upon some great design.

He was  
turned out.

The Priests said every where, but chiefly at *Rome*, that the design was against the States; and that both *France* and *England* would make war on them all of the sudden; for it was generally known that the *Dutch* fleet was in no good condition. The interests of *France* and of the Priests made this to be the more easily believed. The embroiling the King with the Prince of *Orange* was that which the *French* desired above all other things, hoping that such a war, being

Designs  
talked of  
against Hol-  
land.



1686  successful, might put the King on excluding the Prince from the succession to the Crown in the right of his wife, which was the thing that both the *French* and the Priests desired most: For they saw that, unless the Queen had a son, all their designs must stand still at present, and turn abortive in conclusion, as long as the Nation had such a successor in view.

I staid some  
time in  
*Geneva*.

This carries me now to open the state of affairs in *Holland*, and at the Prince of *Orange's* Court. I must first say somewhat of my self: For this summer, after I had rambled above a year, I came into *Holland*. I staid three or four months in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, after I came out of *Italy*. I staid also some time among the *Lutherans* at *Strasbourg* and *Frankfort*, and among the *Calvinists* at *Heidleberg*, besides the further opportunities I had to know their way in *Holland*. I made it my business to observe all their methods, and to know all the eminent men among them. I saw the Churches of *France* in their best state, while they were every day looking when this dreadful storm should break out, which has scattered them up and down the world. I was all the winter at *Geneva*, where we had constantly fresh stories brought us of the miseries of those who were suffering in *France*. Refugees were coming over every day poor, and naked, and half starved before they got thither. And that small State was under great apprehensions of being swallowed up, having no strength of their own, and being justly afraid that those at *Bern* would grow weary of defending them, if they should be vigorously attacked. The rest of *Switzerland* was not in such imminent danger. But, as they were full of Refugees, and all sermons and discourses were much upon the persecution in *France*, so *Basile* was exposed in such manner, that the *French* could possess themselves of it when they pleased, without the least resistance. Those of *Strasbourg*, as they have already lost their liberty, so they were every day looking for some fatal edict, like that which the *French* had fallen under. The Churches of the *Palatinate*, as they are now the frontier of the Empire, exposed to be destroyed by every new war, so they are fallen into the hands of a bigotted family. All the other Churches on the *Rhine* see how near they are to ruine. And as the United Provinces were a few years before this very near being swallowed up, so they were now well assured that two great Kings designed to ruin them.

Under



Under so cloudy a prospect it should be expected, that a spirit of true devotion and of a real reformation should appear more, both among the Clergy and Laity; that they should all apprehend that God was highly offended with them, and was therefore punishing some, and threatening others, in a most unusual manner. It might have been expected, that those unhappy contests between *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, *Arminians* and *Anti-Arminians*, with some minuter disputes that have enflamed *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, should have been at least suspended while they had a common enemy to deal with, against whom their whole force united was scarce able to stand. But these things were carried on rather with more eagerness and sharpness than ever. It is true, there has appeared much of a primitive charity towards the *French Refugees*: They have been in all places well received, kindly treated, and bountifully supplied. Yet even among them there did not appear a spirit of piety and devotion suitable to their condition: Tho' persons who have willingly suffered the loss of all things, and have forsaken their country, their houses, estates, and their friends, and some of them their nearest relations, rather than sin against their consciences, must be believed to have a deeper principle in them, than can well be observed by others.

1686  
The state  
and temper I  
observed a-  
mong the  
Reformed.

I was indeed amazed at the labours and learning of the Ministers among the Reformed. They understood the Scriptures well in the original tongues: They had all the points of controversy very ready, and did thoroughly understand the whole body of divinity. In many places they preached every day, and were almost constantly employed in visiting their flock. But they performed their devotions but slightly, and read their prayers, which were too long, with great precipitation and little zeal. Their sermons were too long and too dry. And they were so strict, even to jealousy, in the smallest points in which they put orthodoxy, that one who could not go into all their notions, but was resolved not to quarrel with them, could not converse much with them with any freedom. I have, upon all the observation that I have made, often considered the inward state of the Reformation, and the decay of the vitals of Christianity in it, as that which gives more melancholy impressions, than all the outward dangers that surround it.

In *England* things were much changed, with relation to the Court, in the compass of a year. The terror all people were under from an ill chosen and an ill constituted Parliament,



1686 Parliament was now almost over: And the Clergy were come to their wits, and were beginning to recover their reputation. The Nation was like to prove much firmer than could have been expected, especially in so short a time. Yet after all, tho' many were like to prove themselves better Protestants than was looked for, they were not become much better Christians: And few were turning to a stricter course of life: Nor were the Clergy more diligent in their labours among their people, in which respect it must be confessed that the *English* Clergy are the most remiss of any. The Curates in Popery, besides their saying Mass every day, their exactness to their breviary, their attending on confessions and the multiplicity of offices to which they are obliged, do so labour in instructing the youth and visiting the sick, that, in all the places in which I could observe them, it seemed to be the constant employment of their lives: And in the foreign Churches, tho' the labours of the Ministers may seem mean, yet they are perpetually in them. All these things lay so much on my thoughts, that I was resolved to retire into some private place, and to spend the rest of my life in a course of stricter piety and devotion, and in writing such books, as the state of matters with relation to religion should call for, whether in points of speculation or practice. All my friends advised my coming near *England*, that I might be easier sent to, and informed of all our affairs, and might accordingly employ my thoughts and time. So I came down the *Rhine* this summer; and was resolved to have settled in *Groning* or *Frizeland*.

I was invited by the Prince of *Orange* to come to the *Hague*.

When I came to *Utrecht*, I found letters writ to me by some of the Prince of *Orange's* Court, desiring me to come first to the *Hague*, and wait on the Prince and Princess, before I should settle any where. Upon my coming to the *Hague*, I was admitted to wait on them. I found they had received such characters of me from *England*, that they resolved to treat me with great confidence: For, at my first being with them, they entred into much free discourse with me concerning the affairs of *England*. The Prince, tho' naturally cold and reserved, yet laid aside a great deal of that with me. He seemed highly dissatisfied with the King's conduct. He apprehended that he would give such jealousies of himself, and come under such jealousies from his people, that these would throw him into a *French* management, and engage him into such desperate designs as would force violent remedies. There was a gravity in his whole deportment that struck me. He

seemed



seemed very regardless of himself, and not apt to suspect designs upon his person. But I had learned somewhat of the design of a brutal *Savoyard*, who was capable of the blackest things, and who for a foul murder had fled into the territory of *Geneva*, where he lay hid in a very worthy family, to whom he had done some services before. He had formed a scheme of seizing on the Prince, who used to go in his chariot often on the sands near *Schevling* with but one person with him, and a page or two on the chariot. So he offered to go in a small vessel of twenty guns, that should lie at some distance at sea, and to land in a boat with seven persons besides himself, and to seize on the Prince, and bring him aboard, and so to *France*. This he wrote to Mr. *de Louvoy*, who upon that wrote to him to come to *Paris*, and ordered money for his journey. He, being a talking man, spoke of this, and shewed Mr. *de Louvoy's* letter, and the copy of his own: And he went presently to *Paris*. This was brought me by Mr. *Fatio*, the celebrated mathematician, in whose father's house that person had lodged. When I told the Prince this, and had Mr. *Fatio* at the *Hague* to attest it, he was not much moved at it. The Princess was more apprehensive. And by her direction I acquainted Mr. *Fagell*, and some others of the States, with it, who were convinced that the thing was practicable. And so the States desired the Prince to suffer himself to be constantly attended on by a guard when he went abroad, with which he was not without some difficulty brought to comply. I fancied his belief of predestination made him more adventurous than was necessary. But he said as to that, he firmly believed a providence: For if he should let that go, all his religion would be much shaken: And he did not see, how providence could be certain, if all things did not arise out of the absolute will of God. I found those who had the charge of his education had taken more care to possess him with the Calvinistical notions of absolute decrees, than to guard him against the ill effects of those opinions in practice: For in *Holland* the main thing the Ministers infuse into their people is an abhorrence of the *Arminian* doctrine, which spreads so much there, that their jealousies of it make them look after that, more than after the most important matters.

The Prince had been much neglected in his education: For all his life long he hated constraint. He spoke little. He put on some appearance of application: But he hated business of all sorts. Yet he hated talking, and all house games, more. This put him on a perpetual course of hunting, to which he seemed to give himself up, beyond any man I ever knew: But I looked on that always, as a flying from company and business. The

A character  
of the Prince  
and Princess  
of *Orange*.



1686 depression of *France* was the governing passion of his whole life. He had no vice, but of one sort, in which he was very cautious and secret. He had a way that was affable and obliging to the *Dutch*. But he could not bring himself to comply enough with the temper of the *English*, his coldness and slowness being very contrary to the genius of the Nation.

The Princess possessed all that conversed with her with admiration. Her person was majestick and created respect. She had great knowledge, with a true understanding, and a noble expression. There was a sweetness in her deportment that charmed, and an exactness in piety and of vertue that made her a pattern to all that saw her. The King gave her no appointments to support the dignity of a King's daughter. Nor did he send her any presents or jewels, which was thought a very indecent, and certainly was a very ill advised thing. For the settling an allowance for her and the Prince, would have given such a jealousy of them, that the *English* would have apprehended a secret correspondence and confidence between them: And the not doing it shewed the contrary very evidently. But, tho' the Prince did not increase her Court and State upon this additional dignity, she managed her Privy Purse so well, that she became eminent in her charities: And the good grace with which she bestowed favours did always encrease their value. She had read much, both in history and divinity. And when a course of humours in her eyes forced her from that, she set her self to work with such a constant diligence, that she made the Ladies about her ashamed to be idle. She knew little of our affairs, till I was admitted to wait on her. And I began to lay before her the state of our Court, and the intrigues in it, ever since the Restoration; which she received with great satisfaction, and shewed true judgment, and a good mind, in all the reflections that she made. I will only mention one in this place: She asked me, what had sharpened the King so much against Mr. *Jurieu*, the copiouslest and the most zealous writer of the age, who wrote with great vivacity as well as learning. I told her, he mixed all his books with a most virulent acrimony of stile, and among other things he had writ with great indecency of *Mary Queen of Scots*, which cast reflections on them that were descended from her; and was not very decent in one that desired to be considered as zealous for the Prince and herself. She said, *Jurieu* was to support the cause that he defended, and to expose those that persecuted it, in the best way he could. And, if what he said of *Mary Queen of Scots* was true, he was not to be blamed, who made that use of it: And, she added, that if Princes would do ill things, they must expect that the world will take revenges on their memory, since they



they cannot reach their persons: That was but a small suffering, far short of what others suffered at their hands. So far I have given the character of those persons, as it appeared to me upon my first admittance to them. I shall have occasion to say much more of them in the sequel of this work.

I found the Prince was resolved to make use of me. He told me, it would not be convenient for me to live any where but at the *Hague*: For none of the outlawed persons came thither. So I would keep my self by staying there out of the danger that I might legally incur by conversing with them, which would be unavoidable if I lived any where else. He also recommended me both to *Fagell*, *Dykvelt*, and *Halewyn's* confidence, with whom he chiefly consulted. I had a mind to see a little into the Prince's notions, before I should engage my self deeper into his service. I was afraid lest his struggle with the *Louvestein* party, as they were called, might have given him a jealousy of liberty and of a free government. He assured me, it was quite the contrary: Nothing but such a constitution could resist a powerful aggressor long, or have the credit that was necessary to raise such sums, as a great war might require. He condemned all the late proceedings in *England* with relation to the Charters, and expressed his sense of a legal and limited authority very fully. I told him, I was such a friend to liberty, that I could not be satisfied with the point of religion alone, unless it was accompanied with the securities of law. I asked his sense of the Church of *England*. He said, he liked our worship well, and our government in the Church, as much better than parity: But he blamed our condemning the foreign Churches, as he had observed some of our Divines did. I told him, whatever some hotter men might say, all were not of that mind. When he found I was in my opinion for toleration, he said, that was all he would ever desire to bring us to, for quieting our contentions at home. He also promised to me, that he should never be prevailed with to set up the Calvinistical notions of the decrees of God, to which I did imagine some might drive him. He wished, some of our ceremonies, such as the Surplice, and the Cross in Baptism, with our bowing to the Altar, might be laid aside. I thought it necessary to enter with him into all these particulars, that so I might be furnished from his own mouth to give a full account of his sense to some in *England*, who would expect it of me, and were disposed to believe what I should assure them of. This discourse was of some hours continuance: And it past in the Princess's presence. Great notice came to be taken of the free access and long conferences I had with them both. I told him, it was necessary for his service to put the fleet of *Holland* in a good condition.

And

I was much  
trusted by  
them.

The Prince's  
sense of our  
affairs.



1686 And this he proposed soon after to the States, who gave the hundredth penny for a fund to perfect that. I moved to them both, the writing to the Bishop of *London*, and to the King concerning him. And, tho' the Princess feared it might irritate the King too much, in conclusion I persuaded them to it.

The King, hearing of this admission I had, began in two or three letters to reflect on me, as a dangerous man, whom they ought to avoid and beware of. To this no answer was made. Upon the setting up the Ecclesiastical Commission, some from *England* pressed them to write over against it, and to begin a breach upon that. I told them, I thought that was no way advisable: They could not be supposed to understand our laws so well, as to oppose those things on their own knowledge: So that, I thought, this could not be expected by them, till some resolute person would dispute the authority of the Court, and bring it to an argument, and so to a solemn decision. I likewise said, that I did not think every error in government would warrant a breach: If the foundations were struck at, that would vary the case: But illegal acts in particular instances could not justify such a conclusion. The Prince seemed surprized at this: For the King made me pass for a rebel in my heart. And he now saw, how far I was from it. I continued on this ground to the last.

The  
Princess's  
resolution  
with respect  
to the  
Prince.

That which fixed me in their confidence was, the liberty I took, in a private conversation with the Princess, to ask her, what she intended the Prince should be, if she came to the Crown. She, who was new to all matters of that kind, did not understand my meaning, but fancied that whatever accrewed to her would likewise accrue to him in the right of marriage. I told her, it was not so: And I explained King *Henry* the seventh's title to her, and what had past when Queen *Mary* married *Philip* of *Spain*. I told her, a titular Kingship was no acceptable thing to a man, especially if it was to depend on another's life: And such a nominal dignity might endanger the real one that the Prince had in *Holland*. She desired me to propose a remedy. I told her, the remedy, if she could bring her mind to it, was to be contented to be his wife, and to engage herself to him, that she would give him the real authority as soon as it came into her hands, and endeavour effectually to get it to be legally vested in him during life: This would lay the greatest obligation on him possible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union between them, which had been of late a little embroiled: This would also give him another sense of all our affairs: I asked pardon for the presumption of moving her in such a tender point: But I solemnly protested, that no person living had moved me in it, or so much

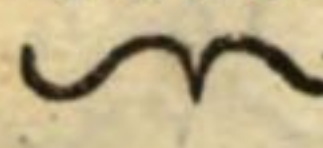


as knew of it, or should ever know of it, but as she should order it. I hoped, she would consider well of it: For, if she once declared her mind, I hoped she would never go back or retract it. I desired her therefore to take time to think of it. She presently answered me, she would take no time to consider of any thing by which she could express her regard and affection to the Prince; and ordered me to give him an account of all that I had laid before her, and to bring him to her, and I should hear what she would say upon it. He was that day a hunting: And next day I acquainted him with all that had past, and carried him to her; where she in a very frank manner told him, that she did not know that the laws of *England* were so contrary to the laws of God, as I had informed her: She did not think that the husband was ever to be obedient to the wife: She promised him, he should always bear rule: And she asked only, that he would obey the command of *husbands love your wives*, as she should do that, *wives be obedient to your husbands in all things*. From this lively introduction we engaged into a long discourse of the affairs of *England*. Both seemed well pleased with me, and with all that I had suggested. But such was the Prince's cold way, that he said not one word to me upon it, that looked like acknowledgment. Yet he spoke of it to some about him in another strain. He said, he had been nine years married, and had never the confidence to press this matter on the Queen, which I had now brought about easily in a day. Ever after that he seemed to trust me entirely.

Complaints came daily over from *England* of all the high things that the Priests were every where throwing out. *Pen* the Quaker came over to *Holland*. He was a talking vain man, who had been long in the King's favour, he being the Vice-Admiral's son. He had such an opinion of his own faculty of persuading, that he thought none could stand before it: Tho' he was singular in that opinion: For he had a tedious luscious way, that was not apt to overcome a man's reason, tho' it might tire his patience. He undertook to persuade the Prince to come into the King's measures, and had two or three long audiences of him upon the subject: And he and I spent some hours together on it. The Prince readily consented to a toleration of Popery, as well as of the Dissenters, provided it were proposed and passed in Parliament: And he promised his assistance, if there was need of it, to get it to pass. But for the Tests he would enter into no treaty about them. He said, it was a plain betraying the security of the Protestant Religion, to give them up. Nothing was left unsaid, that might move him to agree to this in the way of interest: The King would enter into an entire confidence with

*Pen* sent over to treat with the Prince.



1686  him, and would put his best friends in the chief trusts. *Pen* undertook for this so positively, that he seemed to believe it himself, or he was a great proficient in the art of dissimulation. Many suspected that he was a concealed Papist. It is certain, he was much with Father *Peter*, and was particularly trusted by the Earl of *Sunderland*. So, tho' he did not pretend any commission for what he promised, yet we looked on him as a man employed. To all this the Prince answered, that no man was more for toleration in principle, than he was: He thought the conscience was only subject to God: And as far as a general toleration, even of Papists, would content the King, he would concur in it heartily: But he looked on the Tests as such a real security, and indeed the only one, when the King was of another Religion, that he would join in no counsels with those that intended to repeal those laws that enacted them. *Pen* said, the King would have all or nothing: But that, if this was once done, the King would secure the toleration by a solemn and unalterable law. To this the late repeal of the edict of *Nantes*, that was declared perpetual and irrevocable, furnished an answer that admitted of no reply. So *Pen's* negotiation with the Prince had no effect.

He pressed me to go over to *England*, since I was in principle for toleration: And he assured me the King would prefer me highly. I told him, since the Tests must go with this toleration, I could never be for it. Among other discourses he told me one thing, that was not accomplished in the way in which he had a mind I should believe it would be, but had a more surprising accomplishment. He told me a long series of predictions, which, as he said, he had from a man that pretended a commerce with Angels, who had foretold many things that were past very punctually. But he added, that in the year 1688 there would such a change happen in the face of affairs as would amaze all the world. And after the Revolution, which happen'd that year, I asked him before much company, if that was the event that was predicted. He was uneasy at the question; but did not deny what he had told me, which, he said, he understood of the full settlement of the Nation upon a toleration, by which he believed all men's minds would be perfectly quieted and united.

Some Bishops died in *England*.

Now I go from this to prosecute the recital of *English* affairs. Two eminent Bishops died this year, *Pearson* Bishop of *Chester*, and *Fell* Bishop of *Oxford*. The first of these was in all respects the greatest Divine of the age: A man of great learning, strong reason, and of a clear judgment. He was a judicious and grave preacher, more instructive than affective; and a man of a spot-

less



less life, and of an excellent temper. His book on the Creed 1686 is among the best that our Church has produced. He was not active in his Diocese, but too remiss and easy in his Episcopal function; and was a much better Divine than a Bishop. He was a speaking instance of what a great man could fall to: For his memory went from him so entirely, that he became a child some years before he died.

*Fell*, Bishop of *Oxford*, was a man of great strictness in the course of his life, and of much devotion. His learning appears in that noble edition of *St. Cyprian* that he published. He had made great beginnings in learning before the Restoration: But his continued application to his employments after that stopt the progress that otherwise he might have made. He was made soon after Dean of *Christs-Church*, and afterwards Bishop of *Oxford*. He set himself to promote learning in the University, but most particularly in his own College, which he governed with great care: And was indeed in all respects a most exemplary man, a little too much heated in the matter of our disputes with the Dissenters. But, as he was among the first of our Clergy that apprehended the design of bringing in Popery, so he was one of the most zealous against it. He had much zeal for reforming abuses; and managed it perhaps with too much heat, and in too peremptory a way. But we have so little of that among us, that no wonder if such men are censured by those who love not such patterns, nor such severe talk-masters.

*Ward* of *Salisbury* fell also under a loss of memory and understanding: So, that he, who was both in Mathematicks and Philosophy, and in the strength of judgment and understanding, one of the first men of his time, tho' he came too late into our profession to become very eminent in it, was now a great instance of the despicable weakness to which man can fall. The Court intended once to have named a Coadjutor for him. But, there being no precedent for that since the Reformation, they resolved to stay till he should die.

The other two Bishopricks were less considerable: So they resolved to fill them with the two worst men that could be found out. *Cartwright* was promoted to *Chester*. He was a man of good capacity, and had made some progress in learning. He was ambitious and servile, cruel and boisterous: And, by the great liberties he allowed himself, he fell under much scandal of the worst sort. He had set himself long to raise the King's authority above law; which, he said, was only a method of government to which Kings might submit as they pleased; but their authority was from God, absolute and superior to law, which they might exert, as oft as they found it necessary for the ends

*Cartwright*  
and *Parker*  
promoted.



1686 ends of government. So he was looked on as a man that would more effectually advance the design of Popery, than if he should turn over to it. And indeed, bad as he was, he never made that step, even in the most desperate state of his affairs.

The See of *Oxford* was given to Dr. *Parker*, who was a violent Independent at the time of the Restoration, with a high profession of piety in their way. But he soon changed, and struck into the highest form of the Church of *England*; and wrote many books with a strain of contempt and fury against all the Dissenters, that provoked them out of measure; of which an account was given in the history of the former reign. He had exalted the King's authority in matters of religion in so indecent a manner, that he condemned the ordinary form of saying the King was under God and Christ, as a crude and profane expression; saying, that tho' the King was indeed under God, yet he was not under Christ, but above him. Yet, not being preferred as he expected, he writ after that many books on design to raise the authority of the Church to an independance on the Civil power. There was an entertaining liveliness in all his books: But it was neither grave nor correct. He was a covetous and ambitious man; and seemed to have no other sense of religion but as a political interest, and a subject of party and faction. He seldom came to prayers, or to any exercises of devotion; and was so lifted up with pride, that he was become insufferable to all that came near him. These two men were pitched on, as the fittest instruments that could be found among all the Clergy, to betray and ruin the Church. Some of the Bishops brought to Archbishop *Sancroft* articles against them, which they desired he would offer to the King in Council, and pray that the Mandate for consecrating them might be delayed, till time were given to examine particulars. And Bishop *Lloyd* told me, that *Sancroft* promised to him not to consecrate them, till he had examined the truth of the articles; of which some were too scandalous to be repeated. Yet, when *Sancroft* saw what danger he might incur, if he were sued in a *Premunire*, he consented to consecrate them.

The Deanry of *Christs-Church*, the most important post in the University, was given to *Masse*, one of the new converts, tho' he had neither the gravity, the learning, nor the age that was suitable to such a dignity. But all was supplied by his early conversion: And it was set up for a maxim, to encourage all converts. He at first went to prayers in the Chapel. But soon after he declared himself more openly. Not long after this the President of *Magdalen* College died. That is esteemed the richest foundation in *England*, perhaps in *Europe*: For, tho' their



certain rents are but about 4 or 5000 *l.* yet it is thought that the improved value of the estate belonging to it is about 40000 *l.* So it was no wonder that the Priests studied to get this endowment into their hands. 1686

They had endeavoured to break in upon the University of *Cambridge* in a matter of less importance, but without success: And now they resolved to attack *Oxford*, by a strange fatality in their counsels. In all nations the privileges of Colleges and Universities are esteemed such sacred things, that few will venture to dispute these, much less to disturb them, when their title is good, and their possession is of a long continuance: For in these, not only the present body espouses the matter; but all who have been of it, even those that have only followed their study in it, think themselves bound in honour and gratitude to assist and support them. The Priests began where they ought to have ended, when all other things were brought about to their mind. The Jesuits fancied, that, if they could get footing in the University, they would gain such a reputation by their methods of teaching youth, that they would carry them away from the University tutors, who were certainly too remiss. Some of the more moderate among them proposed, that the King should endow a new College in both Universities, which needed not have cost above two thousand pound a year, and in these set his Priests to work. But either the King stuck at the charge which this would put him to, or his Priests thought it too mean and below his dignity not to lay his hand upon those great bodies: So rougher methods were resolved on. It was reckoned, that by frightening them they might be driven to compound the matter, and deliver up one or two Colleges to them: And then, as the King said sometimes in the circle, they who taught best would be most followed.

They began with *Cambridge* upon a softer point, which yet would have made way for all the rest. The King sent his letter, or *Mandamus*, to order *F. Francis*, an ignorant Benedictine Monk, to be received a Master of Arts; once to open the way for letting them into the degrees of the University. The truth is, the King's letters were scarce ever refused in conferring degrees: And when Embassadors or foreign Princes came to those places, they usually gave such degrees to those who belonged to them as were desired. The *Morocco* Embassador's Secretary, that was a Mahometan, had that degree given him, but a great distinction was made between honorary degrees given to strangers, who intended not to live among them, and those given to such as intended to settle among them: For every Master of Arts having a vote in the Convocation, they reckoned, that, if they

The King's  
letter re-  
fused in  
*Cambridge*.



1686 gave this degree, they must give all that should be pretended to on the like authority: And they knew, all the King's Priests would be let in upon them, which might occasion in present great distraction and contentions among them; and in time they might grow to be a majority in the Convocation, which is their Parliament. They refused the *Mandamus* with great unanimity, and with a firmness that the Court had not expected from them. New and repeated orders, full of severe threatenings in case of disobedience, were sent to them: And this piece of raillery was every where set up, that a Papist was reckoned worse than a Mahometan, and that the King's letters were less considered than the Embassador from *Morocco* had been. Some feeble or false men of the University tried to compound the matter, by granting this degree to *F. Francis*, but enacting at the same time, that it should not be a precedent for the future for any other of the like nature. This was not given way to: For it was said, that in all such cases the obedience that was once paid would be a much stronger argument for continuing to do it, as oft as it should be desired, than any such proviso could be against it.

The Vice-Chancellor turned out by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Upon this the Vice-Chancellor was summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission to answer this contempt. He was a very honest, but a very weak man. He made a poor defence. And it was no small reflection on that great body, that their chief Magistrate was so little able to assert their privileges, or to justify their proceedings. He was treated with great contempt by *Jefferies*. But he having acted only as the chief person of that body, all that was thought fit to be done against him was, to turn him out of his office. That was but an annual office, and of no profit: So this was a slight censure, chiefly when it was all that followed on such heavy threatenings. The University chose another Vice-Chancellor, who was a man of much spirit: And in his speech, which in course he made upon his being chosen, he promised, that, during his magistracy, neither religion, nor the rights of the body, should suffer by his means. The Court did not think fit to insist more upon this matter; which was too plain a confession, either of their weakness in beginning such an ill grounded attempt, or of their feebleness in letting it fall, doing so little, after they had talked so much about it. And now all people began to see, that they had taken wrong measures of the King, when they thought that it would be easy to engage him into bold things, before he could see into the ill consequences that might attend them, but that being once engaged he would resolve to go through with them at all adventures. When I knew him,

he



he seemed to have set up that for a maxim, that a King when he made a step was never to go back, nor to encourage faction and disobedience by yielding to it. 1686

After this unsuccessful attempt upon *Cambridge*, another was made upon *Oxford*, that lasted longer and had greater effects; which I shall set all down together, tho' the conclusion of this affair ran far into the year after this that I now write of. The Presidentship of *Magdalen's* was given by the election of the Fellows. So the King sent a *Mandamus*, requiring them to choose one *Farmer*, an ignorant and vitious person, who had not one qualification that could recommend him to so high a post, besides that of changing his religion. *Mandamus* letters had no legal authority in them: But all the great preferments of the Church being in the King's disposal, those who did pretend to favour, were not apt to refuse his recommendation, lest that should be afterwards remembered to their prejudice. But now, since it was visible in what channel favour was like to run, less regard was had to such a letter. The Fellows of that house did upon this choose Dr. *Hough*, one of their body, who as he was in all respects a statutable man, so he was a worthy and a firm man, not apt to be threatned out of his right. They carried their election according to their statutes to the Bishop of *Winchester*, their Visitor: And he confirmed it. So that matter was legally settled. This was highly resented at Court. It was said, that, in case of a *Mandamus* for an undeserving man, they ought to have represented the matter to the King, and staid till they had his pleasure: It was one of the chief services that the Universities expected from their Chancellors, which made them always choose men of great credit at Court, that by their interest such letters might be either prevented or recalled. The Duke of *Ormond* was now their Chancellor: But he had little credit in the Court; and was declining in his age, which made him retire into the country. It was much observed, that this University, that had asserted the King's prerogative in the highest strains of the most abject flattery possible, both in their addresses, and in a wild decree they had made but three years before this, in which they had laid together a set of such high flown maxims as must establish an uncontrollable tyranny, should be the first body of the Nation that should feel the effects of it most sensibly. The cause was brought before the Ecclesiastical Commission. The Fellows were first asked, why they had not chosen *Farmer* in obedience to the King's letter? And to that they answered, by offering a list of many just exceptions against him. The subject was fruitful, and the scandals he had given were very publick. The Court was ashamed of him, and insisted no more

An attempt  
to impose a  
Popish Presi-  
dent on  
*Magdalen*  
College.

new hat  
bent up his  
head



1686 more on him: But they said, that the House ought to have shew-  
ed more respect to the King's letter, than to have proceeded  
to an election in contempt of it.

They diso-  
bey, and are  
censured for  
it.

The Ecclesiastical Commission took upon them to declare  
*Hough's* election null, and to put the House under suspension.  
And, that the design of the Court in this matter might be car-  
ried on without the load of recommending a Papist, *Parker*,  
Bishop of *Oxford*, was now recommended: And the Fellows were  
commanded to proceed to a new election in his favour. They  
excused themselves, since they were bound by their oaths to  
maintain their statutes: And by these, an election being once  
made and confirmed, they could not proceed to a new choice,  
till the former was annulled in some Court of law: Church  
benefices and College preferments were freeholds, and could on-  
ly be judged in a Court of Record: And, since the King was  
now talking so much of liberty of conscience, it was said, that  
the forcing men to act against their oaths, seemed not to agree  
with those professions. In opposition to this it was said, that  
the statutes of Colleges had been always considered, as things  
that depended entirely on the King's good pleasure; so that no  
oaths to observe them could bind them, when it was in opposi-  
tion to the King's command.

1687 This did not satisfy the Fellows: And, tho' the King, as he  
went thro' *Oxford* in his progress in the year 1687, sent for  
them, and ordered them to go presently and choose *Parker* for  
their President, in a strain of language ill suited to the Ma-  
jesty of a crowned head, (for he treated them with foul lan-  
guage pronounced in a very angry tone;) yet it had no effect  
on them. They insisted still on their oaths, tho' with a humili-  
ty and submission, that they hoped would have mollified him. They  
continued thus firm. A subaltern Commission was sent from  
the Ecclesiastical Commission to finish the matter. Bishop *Cart-  
wright* was the head of this Commission, as Sir *Charles Hedges*  
was the King's Advocate to manage the matter. *Cartwright* act-  
ed in so rough a manner, that it shewed, he was resolved to  
sacrifice all things to the King's pleasure. It was an afflicting  
thing, which seemed to have a peculiar character of indigni-  
ty in it, that this first act of violence committed against the  
legal possessions of the Church, was executed by one Bishop,  
and done in favour of another.

And were  
all turned  
out.

The new President was turned out. And, because he would  
not deliver the keys of his House, the doors were broken open:  
And *Parker* was put in possession. The Fellows were required  
to make their submission, to ask pardon for what was past, and



to accept of the Bishop for their President. They still pleaded their oath: And were all turned out, except two that submitted. So that it was expected, to see that House soon stocked with Papists. The Nation, as well as the University, looked on all this proceeding with a just indignation. It was thought an open piece of robbery and burglary, when men, authorized by no legal commission, came and forcibly turned men out of their possession and freehold. This agreed ill with the professions that the King was still making, that he would maintain the Church of *England* as by law established: For this struck at the whole estate, and all the temporalities of the Church. It did so inflame the Church party and the Clergy, that they sent over very pressing messages upon it to the Prince of *Orange*, desiring that he would interpose, and espouse the concerns of the Church; and that he would break upon it, if the King would not redress it. This I did not see in their letters. Those were of such importance, since the writing them might have been carried to high treason, that the Prince did not think fit to shew them. But he often said, he was pressed by many of those, who were afterwards his bitterest enemies, to engage in their quarrel. When that was communicated to me, I was still of opinion, that, tho' this was indeed an act of despotical and arbitrary power, yet I did not think it struck at the whole: So that it was not in my opinion a lawful case of resistance: And I could not concur in a quarrel occasioned by such a single act, tho' the precedent set by it might go to every thing.

Now the King broke with the Church of *England*. And, as he was apt to go warmly upon every provocation, he gave himself such liberties in discourse upon that subject, that it was plain, all the services they had done him, both in opposing the Exclusion, and upon his first accession to the Crown, were forgot. Agents were now found out, to go among the Dissenters, to persuade them to accept of the favour the King intended them, and to concur with him in his designs.

The Dissenters were divided into four main bodies. The Presbyterians, the Independents, the Anabaptists, and the Quakers. The two former had not the visible distinction of different rites: And their depressed condition made, that the dispute about the constitution and subordination of Churches, which had broken them when power was in their hands, was now out of doors: And they were looked on as one body, and were above three parts in four of all the Dissenters. The main difference between these was, that the Presbyterians seemed reconcilable to the Church; for they loved Episcopal Ordination and a Liturgy, and upon some amendments seemed disposed to come into the Church;

The Dissenters were much court-  
ed by the  
King.



1687 and they liked the civil government, and limited Monarchy. But as the Independents were for a Commonwealth in the State, so they put all the power of the Church in the people, and thought that their choice was an ordination: Nor did they approve of set forms of worship. Both were enemies to this high prerogative, that the King was assuming, and were very averse to Popery. They generally were of a mind, as to the accepting the King's favour; but were not inclined to take in the Papists into a full toleration; much less could they be prevailed on to concur in taking off the Tests. The Anabaptists were generally men of vertue, and of an universal charity: And as they were far from being in any treating terms with the Church of *England*, so nothing but an universal toleration could make them capable of favour or employments. The Quakers had set up such a visible distinction in the matter of the Hat, and saying Thou and Thee, that they had all as it were a badge fixed on them: So they were easily known. Among these *Pen* had the greatest credit, as he had a free access at Court. To all these it was proposed, that the King designed the settling the minds of the different parties in the Nation, and the enriching it by enacting a perpetual law, that should be passed with such solemnities as had accompanied the *Magna Charta*; so that not only penal laws should be for ever repealed, but that publick employments should be opened to men of all persuasions, without any tests or oaths limiting them to one sort or party of men. There were many meetings among the leading men of the several sects.

Debates and  
resolutions  
among  
them.

It was visible to all men, that the courting them at this time was not from any kindness or good opinion that the King had of them. They had left the Church of *England*, because of some forms in it, that they thought looked too like the Church of *Rome*. They needed not to be told, that all the favour expected from Popery was once to bring it in, under the colour of a general toleration, till it should be strong enough to set on a general persecution: And therefore, as they could not engage themselves to support such an arbitrary prerogative as was now made use of, so neither should they go into any engagements for Popery. Yet they resolved to let the points of controversy alone, and leave those to the management of the Clergy, who had a legal bottom to support them. They did believe, that this indignation against the Church party, and this kindness to them were things too unnatural to last long. So the more considerable among them resolved not to stand at too great a distance from the Court, nor to provoke the King so far, as to give him cause to think they were irreconcilable to him, lest they



they should provoke him to make up matters on any terms with the Church party. On the other hand, they resolved not to provoke the Church party, or by any ill behaviour of theirs drive them into a reconciliation with the Court. It is true, *Pen* shewed both a scorn of the Clergy, and virulent spite against them, in which he had not many followers.

The King was so fond of his Army, that he ordered them to encamp on *Hounslow-Heath*, and to be exercised all the summer long. This was done with great magnificence, and at a vast expence, but that which abated the King's joy in seeing so brave an Army about him was, that it appeared visibly, and on many occasions, that his soldiers had as great an aversion to his religion, as his other subjects had expressed. The King had a Chapel in his camp, where Mass was said: But so few went to it, and those few were treated by the rest with so much scorn, that it was not easy to bear it. It was very plain, that such an Army was not to be trusted in any quarrel in which religion was concerned.

The few Papists that were in the Army were an unequal match to the rest. The heats about religion were like to breed quarrels: And it was once very near a mutiny. It was thought, that these encampments had a good effect on the Army. They encouraged one another, and vowed they would stick together, and never forsake their religion. It was no small comfort to them, to see they had so few Papists among them; which might have been better disguised at a distance, than when they were all in view. A resolution was formed upon this at Court to make recruits in *Ireland*, and to fill them up with *Irish* Papists; which succeeded as ill as all their other designs did, as shall be told in its proper place.

The King had for above a year managed his correspondence with *Rome* secretly. But now the Priests resolved to drive the matter past reconciling. The correspondence with that Court, while there was none at *Rome* with a publick character, could not be decently managed, but by Cardinal *Howard's* means. He was no friend to the Jesuits; nor did he like their over driving matters. So they moved to the King to send an Embassador to *Rome*. This was high treason by law. *Jefferies* was very uneasy in it. But the King's power of pardoning had been much argued in the Earl of *Danby's* case, and was believed to be one of the unquestionable rights of the Crown. So he knew a safe way in committing crimes; which was, to take out pardons as soon as he had done illegal things.

The King's choice of *Palmer*, Earl of *Castlemain*, was liable to great exception. For, as he was believed to be a Jesuit, so he

1687

The Army  
encamped at  
*Hounslow-Heath*.

An Embas-  
sador sent to  
*Rome*.



1687 he was certainly as hot and eager in all high notions, as any of them could be. The *Romans* were amazed, when they heard that he was to be the person. His misfortunes were so eminent and publick, that they, who take their measures much from astrology, and from the characters they think are fixed on men, thought it strange to see such a negotiation put in the hands of so unlucky a man. It was managed with great splendor, and at a vast charge.

He managed  
every thing  
unhappily.

He was unhappy in every step of it. He disputed with a nice sort of affectation every punctilio of the ceremonial. And, when the day set for his audience came, there happen'd to be such an extraordinary thunder, and such deluges of rain, as disgraced the shew, and heightned the opinion of the ominousness of this Embassy. After this was over, he had yet many disputes with relation to the ceremony of visits. The points he pressed were, first the making *P. Renaldi* of *Este*, the Queen's uncle, a Cardinal; in which he prevailed: And it was the only point in which he succeeded. He tried, if it was possible, to get Father *Petre* to be made a Cardinal. But the Pope was known to be intractable in that point, having fixed it as a maxim not to raise any of that Order to the Purple. Count *Mansfield* told me, as he came from *Spain*, that our Court had pressed the Court of *Spain* to join their interest with ours at *Rome* for his promotion. They gave it out, that he was a *German* by birth, and undertook that he should serve the *Austrian* interest. They also promised the Court of *Madrid* great assistance in other matters of the last importance, if they would procure this: Adding, that this would prove the most effectual means for the conversion of *England*. Upon which the Count told me, he was asked concerning Father *Petre*. He, who had gone often to *Spain* thro' *England*, happen'd to know that Jesuit; and told them, he was no *German*, but an *Englishman*. They tried their strength at *Rome* for his promotion, but with no success.

The Ambassador at *Rome* pressed Cardinal *Cibo* much to put an end to the differences between the Pope and the King of *France*, in the matter of the franchises, that it might appear that the Pope had a due regard to a King that had extirpated heresy, and to another King who was endeavouring to bring other Kingdoms into the sheepfold. What must the world say, if two such Kings, like whom no ages had produced any, should be neglected and ill used at *Rome* for some punctilios? He added, that, if these matters were settled, and if the Pope would enter into concert with them, they would set about the destroying heresy every where, and would begin with the *Dutch*; upon whom, he said, they would fall without any declaration

of



of war, treating them as a company of rebels and pirates, who had not a right, as free States and Princes have, to a formal denunciation of war. *Cibo*, who was then Cardinal Patron, was amazed at this, and gave notice of it to the Imperial Cardinals. They sent it to the Emperor, and he signified it to the Prince of *Orange*. It is certain, that one Prince's treating with another to invade a third gives a right to that third Prince to defend himself, and to prevent those designs. And, since what an Ambassador says is understood as said by the Prince whose character he bears, this gave the States a right to make use of all advantages that might offer themselves. But they had yet better grounds to justify their proceedings, as will appear in the sequel.

When the Ambassador saw that his remonstrances to the Cardinal Patron were ineffectual, he demanded an audience of the Pope. And there he lamented, that so little regard was had to two such great Kings. He reflected on the Pope, as shewing more zeal about temporal concerns than the spiritual; which, he said, gave scandal to all Christendom. He concluded, that, since he saw intercessions made in his master's name were so little considered, he would make haste home: To which the Pope made no other answer, but, *lei è padrone*, he might do as he pleased. But he sent one after the Ambassador, as he withdrew from the audience, to let him know, how much he was offended with his discourses, that he received no such treatment from any person, and that the Ambassador was to expect no other private audience. Cardinal *Howard* did what he could to soften matters. But the Ambassador was so entirely in the hands of the Jesuits, that he had little regard to any thing that the Cardinal suggested. And so he left *Rome* after a very expensful, but insignificant Embassy.

The Pope sent in return a Nuntio, *Dada*, now a Cardinal. He was highly civil in all his deportment. But it did not appear that he was a man of great depth, nor had he power to do much. The Pope was a jealous and fearful man, who had no knowledge of any sort, but in the matters of the revenue, and of money: For he was descended from a family, that was become rich by dealing in banks. And, in that respect, it was a happiness to the Papacy that he was advanced: For it was so involved in vast debts by a succession of many wastful Pontificates, that his frugal management came in good time to set those matters in better order. It was known, that he did not so much as understand *Latin*. I was told at *Rome*, that when he was made Cardinal, he had a master to teach him to pronounce that little *Latin* that he had occasion for at high Masses.



1687 *Maffes.* He understood nothing of Divinity. I remembered what a Jesuit at *Venice* had said to me, whom I met sometimes at the *French* Embassadors there, when we were talking of the Pope's infallibility: He said, that being in *Rome* during *Altieri's* Pontificate, who lived some years in a perfect dotage, he confessed it required a very strong faith to believe him infallible: But he added pleasantly, the harder it was to believe it, the act of faith was the more meritorious. The submitting to Pope *Innocent's* infalibillity was a very implicit act of faith, when all appearances were so strongly against it. The Pope hated the Jesuits, and expressed a great esteem for the *Jansenists*; not that he understood the ground of the difference, but because they were enemies to the Jesuits, and were ill looked on by the Court of *France*. He understood the business of the Regale a little better, it relating to the temporalities of the Church. And therefore he took all those under his protection, who refused to submit to it. Things seemed to go far towards a breach between the two Courts: Especially after the articles, which were set out by the Assembly of the Clergy of *France* in the year 1682, in favour of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basile*, in opposition to the Papal pretensions. The King of *France*, who was not accustomed to be treated in such a manner, sent many threatening messages to *Rome*, which alarmed the Cardinals so much, that they tried to mollify the Pope. But it was reported at *Rome*, that he made a noble answer to them, when they asked him, what he could do, if so great a King should send an Army to fall upon him? He said, he could suffer Martyrdom.

Disputes about the franchises.

He was so little terrified with all those threatnings, that he had set on foot a dispute about the franchises. In *Rome* all those of a Nation put themselves under the protection of their Embassador, and are upon occasions of ceremony his Cortege. These were usually lodged in his neighbourhood, pretending that they belonged to him. So that they exempted themselves from the orders and justice of *Rome*, as a part of the Embassador's family. And that extent of houses or streets in which they lodged was called the franchises; for in it they pretended they were not subject to the government of *Rome*. This had made these houses to be well filled, not only with those of that Nation, but with such *Romans* as desired to be covered with that protection. *Rome* was now much sunk from what it had been: So that these franchises were become so great a part of the City, that the privileges of those that lived in them were giving every day new disturbances to the course of justice, and were the common sanctuaries of criminals. So the Pope resolved to reduce the privileges of Embassadors to their own families, within



within their own palaces. He first dealt with the Emperor's, and the King of *Spain's* Embassadors: And brought them to quit their pretensions to the franchises, but with this provision, that, if the *French* did not the same, they would return to them. So now the Pope was upon forcing the *French* to submit to the same methods. The Pope said, his Nuntio or Legate at *Paris* had no privilege but for his family, and for those that lived in his palace. The *French* rejected this with great scorn. They said, the Pope was not to pretend to an equality with so great a King. He was the common Father of Christendom: So those who came thither, as to the center of unity, were not to be put on the level with the Embassadors that passed between Sovereign Princes. Upon this the King of *France* pretended, that he would maintain all the privileges and franchises that his Embassadors were possessed of. This was now growing up to be the matter of a new quarrel, and of fresh disputes, between those Courts.

The *English* Embassador being so entirely in the *French* interests, and in the confidence of the Jesuits, he was much less considered at *Rome*, than he thought he ought to have been. The truth is, the *Romans*, as they have very little sense of religion, so they considered the reduction of *England* as a thing impracticable. They saw no prospect of any profits like to arise in any of their offices by bulls or compositions: And this was the notion that they had of the conversion of Nations, chiefly as it brought wealth and advantages to them.

I will conclude all that I shall say in this place of the affairs of *Rome* with a lively saying of Queen *Christina* to my self at *Rome*. She said, it was certain that the Church was governed by the immediate care and providence of God: For none of the four Popes that she had known since she came to *Rome* had common sense. She added, they were the first and the last of men. She had given her self entirely for some years to the study of Astrology: And upon that she told me, the King would live yet many years, but added that he would have no son.

I come, from the relation of this Embassade to *Rome*, to give an account of other negotiations. The King found, *Skelton* managed his affairs in *Holland* with so little sense, and gave such an universal distaste, that he resolved to change him. But he had been so servilely addicted to all his interests, that he would not discourage him. And, because all his concerns with the Court of *France* were managed with *Barillon* the *French* Embassador at *London*, he was sent to *Paris*.

The King found out one *White*, an *Irishman*, who had been long a spy of the *Spaniards*. And when they did not pay his appointments

Queen  
*Christina's*  
character of  
some Popes.

*D'Albeville*  
sent Envoy  
to *Holland*.



1687 appointments well, he accepted of the title of Marquis *d'Albeville* from them in part of payment. And then he turned to the *French*, who paid their tools more punctually. But, tho' he had learned the little arts of corrupting Under-Secretaries, and had found out some secrets by that way, which made him pass for a good spy; yet, when he came to negotiate matters in a higher form, he proved a most contemptible and ridiculous man, who had not the common appearances either of decency or of truth.

I was upon the King's pressing instances forbid to see the Prince and Princess of Orange.

He had orders, before he entred upon business with the Prince or Princess, to ask of them, not only to forbid me the Court, but to promise to see me no more. The King had writ two violent letters against me to the Princess. She trusted me so far, that she shewed them to me; and was pleased to answer them according to the hints that I suggested. But now it was put so home, that this was to be complied with, or a breach was immediately to follow upon it. So this was done. And they were both so true to their promise, that I saw neither the one nor the other till a few days before the Prince set sail for *England*. The Prince sent *Dykvelt* and *Halewyn* constantly to me, with all the advertisements that came from *England*. So I had the whole secret of *English* affairs still brought me.

*Dykvelt* sent to *England*.

That which was first resolved on was, to send *Dykvelt* to *England* with directions how to talk with all sorts of people: To the King, to those of the Church, and to the Dissenters. I was ordered to draw his instructions, which he followed very closely. He was ordered to expostulate decently, but firmly, with the King upon the methods he was pursuing, both at home and abroad; and to see, if it was possible to bring him to a better understanding with the Prince. He was also to assure all the Church party, that the Prince would ever be firm to the Church of *England*, and to all our national interests. The Clergy, by the methods in which they corresponded with him, which I suppose was chiefly by the Bishop of *London's* means, had desired him to use all his credit with the Dissenters, to keep them from going into the measures of the Court; and sent over very positive assurances, that, in case they stood firm now to the common interest, they would in a better time come into a comprehension of such as could be brought into a conjunction with the Church, and to a toleration of the rest. They had also desired him to send over some of the preachers, whom the violence of the former years had driven to *Holland*; and to prevail effectually with them to oppose any false brethren, whom the Court might gain to deceive the rest: Which the Prince had done. And to many of them he gave such presents, as enabled



bled them to pay their debts, and to undertake the journey. *Dykvelt* had orders to press them all to stand off; and not to be drawn in by any promises the Court might make them, to assist them in the elections of Parliament. He was also instructed to assure them of a full toleration; and likewise of a comprehension, if possible, whensoever the Crown should devolve on the Princess. He was to try all sorts of people, and to remove the ill characters that had been given them of the Prince: For the Church party was made believe, he was a Presbyterian, and the Dissenters were possessed with a conceit of his being arbitrary, and imperious. Some had even the impudence to give out, that he was a Papist. But the ill terms in which the King and he lived put an end to those reports at that time. Yet they were afterwards taken up, and managed with much malice to create a jealousy of him. *Dykvelt* was not gone off, when *D'Albeville* came to the *Hague*. He did all he could to divert the journey: For he knew well *Dykvelt's* way of penetrating into secrets, he himself having been often employed by him, and well paid for several discoveries made by his means.

*D'Albeville* assured the Prince and the States, that the King was firmly resolved to maintain his alliance with them: That his naval preparations were only to enable him to preserve the peace of *Europe*: For he seemed much concerned to find, that the States had such apprehensions of these, that they were putting themselves in a condition not to be surprized by them. In his secret negotiations with the Prince and Princess, he began with very positive assurances, that the King intended never to wrong them in their right of succession: That all that the King was now engaged in was only, to assert the rights of the Crown, of which they would reap the advantage in their turn: The Test was a restraint on the King's liberty, and therefore he was resolved to have it repealed: And he was also resolved to lay aside all penal laws in matters of religion: They saw too well the advantages that *Holland* had by the liberty of conscience that was settled among them, to oppose him in this particular: The King could not abandon men, because they were of his own religion, who had served him well, and had suffered only on his account, and on the account of their conscience. He told them, how much the King condemned the proceedings in *France*; and that he spoke of that King as a poor bigot, who was governed by the Archbishop of *Paris* and *Madame de Maintenon*, whereas he knew *Pere de la Chaise* had opposed the persecution as long as he could. But the King hated those maxims: And therefore he received the Refugees very kindly, and

The negotiations between the King and the Prince.



1687 had given orders for a collection of charity over the kingdom for their relief.

This was the substance, both of what *D'Albeville* said to the Prince and Princess, and of what the King himself said to *Dykvelt* upon those subjects. At that time the King thought, he had made a majority of the House of Commons sure: And so he seemed resolved to have a session of Parliament in *April*. And of this *D'Albeville* gave the Prince positive assurances. But the King had reckoned wrong: For many of those, who had been with him in his closet, were either silent, or had answered him in such respectful words, that he took these for promises. But, when they were more strictly examined, the King saw his error: And so the sitting of the Parliament was put off.

To all these propositions the Prince and the Princess, and *Dykvelt* in their name, answered, that they were fixed in a principle against persecution in matters of conscience: But they could not think it reasonable to let Papists in to sit in Parliament, or to serve in publick trusts: The restless spirit of some of that religion, and of their Clergy in particular, shewed they could not be at quiet till they were masters: And the power they had over the King's spirit, in making him forget what he had promised upon his coming to the Crown, gave but too just a ground of jealousy: It appeared, that they could not bear any restraints, nor remember past services longer than those who did them could comply in every thing with that which was desired of them: They thought, the prerogative as limited by law was great enough: And they desired no such exorbitant power as should break thro' all laws: They feared, that such an attack upon the constitution might rather drive the Nation into a Commonwealth: They thought the surest, as well as the best, way was, to govern according to law: The Church of *England* had given the King signal proofs of their affection and fidelity; and had complied with him in every thing, till he came to touch them in so tender a point, as the legal security they had for their religion: Their sticking to that was very natural: And the King's taking that ill from them was liable to great censure: The King, if he pleased to improve the advantages he had in his hand, might be both easy and great at home, and the arbiter of all affairs abroad: But he was prevailed on by the importunities of some restless Priests, to embroil all his affairs to serve their ends: They could never consent to abolish those laws, which were the best, and now the only fence of that religion, which they themselves believed true. This was the substance of their answers to all the pressing messages that were often repeated by *D'Albeville*. And upon



this occasion the Princess spoke so often and with such firmness to him, that he said, she was more intractable on those matters than the Prince himself. *Dykvelt* told me, he argued often with the King on all these topicks: But he found him obstinately fixed in his resolution. He said, he was the head of the family, and the Prince ought to comply with him; but that he had always set himself against him. *Dykvelt* answered, that the Prince could not carry his compliance so far, as to give up his religion to his pleasure; but that in all other things he had shewed a very ready submission to his will: The peace of *Nimeguen*, of which the King was guarantee, was openly violated in the article relating to the principality of *Orange*: Yet, since the King did not think fit to espouse his interests in that matter, he had been silent, and had made no protestations upon it: So the King saw, that he was ready to be silent under so great an injury, and to sacrifice his own concerns, rather than disturb the King's affairs. To this the King made no answer. The Earl of *Sunderland*, and the rest of the Ministry, pressed *Dykvelt* mightily, to endeavour to bring the Prince to concur with the King. And they engaged to him, that, if that were once settled, the King would go into close measures with him against *France*. But he put an end to all those propositions. He said, the Prince could never be brought to hearken to them.

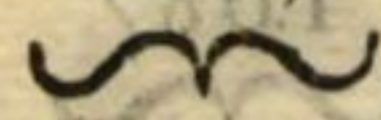
At this time a great discovery was made of the intentions of the Court by the Jesuits of *Liege*, who in a letter, that they wrote to their brethren in *Friburg* in *Switzerland*, gave them a long account of the affairs of *England*. They told them, that the King was received into a communication of the merits of their Order: That he expressed great joy at his becoming a son of the society; and professed, he was as much concerned in all their interests, as in his own: He wished, they could furnish him with many Priests to assist him in the conversion of the Nation, which he was resolved to bring about, or to die a Martyr in endeavouring it; and that he would rather suffer death for carrying on that, than live ever so long and happy without attempting it. He said, he must make haste in this work: Otherwise, if he should die before he had compassed it, he would leave them worse than he found them. They added, among many particulars, that, when one of them kneeled down to kiss his hand, he took him up, and said, since he was a Priest, he ought rather to kneel to him, and to kiss his hand. And, when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an heretick, he said, God would provide an heir.

A letter writ by the Jesuits of *Liege* that discovers the King's designs.

The



1687



The Jesuits at *Friburg* shewed this about. And one of the Ministers, on whom they were taking some pains, and of whom they had some hopes, had got a sight of it. And he obtained leave to take a copy of it, pretending that he would make good use of it. He sent a copy of it to *Heidegger*, the famous Professor of Divinity at *Zurich*: And from him I had it. Other copies of it were likewise sent, both from *Geneva* and *Switzerland*. One of those was sent to *Dykvelt*; who upon that told the King, that his Priests had other designs, and were full of those hopes, that gave jealousies which could not be easily removed: And he named the *Leige* letter, and gave the King a copy of it. He promised to him, he would read it; and he would soon see, whether it was an imposture made to make them more odious, or not. But he never spoke of it to him afterwards. This *Dykvelt* thought, was a confessing that the letter was no forgery. Thus *Dykvelt's* negotiation at *London*, and *D'Albeville's* at the *Hague*, ended without any effect on either side.

*Dykvelt's*  
conduct in  
*England*.

But, if his treating with the King was without success, his management of his instructions was more prosperous. He desired, that those who wished well to their religion and their country would meet together, and concert such advices and advertisements, as might be fit for the Prince to know, that he might govern himself by them. The Marquis of *Halifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Devonshire*, *Danby*, and *Nottingham*, the Lords *Mordaunt*, and *Lumley*, *Herbert* and *Russel* among the Admirals, and the Bishop of *London*, were the persons chiefly trusted. And upon the advices that were sent over by them the Prince governed all his motions. They met often at the Earl of *Shrewsbury's*. And there they concerted matters, and drew the declaration on which they advised the Prince to engage.

A Proclamation of  
indulgence  
sent to *Scotland*.

In this state things lay for some months. But the King resolved to go on in his design of breaking thro' the laws. He sent a Proclamation of indulgence to *Scotland* in *February*. It set forth in the preamble, that the King had an absolute power vested in him, so that all his subjects were bound to obey him without reserve: By vertue of this power, the King repealed all the severe laws that were past in his Grandfather's name during his infancy: He with that took off all disabilities that were by any law laid on his Roman Catholick subjects, and made them capable of all employments and benefices: He also slackned all the laws made against the moderate Presbyterians: And promised he would never force his subjects by any invincible necessity to change their religion: And he repealed all laws



laws imposing tests on those who held any employments: Instead of which he set up a new one, by which they should renounce the principles of rebellion, and should oblige themselves to maintain the King in this his absolute power against all mortals. 1687

This was published in *Scotland*, to make way for that which followed it some months after in *England*. It was strangely drawn, and liable to much just censure. The King by this raised his power to a pitch, not only of suspending, but of repealing laws, and of enacting new ones by his own authority. His claiming an absolute power, to which all men were bound to obey without reserve, was an invasion of all that was either legal or sacred. The only precedent that could be found for such an extraordinary pretension, was in the declaration that *Philip* the second of *Spain* sent by the Duke of *Alva* into the *Netherlands*, in which he founded all the authority that he committed to that bloody man on the absolute power that rested in him. Yet in this the King went further than *Philip*, who did not pretend that the subjects were bound to obey without reserve. Every Prince that believes the truth of religion must confess, that there are reserves in the obedience of their subjects, in case their commands should be contrary to the laws of God. The requiring all persons that should be capable of employments to swear to maintain this, was to make them feel their slavery too sensibly. The King's promising to use *no invincible necessity* to force his subjects to change their religion, shewed that he allowed himself a very large reserve in this grace that he promised his subjects; tho' he allowed them none in their obedience. The laws that had passed during King *James's* minority had been often ratified by himself after he was of age. And they had received many subsequent confirmations in the succeeding reigns; and one in the King's own reign. And the test that was now taken away was past by the present King, when he represented his brother. Some took also notice of the word *moderate Presbyterians*, as very ambiguous. Which was much censured.

The Court finding that so many objections lay against this Proclamation, (as indeed it seemed penned on purpose to raise new jealousies,) let it fall; and sent down another some months after that more cautiously worded; only absolute power was so dear to them, that it was still asserted in the new one. By it, full liberty was granted to all Presbyterians to set up Conventicles in their own way. They did all accept of it without pretending any scruples. And they magnified this, as an extraordinary stroke of Providence, that a Prince, from whom they expected an encrease of the severities under which the laws had brought them, should thus of a sudden allow them such an un-



1687 confined liberty. But they were not so blind, as not to see what was aimed at by it. They made addressees upon it full of acknowledgments, and of protestations of loyalty. Yet, when some were sent among them, pressing them to dispose all their party to concur with the King in taking away the tests and penal laws, they answered them only in cold and general words.

A declaration for toleration in England.

In *April* the King set out a declaration of toleration and liberty of conscience for *England*. But it was drawn up in much more modest terms, than the *Scottish* Proclamation had been. In the preamble, the King expressed his aversion to persecution on the account of religion, and the necessity that he found of allowing his subjects liberty of conscience, in which he did not doubt of the concurrence of his Parliament: He renewed his promise of maintaining the Church of *England*, as it was by law established: But with this he suspended all penal and sanguinary laws in matters of religion: And, since the service of all his subjects was due to him by the laws of nature, he declared them all equally capable of employments, and suppressed all oaths or tests that limited this: In conclusion, he promised he would maintain all his subjects in all their properties, and particularly in the possession of the Abbey lands.

This gave great offence to all true patriots, as well as to the whole Church party. The King did now assume a power of repealing laws by his own authority: For tho' he pretended only to suspend them, yet no limitation was set to this suspension: So it amounted to a repeal, the laws being suspended for all time to come. The preamble, that pretended so much love and charity, and that condemned persecution, sounded strangely in the mouth of a Popish Prince. The King's saying that he did not doubt of the Parliament's concurring with him in this matter seemed ridiculous: For it was visible by all the prorogations, that the King was but too well assured, that the Parliament would not concur with him in it. And the promise to maintain the subjects in their possessions of the Abbey lands, looked as if the design of setting up Popery was thought very near being effected, since otherwise there was no need of mentioning any such thing.

Addressees made upon it.

Upon this a new set of addressees went round the Dissenters. And they, who had so long reproached the Church of *England*, as too courtly in their submissions and flatteries, seemed now to vie with them in those abject strains. Some of them, being penned by persons whom the Court had gained, contained severe reflections on the Clergy, and on their proceedings. They magnified the King's mercy and favour, and made great protestations of fidelity and gratitude. Many promised to endeavour,



vour, that such persons should be chosen to serve in Parliament, as should concur with the King in the enacting what he now granted so graciously. Few concurred in those addresses: And the persons that brought them up were mean and inconsiderable. Yet the Court was lifted up with this. The King and his Priests were delighted with these addresses out of measure: And they seemed to think that they had gained the Nation, and had now conquered those who were hitherto their most irreconcilable enemies. The King made the cruelty of the Church of *England* the common subject of discourse. He reproached them for setting on so often a violent persecution of the Dissenters. He said, he had intended to have set on this toleration sooner; but that he was restrained by some of them, who had treated with him, and had undertaken to shew favour to those of his religion, provided they might be still suffered to vex the Dissenters. He named the persons that had made those propositions to him. In which he suffered much in his honour: For as the persons denied the whole thing, so the freedom of discourse in any such treaty ought not to have been made use of to defame them.

But, to carry this further, and to give a publick and an odious proof of the rigour of the Ecclesiastical Courts, the King ordered an enquiry to be made into all the vexatious suits into which Dissenters had been brought in these Courts, and into all the compositions that they had been forced to make to redeem themselves from further trouble; which, as was said, would have brought a scandalous discovery of all the ill practices of those Courts. For the use that many that belonged to them had made of the laws with relation to the Dissenters, was, to draw presents from such of them as could make them; threatening them with a process in case they failed to do that, and upon their doing it leaving them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they pleased. It was hoped at Court, that this fury against the Church would have animated the Dissenters to turn upon the Clergy with some of that fierceness, with which they themselves had been lately treated. Some few of the hotter of the Dissenters answered their expectations. Angry speeches and virulent books were published. Yet these were disowned by the wiser men among them: And the Clergy, by a general agreement, made no answer to them. So that the matter was let fall, to the great grief of the Popish party. Some of the Bishops, that were gained by the Court, carried their compliance to a shameful pitch: For they set on addresses of thanks to the King for the promise he had made in the late declaration of maintaining the Church of *England*; tho' it was visible that

The King's indignation against the Church party.



1687 that the intent of it was to destroy the Church. Some few were drawn into this. But the Bishop of *Oxford* had so ill success in his Diocese, that he got but one single Clergyman to concur with him in it. Some foolish men retained still their old peevishness. But the far greater part of the Clergy began to open their eyes, and see how they had been engaged by ill meaning men, who were now laying off the mask, into all the fury that had been driven on for many years by a Popish party. And it was often said, that, if ever God should deliver them out of the present distress, they would keep up their domestick quarrels no more, which were so visibly and so artfully managed by our enemies to make us devour one another, and so in the end to be consumed one of another. And when some of those who had been always moderate told these, who were putting on another temper, that they would perhaps forget this as soon as the danger was over, they promised the contrary very solemnly. It shall be told afterwards, how well they remembred this. Now the Bed-chamber and Drawing-room were as full of stories to the prejudice of the Clergy, as they were formerly to the prejudice of the Dissenters. It was said, they had been loyal as long as the Court was in their interests, and was venturing all on their account; but as soon as this changed, they changed likewise.

The Parliament was dissolved.

The King, seeing no hope of prevailing on his Parliament, dissolved it; but gave it out, that he would have a new one before winter. And, the Queen being advised to go to the *Bath* for her health, the King resolved on a great progress thro' some of the Western Counties.

The reception of the Pope's Nuntio.

Before he set out, he resolved to give the Pope's Nuntio a solemn reception at *Windsor*. He apprehended some disorder might have happen'd, if it had been done at *London*. He thought it below both his own dignity and the Pope's, not to give the Nuntio a publick audience. This was a hard point for those who were to act a part in this ceremony; for, all commerce with the See of *Rome* being declared high treason by law, this was believed to fall within the statute. It was so apprehended by Queen *Mary*. Cardinal *Pool* was obliged to stay in *Flanders* till all those laws were repealed. But the King would not stay for that. The Duke of *Somerset*, being the Lord of the Bed-chamber then in waiting, had advised with his lawyers: And they told him, he could not safely do the part that was expected of him in the audience. So he told the King, that he could not serve him upon that occasion; for he was assured it was against the law. The King asked him, if he did not know that he was above the law. The other answered, that, whatever the King might



might be, he himself was not above the law. The King expressed a high displeasure, and turned him out of all employments. The ceremony past very heavily: And the compliment was pronounced with so low a voice, that no person could hear it; which was believed done by concert.

When this was over, the King set out for his progress, and went from *Salisbury* all round as far as to *Chester*. In the places thro' which the King past, he saw a visible coldness both in the Nobility and Gentry, which was not easily born by a man of his temper. In many places they pretended occasions to go out of their countries. Some staid at home. And those who waited on the King seemed to do it rather out of duty and respect, than with any cordial affection. The King on his part was very obliging to all that came near him, and most particularly to the Dissenters, and to those who had passed long under the notion of Commonwealth's men. He looked very graciously on all that had been of the Duke of *Monmouth's* party. He addressed his discourse generally to all sorts of people. He ran out on the point of liberty of conscience: He said, this was the true secret of the greatness and wealth of *Holland*. He was well pleased to hear all the ill natured stories that were brought him of the violences committed of late, either by the Justices of Peace, or by the Clergy. He every where recommended to them the choosing such Parliament men, as would concur with him in settling this liberty as firmly as the *Magna Charta* had been: And to this he never forgot to add the taking away the Tests. But he received such cold and general answers, that he saw, he could not depend on them. The King had designed to go thro' many more places: But the small success he had in those which he visited made him shorten his progress. He went and visited the Queen at the *Bath*, where he staid only a few days, two or three at most: And she continued on in her course of bathing. Many books were now writ for liberty of conscience: And, since all people saw what security the Tests gave, these spoke of an equivalent to be offered, that should give a further security, beyond what could be pretended from the Tests. It was never explained what was meant by this: So it was thought an artificial method to lay men asleep with a high sounding word. Some talked of new laws to secure civil liberty, which had been so much shaken by the practices of these last years, ever since the *Oxford* Parliament. Upon this a very extravagant thing was given out, that the King was resolved to set up a sort of a Commonwealth: And the Papists began to talk every where very high for publick liberty, trying by that to recommend themselves to the Nation.

1687  
The King made a progress thro' many parts of England.



1687  
 A change of  
 the Magistracy  
 in London,  
 and over  
 England.

When the King came back from his progress, he resolved to change the Magistracy in most of the Cities of *England*. He began with *London*. He not only changed the Court of Aldermen, but the government of many of the companies of the City: For great powers had been reserved in the new Charters that had been given, for the King to put in and to put out at pleasure: But it was said at the granting them, that these clauses were put in only to keep them in a due dependance on the Court, but that they should not be made use of, unless great provocation was given. Now all this was executed with great severity and contempt. Those, who had stood up for the King during the debates about the Exclusion, were now turned out with disgrace: And those who had appeared most violently against him were put in the Magistracy, who took liberties now in their turn to insult their neighbours. All this turned upon the King, who was so given up to the humours of his Priests, that he sacrificed both his honour and gratitude as they dictated. The new men, who were brought in, saw this too visibly to be much wrought on by it.

The King threw off his old party in too outrageous a manner ever to return to them again. But he was much surprised to find that the new Mayor and Aldermen took the Test, and ordered the observation of Gunpowder-treason day to be continued. When the Sheriffs came according to custom to invite the King to the Lord Mayor's feast, he commanded them to go and invite the Nuntio; which they did. And he went upon the invitation, to the surprize of all who saw it. But the Mayor and Aldermen disowned the invitation; and made an entry of it in their books, that the Nuntio came without their knowledge. This the King took very ill. And upon it he said, he saw the Dissenters were an ill natured sort of people, that could not be gained. The King signified to the Lord Mayor, that he might use what form of worship he liked best in *Guildhall* Chapel. The design in this was to engage the Dissenters to make the first change from the established worship: And, if a Presbyterian Mayor should do this in one year, a Popish Mayor might do it in another. But the Mayor put the decision of this upon persons against whom the Court could have no exception. He sent to those, to whom the governing of the Diocese of *London* was committed during the suspension, and asked their opinion in it; which they could not but give in behalf of the established worship: And they added, that the changing it was against law. So this project miscarried: And the Mayor, tho' he went sometimes to the meetings of the Dissenters, yet he



he came often to Church, and behaved himself more decently than was expected of him. 1687

This change in the City not succeeding as the Court had expected, did not discourage them from appointing a Committee to examine the Magistracy in the other Cities, and to put in or out as they saw cause for it. Some were putting the Nation in hope, that the old Charters were to be restored. But the King was so far from that, that he was making every day a very arbitrary use of the power of changing the Magistracy, that was reserved in the new Charters. These Regulators, who were for most part Dissenters gained by the Court, went on very boldly; and turned men out upon every story that was made of them, and put such men in their room as they confided in. And in these they took their measures often so hastily, that men were put in in one week, and turned out in another.

After this the King sent orders to the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties, to examine the Gentlemen and Freeholders upon three questions. The first was, whether, in case they should be chosen to serve in Parliament, they would consent to repeal the penal laws, and those for the Tests. The second was, whether they would give their vote for choosing such men as would engage to do that. And the third was, whether they would maintain the King's declaration. In most of the Counties the Lords Lieutenants put those questions in so careless a manner, that it was plain they did not desire they should be answered in the affirmative. Some went further, and declared themselves against them. And a few of the more resolute refused to put them. They said, this was the prelimiting, and the packing of a Parliament, which in its nature was to be free, and under no previous engagement. Many Counties answered very boldly in the negative: And others refused to give any answer, which was understood to be equivalent to a negative. The Mayor and most of the new Aldermen of *London* refused to answer. Upon this many were turned out of all Commissions.

This, as all the other artifices of the Priests, had an effect quite contrary to what they promised themselves from it: For those who had resolved to oppose the Court were more encouraged than ever, by the discovery now made of the sense of the whole Nation in those matters. Yet such care was taken in naming the Sheriffs and Mayors that were appointed for the next year, that it was believed that the King was resolved to hold a Parliament within that time, and to have such a House of Commons returned, whether regularly chosen, or not, as should serve his ends.

It



1687

It was concluded, that the King would make use both of his power and of his troops, either to force elections, or to put the Parliament under a force when it should meet: For it was so positively said, that the King would carry his point, and there was so little appearance of his being able to do it in a fair and regular way, that it was generally believed, some very desperate resolution was now taken up. His Ministers were now so deeply engaged in illegal things, that they were very uneasy, and were endeavouring either to carry on his designs with success, so as to get all settled in a body that should carry the face and appearance of a Parliament, or at least to bring him to let all fall, and to come into terms of agreement with his people; in which case, they reckoned, one article would be an indemnity for all that had been done.

The King was every day saying, that he was King, and he would be obeyed, and would make those who opposed him feel that he was their King: And he had both Priests and flatterers about him, that were still pushing him forward. All men grew melancholly with this sad prospect. The hope of the true Protestants was in the King's two daughters; chiefly on the eldest, who was out of his reach, and was known to be well instructed, and very zealous in matters of religion. The Princess *Anne* was still very steadfast and regular in her devotions, and was very exemplary in the course of her life. But, as care had been taken to put very ordinary Divines about her for her Chaplains, so she had never pursued any study in those points with much application. And, all her Court being put about her by the King and Queen, she was beset with spies. It was therefore much apprehended, that she would be strongly assaulted, when all other designs should so far succeed as to make that seasonable. In the mean while she was let alone by the King, who was indeed a very kind and indulgent Father to her. Now he resolved to make his first attack on the Princess of *Orange*. *D'Albeville* went over to *England* in the summer, and did not come back before the twenty fourth of *December*, *Christmas* Eve. And then he gave the Princess a letter from the King, bearing date the fourth of *November*. He was to carry this letter: And his dispatches being put off longer than was intended, that made this letter come so late to her.

The King wrote to the Princess of *Orange* about religion.

The King took the rise of his letter from a question she had put to *D'Albeville*, desiring to know what were the grounds upon which the King himself had changed his religion. The King told her, he was bred up in the doctrine of the Church of *England* by *Dr. Stewart*, whom the King his father had put about him; in which he was so zealous, that when he perceived the Queen

his



his Mother had a design upon the Duke of *Glocester*, tho' he preserved still the respect that he owed her, yet he took care to prevent it. All the while that he was beyond sea, no Catholick, but one Nun, had ever spoken one word to persuade him to change his religion: And he continued for the most part of that time firm to the doctrine of the Church of *England*. He did not then mind those matters much: And, as all young people are apt to do, he thought it a point of honour not to change his religion. The first thing that raised scruples in him was, the great devotion that he had observed among Catholicks: He saw they had great helps for it: They had their Churches better adorned, and did greater acts of charity, than he had ever seen among Protestants. He also observed, that many of them changed their course of life, and became good Christians, even tho' they continued to live still in the world. This made him first begin to examine both religions. He could see nothing in the three reigns in which religion was changed in *England*, to incline him to believe that they who did it were sent of God. He read the history of that time, as it was writ in the Chronicle. He read both Dr. *Heylin*, and *Hooker's* preface to his Ecclesiastical Policy, which confirmed him in the same opinion. He saw clearly, that Christ had left an infallibility in his Church, against which *the gates of Hell cannot prevail*: And it appeared that this was lodged with St. *Peter* from our Saviour's words to him, St. *Mat.* xvi. ver. 18. Upon this the certainty of the Scriptures, and even of Christianity it self, was founded. The Apostles acknowledged this to be in St. *Peter*, *Acts* xv. when they said, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us*. It was the authority of the Church that declared the Scriptures to be Canonical: And certainly they who declared them could only interpret them: And where-ever this infallibility was, there must be a clear succession. The point of the infallibility being once settled, all other controversies must needs fall. Now the *Roman* Church was the only Church that either has infallibility, or that pretended to it. And they who threw off this authority did open a door to Atheism and Infidelity, and took people off from true devotion, and set even Christianity it self loose to all that would question it, and to Socinians and Latitudinarians who doubted of every thing. He had discoursed of these things with some Divines of the Church of *England*; but had received no satisfaction from them. The Christian Religion gained its credit by the miracles which the Apostles wrought, and by the holy lives and sufferings of the Martyrs, whose blood was the seed of the Church. Whereas *Luther* and *Calvin*, and those who had set up the Church of



1687 *England*, had their heads fuller of temporal matters than of spiritual, and had let the world loose to great disorders. Submission was necessary to the peace of the Church: And when every man will expound the Scriptures, this makes way to all sects, who pretend to build upon it. It was also plain, that the Church of *England* did not pretend to infallibility: Yet she acted as if she did: For ever since the Reformation she had persecuted those who differed from her, Dissenters as well as Papists, more than was generally known. And he could not see why Dissenters might not separate from the Church of *England*, as well as she had done from the Church of *Rome*. Nor could the Church of *England* separate her self from the Catholick Church, any more than a County of *England* could separate it self from the rest of the Kingdom. This, he said, was all that his leisure allowed him to write. But he thought that these things, together with the King his brother's papers, and the Duchess's papers, might serve, if not to justify the Catholick Religion to an unbiassed judgment, yet at least to create a favourable opinion of it.

I read this letter in the original: For the Prince sent it to me together with the Princess's answer, but with a charge not to take a copy of either, but to read them over as often as I pleased; which I did till I had fixed both pretty well in my memory. And, as soon as I had sent them back, I sat down immediately to write out all that I remembered, which the Princess owned to me afterwards, when she read the abstracts I made, were punctual almost to a tittle. It was easy for me to believe that this letter was all the King's enditing; for I had heard it almost in the very same words from his own mouth. The letter was writ very decently, and concluded very modestly. The Princess received this letter, as was told me, on the twenty fourth of *December* at night. Next day being *Christmas* day, she received the Sacrament, and was during the greatest part of the day in publick devotions: Yet she found time to draw first an answer, and then to write it out fair: And she sent it by the post on the twenty sixth of *December*. Her draught, which the Prince sent me, was very little blotted or altered. It was long, about two sheets of paper: For as an answer runs generally out into more length than the paper that is to be answered, so the strains of respect, with which her letter was full, drew it out to a greater length.

Which she answered.

She began with answering another letter that she had received by the post; in which the King had made an excuse for failing to write the former post day. She was very sensible of the happiness of hearing so constantly from him: For no difference

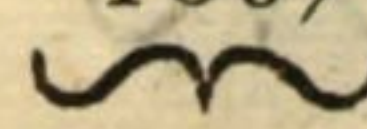


in religion could hinder her from desiring both his blessing and his prayers, tho' she was ever so far from him. As for the paper that *M. Albeville* delivered her, he told her, that his Majesty would not be offended, if she wrote her thoughts freely to him upon it. 1687

She hoped, he would not look on that as want of respect in her. She was far from sticking to the religion in which she was bred out of a point of honour; for she had taken much pains to be settled in it upon better grounds. Those of the Church of *England* who had instructed her, had freely laid before her that which was good in the Romish Religion, that so, seeing the good and the bad of both, she might judge impartially; according to the Apostle's rule of *proving all things, and holding fast that which was good*. Tho' she had come young out of *England*, yet she had not left behind her either the desire of being well informed, or the means for it. She had furnished her self with books, and had those about her who might clear any doubts to her. She saw clearly in the Scriptures, that she must work her own salvation with fear and trembling, and that she must not believe by the faith of another, but according as things appeared to her self. It ought to be no prejudice against the Reformation, if many of those who professed it led ill lives. If any of them lived ill, none of the principles of their religion allowed them in it. Many of them led good lives, and more might do it by the grace of God. But there were many devotions in the Church of *Rome*, on which the Reformed could set no value.

She acknowledged, that, if there was an infallibility in the Church, all other controversies must fall to the ground. But she could never yet be informed where that infallibility was lodged: Whether in the Pope alone, or in a General Council, or in both. And she desired to know in whom the infallibility rested, when there were two or three Popes at a time, acting one against another, with the assistance of Councils, which they called General: And at least the succession was then much disordered. As for the authority that is pretended to have been given to *St. Peter* over the rest, that place which was chiefly alledged for it was otherwise interpreted by those of the Church of *England*, as importing only the confirmation of him in the office of an Apostle, when in answer to that question, *Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me*, he had by a triple confession washed off his triple denial. The words that the King had cited were spoken to the other Apostles, as well as to him. It was agreed by all, that the Apostles were infallible, who were guided by God's holy Spirit. But that gift, as well as many others, had ceased



1687  ceased long ago. Yet in that St. *Peter* had no authority over the other Apostles: Otherwise St. *Paul* understood our Saviour's words ill, who *withstood him to his face, because he was to be blamed*. And if St. *Peter* himself could not maintain that authority, she could not see how it could be given to his successors, whose bad lives agreed ill with his doctrine.

Nor did she see, why the ill use that some made of the Scriptures ought to deprive others of them. It is true, all sects made use of them, and find somewhat in them that they draw in to support their opinions: Yet for all this our Saviour said to the *Jews, search the Scriptures*; and St. *Paul* ordered his epistles to be read to all the Saints in the Churches; and he says in one place, *I write as to wisemen, judge what I say*. And if they might judge an Apostle, much more any other teacher. Under the law of *Moses*, the Old Testament was to be read, not only in the hearing of the Scribes and the Doctors of the law, but likewise in the hearing of the women and children. And since God had made us reasonable creatures, it seemed necessary to employ our reasons chiefly in the matters of the greatest concern. Tho' faith was above our reason, yet it proposed nothing to us that was contradictory to it. Every one ought to satisfy himself in these things: As our Saviour convinced *Thomas*, by making him to thrust his own hand into the print of the nails, not leaving him to the testimony of the other Apostles, who were already convinced. She was confident, that, if the King would hear many of his own subjects, they would fully satisfy him as to all those prejudices, that he had at the Reformation; in which nothing was acted tumultuously, but all was done according to law. The design of it was only, to separate from the *Roman* Church, in so far as it had separated from the primitive Church: In which they had brought things to as great a degree of perfection, as those corrupt ages were capable of. She did not see, how the Church of *England* could be blamed for the persecution of the Dissenters: For the laws made against them were made by the State, and not by the Church: And they were made for crimes against the State. Their enemies had taken great care to foment the division, in which they had been but too successful. But, if he would reflect on the grounds upon which the Church of *England* had separated from the Church of *Rome*, he would find them to be of a very different nature from those for which the Dissenters had left it.

Thus, she concluded, she gave him the trouble of a long account of the grounds upon which she was persuaded of the truth of her religion: In which she was so fully satisfied, that she trusted by the grace of God that she should spend the rest



of her days in it: And she was so well assured of the truth of 1687  
our Saviour's words, that she was confident the gates of hell should  
not prevail against it, but that he would be with it to the end of  
the world. All ended thus, that the religion which she pro-  
fessed taught her her duty to him, so that she should ever be  
his most obedient daughter and servant.

To this the next return of the post brought an answer from the  
King, which I saw not. But the account that was sent me of  
it was: The King took notice of the great progress he saw the  
Princess had made in her enquiries after those matters: The  
King's business did not allow him the time that was necessary  
to enter into the detail of her letter: He desired, she would  
read those books that he had mentioned to her in his former  
letters, and some others that he intended to send her: And,  
if she desired to be more fully satisfied, he proposed to her to  
discourse about them with *F. Morgan*, an *English* Jesuit then at  
the *Hague*.

I have set down very minutely every particular that was in  
those letters, and very near in the same words. It must  
be confessed, that persons of this Quality seldom enter into  
such a discussion. The King's letter contained a studied account  
of the change of his religion, which he had repeated often:  
And it was perhaps prepared for him by some others. There  
were some things in it, which, if he had made a little more re-  
flection on them, it may be supposed he would not have  
mentioned. The course of his own life was not so strict, as  
to make it likely that the good lives of some Papists had made  
such impressions upon him. The easy absolutions that are grant-  
ed in that Church are a much juster prejudice in this respect  
against it, than the good lives of a few can be supposed to be  
an argument for it. The adorning their Churches, was a re-  
flection that did no great honour to him that made it. The  
severities used by the Church of *England* against the Dissenters  
were urged with a very ill grace by one of the Church of *Rome*,  
that has delighted her self so often by being, as it were, bathed  
with the blood of those they call hereticks: And, if it had not  
been for the respect that a daughter paid her father, here greater  
advantages might have been taken. I had a high opinion of  
the Princess's good understanding, and of her knowledge in  
those matters, before I saw this letter: But this surprized me.  
It gave me an astonishing joy, to see so young a person all of  
the sudden, without consulting any one person, to be able to  
write so solid and learned a letter, in which she mixed with the  
respect that she paid a father so great a firmness, that by it she  
cut off all further treaty. And her repulsing the attack, that the  
King

Reflections  
on these let-  
ters.



1687 King made upon her, with so much resolution and force, did let the Popish party see, that she understood her religion as well as she loved it.

A prosecu-  
tion set on a-  
gainst me.

But now I must say somewhat of my self: After I had staid a year in *Holland*, I heard from many hands, that the King seemed to forget his own greatness when he spoke of me, which he took occasion to do very often. I had published some account of the short *Tour* I had made in several letters; in which my chief design was to expose both Popery and Tyranny. The book was well received, and was much read: And it raised the King's displeasure very high.

My continuing at the *Hague* made him conclude, that I was managing designs against him. And some papers in single sheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings of *England*, which seemed to have a considerable effect on those who read them. These were printed in *Holland*: And many copies of them were sent into all the parts of *England*. All which inflamed the King the more against me; for he believed they were writ by me, as indeed most of them were. But that which gave the crisis to the King's anger was, that he heard I was to be married to a considerable fortune at the *Hague*. So a project was formed to break this, by charging me with high treason for corresponding with Lord *Argile*, and for conversing with some that were outlawed for high treason.

The King ordered a letter to be writ in his name to his Advocate in *Scotland* to prosecute me for some probable thing or other; which was intended only to make a noise, not doubting but this would break the intended marriage. A ship coming from *Scotland* the day in which this prosecution was ordered, that had a quick passage, brought me the first news of it, long before it was sent to *D'Albeville*. So I petitioned the States, who were then sitting, to be naturalized in order to my intended marriage. And this past in course, without the least difficulty; which perhaps might have been made, if this prosecution, now begun in *Scotland*, had been known. Now I was legally under the protection of the States of *Holland*. Yet I writ a full justification of my self, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in some letters that I sent to the Earl of *Middleton*. But in one of these I said, that, being now naturalized in *Holland*, my allegiance was, during my stay in these parts, transferred from his Majesty to the States. I also said in another letter, that, if upon my non-appearance a sentence should pass against me, I might be perhaps forced to justify my self, and to give an account of the share that I had in affairs these twenty years past: In which I might be led to mention some things, that I

was



was afraid would displease the King: And therefore I should be sorry, if I were driven to it. 1687

Now the Court thought they had somewhat against me: For they knew they had nothing before. So the first citation was let fall, and a new one was ordered on these two accounts. I was pretended to be high treason, to say my allegiance was now transferred: And it was set forth, as a high indignity to the King, to threaten him with writing a history of the transactions past these last twenty years. The first of these struck at a great point, which was a part of the law of Nations. Every man that was naturalized took an oath of allegiance to the Prince or State that naturalized him. And, since no man can serve two masters, or be under a double allegiance, it is certain, that there must be a transfer of allegiance, at least during the stay in the country where one is so naturalized.

This matter was kept up against me for some time, the Court delaying proceeding to any sentence for several months. At last a sentence of outlawry was given: And upon that *Alberville* said, that, if the States would not deliver me up, he would find such instruments as should seize on me, and carry me away forcibly. The methods he named of doing this were very ridiculous. And he spoke of it to so many persons, that I believe his design was rather to frighten me, than that he could think to effect them. Many overtures were made to some of my friends in *London*, not only to let this prosecution fall, but to promote me, if I would make my self capable of it. I entertained none of these. I had many stories brought me of the discourses among some of the brutal *Irish*, then in the *Dutch* service. But, I thank God, I was not moved with them. I resolved to go on, and to do my duty, and to do what service I could to the publick, and to my Country: And resigned my self up entirely to that Providence, that had watched over me to that time with an indulgent care, and had made all the designs of my enemies against me turn to my great advantage.

I come now to the year 1688, which proved memorable, and produced an extraordinary and unheard-of Revolution. 1688  
The year in this Century made all people reflect on the same year in the former Century, in which the power of *Spain* received so great a check, that the decline of that Monarchy began then; and *England* was saved from an invasion, that, if it had succeeded as happily as it was well laid, must have ended in the absolute conquest and utter ruin of the Nation. Our books are so full of all that related to that *Armada*, boasted to be invincible, that I need add no more of so known and so remarkable a piece of  
our



1688 our history. A new eighty eight raised new expectations, in which the surprising events did far exceed all that could have been looked for.

*Albeville's memorial to the States.*

I begin the year with *Albeville's* negotiation after his coming to the *Hague*. He had before his going over given in a threatening memorial upon the business of *Bantam*, that looked like a prelude of a declaration of war; for he demanded a present answer, since the King could no longer bear the injustice done him in that matter, which was set forth in very high words. He sent this memorial to be printed at *Amsterdam*, before he had communicated it to the States. The chief effect that this had was, that the Actions of the Company did sink for some days. But they rose soon again: And by this it was said, that *Albeville* himself made the greatest gain. The *East-India* fleet was then expected home every day. So the Merchants, who remembered well the business of the *Smirna* fleet in the year seventy two, did apprehend that the King had sent a fleet to intercept them, and that this memorial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach, when it should happen: But nothing of that sort followed upon it. The States did answer this memorial with another, that was firm, but more decently expressed: By their last treaty with *England* it was provided, that, in case any disputes should arise between the Merchants of either side, Commissioners should be named of both sides to hear and judge the matter: The King had not yet named any of his side: So that the delay lay at his door: They were therefore amazed to receive a memorial in so high a strain, since they had done all that by the treaty was incumbent on them. *Albeville* after this gave in another memorial, in which he desired them to send over Commissioners for ending that dispute. But, tho' this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived, yet in this the thing was so ill apprehended, that the *Dutch* had reason to believe that the King's Ministers did not know the treaty, or were not at leisure to read it: For, according to the treaty, and the present posture of that business, the King was obliged to send over Commissioners to the *Hague* to judge of that affair. When this memorial was answered, and the treaty was examined, the matter was let fall.

*Albeville's* next negotiation related to my self. I had printed a paper in justification of my self, together with my letters to the Earl of *Middleton*. And he in a memorial complained of two passages in that paper. One was, that I said it was yet too early to persecute men for religion, and therefore crimes against the State were pretended by my enemies: This, he said, did insinuate, that the King did in time intend to persecute  
for



for religion. The other was, that I had put in it an intimation, that I was in danger by some of the *Irish* Papists. This, he said, was a reflection on the King, who hated all such practices. And to this he added, that by the laws of *England* all the King's subjects were bound to seize on any person that was condemned in his Courts, in what manner soever they could: And therefore he desired, that both I and the printer of that paper might be punished. But now upon his return to the *Hague*, I being outlawed by that time, he demanded, that, in pursuance of an article of the treaty that related to rebels or fugitives, I might be banished the Provinces. And to this he craved once and again a speedy answer.

I was called before the Deputies of the States of *Holland*, that I might answer the two memorials that lay before them relating to my self. I observed the difference between them. The one desired, that the States would punish me, which did acknowledge me to be their subject. The other, in contradiction to that, laid claim to me as the King's rebel. As to the particulars complained of, I had made no reflection on the King; but to the contrary. I said, my enemies found it was not yet time to persecute for religion. This insinuated, that the King could not be brought to it. And no person could be offended with this, but he who thought it was now not too early to persecute. As to that of the danger in which I apprehended my self to be in, I had now more reason than before to complain of it, since the Envoy had so publickly affirmed, that every one of the King's subjects might seize on any one that was condemned, in what manner soever they could, which was either dead or alive. I was now the subject of the States of *Holland*, naturalized in order to a marriage among them, as they all knew: And therefore I claimed their protection. So, if I was charged with any thing that was not according to law, I submitted my self to their justice. I should decline no trial, nor the utmost severity, if I had offended in any thing. As for the two memorials that claimed me as a fugitive and a rebel, I could not be looked on as a fugitive from *Scotland*. It was now fourteen years since I had left that Kingdom, and three since I came out of *England* with the King's leave. I had lived a year in the *Hague* openly; and nothing was laid to my charge. As for the sentence that was pretended to be past upon me, I could say nothing to it, till I saw a copy of it.

The States were fully satisfied with my answers; and ordered a memorial to be drawn according to them. They also ordered their Embassador to represent to the King, that he himself knew how sacred a thing naturalization was. The faith and

The States  
answer to  
what related  
to me.



1688 honour of every State was concerned in it. I had been naturalized upon marrying one of their subjects, which was the justest of all reasons. If the King had any thing to lay to my charge, justice should be done in their Courts. The King took the matter very ill; and said, it was an affront to him, and a just cause of war. Yet, after much passion, he said, he did not intend to make war upon it; for he was not then in condition to do it. But he knew there were designs against him, to make war on him, against which he should take care to secure himself: And he should be on his guard. The Embassador asked him, of whom he meant that. But he did not think fit to explain himself further. He ordered a third memorial to be put in against me, in which the article of the treaty was set forth: But no notice was taken of the answers made to that by the States: But it was insisted on, that, since the States were bound not to give sanctuary to fugitives and rebels, they ought not to examine the grounds on which such judgments were given, but were bound to execute the treaty. Upon this it was observed, that the words in treaties ought to be explained according to their common acceptation, or the sense given them in the civil law, and not according to any particular forms of Courts, where for non-appearance a writ of outlawry or rebellion might lie: The sense of the word Rebel in common use was, a man that had born arms, or had plotted against his Prince: And a fugitive was a man that fled from justice. The heat with which the King seemed inflamed against me, carried him to say and do many things that were very little to his honour.

Other designs against me.

I had advertisements sent me of a further progress in his designs against me. He had it suggested to him, that, since a sentence was past against me for non-appearance, and the States refused to deliver me up, he might order private persons to execute the sentence as they could: And it was writ over very positively, that 5000 *l.* would be given to any one that should murder me. A Gentleman of an unblemished reputation writ me word, that he himself by accident saw an order drawn in the Secretaries Office, but not yet signed, for 3000 *l.* to a blank person that was to seize or destroy me. And he also affirmed, that Prince *George* had heard of the same thing, and had desired the person to whom he trusted it to convoy the notice of it to me: And my author was employed by that person to send the notice to me. The King asked *Jefferies*, what he might do against me in a private way, now that he could not get me into his hands. *Jefferies* answered, he did not see how the King could do any more than he had done.

He



He told this to Mr. *Kirk* to send it to me: For he concluded, the King was resolved to proceed to extremities, and only wanted the opinion of a man of the law to justify a more violent method. I had so many different advertisements sent me of this, that I concluded a whisper of such a design might have been set about, on design to frighten me into some mean submission, or into silence at least. But it had no other effect on me, but that I thought it fit to stay more within doors, and to use a little more than ordinary caution. I thank God, I was very little concerned at it. I resigned up my life very freely to God. I knew my own innocence, and the root of all the malice that was against me. And I never possessed my own soul in a more perfect calm, and in a clearer cheerfulness of spirit, than I did during all those threatnings, and the apprehensions that others were in concerning me.

Soon after this a letter writ by *Fagel* the Pensioner of *Holland* was printed: Which leads me to look back a little into a transaction that passed the former year. There was one *Steward*, a lawyer of *Scotland*, a man of great parts, and of as great ambition. He had given over the practice of the law, because all that were admitted to the bar in *Scotland* were required to renounce the Covenant, which he would not do. This recommended him to the confidence of that whole party. They had made great use of him, and trusted him entirely. *Pen* had engaged him, who had been long considered by the King as the chief manager of all the rebellions and plots that had been on foot these twenty years past, more particularly of *Argile's*, to come over: And he undertook, that he should not only be received into favour, but into confidence. He came, before he crossed the Seas, to the Prince, and promised an inviolable fidelity to him, and to the common interests of religion and liberty. He had been oft with the Pensioner, and had a great measure of his confidence. Upon his coming to Court, he was caressed to a degree that amazed all who knew him. He either believed, that the King was sincere in the professions he made, and that his designs went no further than to settle a full liberty of conscience: Or he thought, that it became a man who had been so long in disgrace, not to shew any jealousies at first, when the King was so gracious to him. He undertook to do all that lay in his power to advance his designs in *Scotland*, and to represent his intentions so at the *Hague*, as might incline the Prince to a better opinion of them.

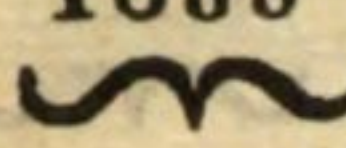
He opened all this in several letters to the Pensioner. And in these he pressed him vehemently, in the King's name, and by his direction, to persuade the Prince to concur with the King

in

1688

Pensioner  
Fagel's letter.



1688 in procuring the laws to be repealed. He laid before him the  inconsiderable number of the Papists: So that there was no reason to apprehend much from them. He also enlarged on the severities that the penal laws had brought on the Dissenters. The King was resolved not to consent to the repealing them, unless the Tests were taken away with them: So that the refusing to consent to this might at another time bring them under another severe prosecution. *Steward*, after he had writ many letters to this purpose without receiving any answers, tried if he could serve the King in *Scotland* with more success, than it seemed he was like to have at the *Hague*. But he found there, that his old friends were now much alienated from him, looking on him as a person entirely gained by the Court.

The Pensioner laid all his letters before the Prince. They were also brought to me. The Prince upon this thought, that a full answer made by *Fagell*, in such a manner as that it might be published as a declaration of his intentions, might be of service to him in many respects; chiefly in Popish Courts, that were on civil accounts inclined to an alliance against *France*, but were now possessed with an opinion of the Prince, and of his party in *England*, as designing nothing but the ruin and extirpation of all the Papists in those Kingdoms. So the Pensioner wrote a long answer to *Steward*, which was put in *English* by me.

He began it with great assurances of the Prince and Princess's duty to the King. They were both of them much against all persecution on the account of religion. They freely consented to the covering Papists from the severities of the laws made against them on the account of their religion, and also that they might have the free exercise of it in private. They also consented to grant a full liberty to Dissenters. But they could not consent to the repeal of those laws that tended only to the securing the Protestant religion; such as those concerning the Tests, which imported no punishment, but only an incapacity of being in publick employments, which could not be complained of as great severities. This was a caution observed in all Nations, and was now necessary, both for securing the publick peace and the established religion. If the numbers of the Papists were so small as to make them inconsiderable, then it was not reasonable to make such a change for the sake of a few. And if those few, that pretended to publick employments, would do all their own party so great a prejudice, as not to suffer the King to be content with the repeal of the penal laws, unless they could get into the offices of trust, then their ambition was only to be blamed, if the offers now made were



not accepted. The matter was very strongly argued thro' the whole letter: And the Prince and Princess's zeal for the Protestant Religion was set out in terms, that could not be very acceptable to the King. The letter was carried by *Steward* to the King, and was brought by him into the Cabinet Council. But nothing followed then upon it. The King ordered *Steward* to write back, that he would either have all or nothing. All the Lay-Papists of *England*, who were not engaged in the intrigues of the Priests, pressed earnestly that the King would accept of the repeal of the penal laws; which was offered, and would have made them both easy and safe for the future. The Emperor was fully satisfied with what was offered; and promised to use his interest at *Rome*, to get the Pope to write to the King to accept of this, as a step to the other: But I could not learn whether he did it, or not. If he did, it had no effect. The King was in all points governed by the Jesuits, and the *French* Ambassador.

Father *Petre*, as he had been long in the confidence, was now brought to the Council board, and made a Privy Counsellor: And it was given out, that the King was resolved to get a Cardinal's Cap for him, and to make him Archbishop of *York*. The Pope was still firm to his resolution against it. But it was hoped, that the King would conquer it, if not in the present, yet at furthest in the next Pontificate. The King resolved at the same time not to disgust the Secular Priests: So Bishop *Leyburn*, whom Cardinal *Howard* had sent over with the Episcopal character, was made much use of in appearance, tho' he had no great share in the counsels. There was a faction formed between the Seculars and the Jesuits, which was sometimes near breaking out into an open rupture. But the King was so partial to the Jesuits, that the others found they were not on equal terms with them. There were three other Bishops consecrated for *England*. And these four were ordered to make a progress and circuit over *England*, confirming, and doing other Episcopal offices, in all the parts of *England*. Great numbers gathered about them, wheresoever they went.

Father *Petre*  
made a Privy  
Counsellor.

The Jesuits thought all was sure, and that their scheme was so well laid that it could not miscarry. And they had so possessed that contemptible tool of theirs, *Albeville*, with this, that he seemed upon his return to the *Hague* to be so sanguine, that he did not stick to speak out, what a wiser man would have suppressed tho' he had believed it. One day, when the Prince was speaking of the promises the King had made, and the oath that he had sworn to maintain the laws and the established Church, he, instead of pretending that the King still kept his word,

The confidence of the  
Jesuits.



1688 said, upon some occasions Princes must forget their promises. And, when the Prince said, that the King ought to have more regard to the Church of *England*, which was the main body of the Nation, *Albeville* answered, that the body which he called the Church of *England* would not have a being two years to an end. Thus he spoke out the designs of the Court, both too early and too openly. But at the same time he behaved himself in all other respects so poorly, that he became the jest of the *Hague*. The foreign Ministers, Mr. *D'Avaux* the *French* Ambassador not excepted, did not know how to excuse or bear with his weakness, which appeared on all occasions and in all companies.

The Pensioner's letter was printed.

What he wrote to *England* upon his first audiences was not known. But it was soon after spread up and down the Kingdom, very artificially and with much industry, that the Prince and Princess had now consented to the repeal of the Tests, as well as of the penal laws. This was writ over by many hands to the *Hague*. The Prince, to prevent the ill effects that might follow on such reports, gave orders to print the Pensioner's letter to *Steward*; which was sent to all the parts of *England*, and was received with an universal joy. The Dissenters saw themselves now safe in his intentions towards them. The Church party was confirmed in their zeal for maintaining the Tests. And the Lay-Papists seemed likewise to be so well pleased with it, that they complained of those ambitious Priests, and hungry Courtiers, who were resolved, rather than lay down their aspirings and other projects, to leave them still exposed to the severities of the laws, tho' a freedom from these was now offered to them. But it was not easy to judge, whether this was sincerely meant by them, or if it was only a popular art, to commend themselves under such a moderate appearance. The Court saw the hurt that this letter did them. At first they hoped to have stifled it by calling it an imposture. But when they were driven from that, the King began to speak severely and indecently of the Prince, not only to all about him, but even to foreign Ministers: And resolved to put such marks of his indignation upon him, as should let all the world see how deep it was.

The King asked the Regiments of his subjects in the States service.

There were six Regiments of the King's subjects, three *English* and three *Scottish*, in the service of the States. Some of them were old Regiments, that had continued in their service during the two wars in the late King's reign. Others were raised since the peace in seventy three. But these came not into their service under any capitulation, that had reserved an authority to the King to call for them at his pleasure. When *Argile* and *Monmouth*



*Monmouth* made their invasion, the King desired that the States 1688 would lend them to him. Some of the towns of *Holland* were so jealous of the King, and wished *Monmouth's* success so much, that the Prince found some difficulty in obtaining the consent of the States to send them over. There was no distinction made among them between Papists and Protestants, according to a maxim of the States with relation to their armies: So there were several Papists in those Regiments. And the King had shewed such particular kindness to these, while they were in *England*, that at their return they formed a faction which was breeding great distractions among them. This was very uneasy to the Prince, who began to see that he might have occasion to make use of those bodies, if things should be carried to a rupture between the King and him: And yet he did not know how he could trust them, while such Officers were in command. He did not see neither, how he could get rid of them well. But the King helped him out of that difficulty: He wrote to the States, that he had occasion for the six Regiments of his subjects that were in their service, and desired that they should be sent over to him.

This demand was made all of the sudden, without any previous application to any of the States, to dispose them to grant it, or to many of the Officers to persuade them to ask their *Congè* to go over. The States pretended the Regiments were theirs: They had paid levy money for them, and had them under no capitulation: So they excused themselves, that they could not part with them. But they gave orders, that all the Officers that should ask their *Congè*, should have it. Thirty or forty came and asked, and had their *Congè*. So now the Prince was delivered from some troublesome men by this management of the King's. Upon that, these bodies were so modeled, that the Prince knew, that he might depend entirely on them: And he was no more disturbed by those insolent Officers, who had for some years behaved themselves rather as enemies, than as persons in the States pay.

Which was refused, but the Officers had leave to go.

The discourse of a Parliament was often taken up, and as often let fall: And it was not easy to judge in what such fluctuating counsels would end. Father *Petre* had gained such an ascendant, that he was considered as the first Minister of State. The Nuncio had moved the King to interpose, and mediate a reconciliation between the Court of *Rome* and *France*. But he answered, that since the Pope would not gratify him in the promotion of Father *Petre*, he would leave him to free himself of the trouble into which he had involved himself the best way he could. And our Court reckoned, that as soon as the Pope felt



1688 felt himself pressed, he would fly to the King for protection, and grant him every thing that he asked of him in order to obtain it. That Jesuit gave daily new proofs of a weak and ill governed passion, and discovered all the ill qualities of one, that seemed raised up to be the common incendiary, and to drive the King and his party to the precipice.

A new declaration for toleration.

Towards the end of *April* the King thought fit to renew the declaration, that he had set out the former year for liberty of conscience; with an addition, declaring that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none in any publick employments, but such as would concur with him in maintaining it. He also promised, that he would hold a Parliament in the *November* following. This promise of a Parliament so long beforehand was somewhat extraordinary. Both Father *Petre* and *Pen* engaged the King to it, but with a different prospect. *Pen*, and all the tools who were employed by him, had still some hopes of carrying a Parliament to agree with the King, if too much time was not lost: Whereas the delaying a Parliament raised jealousies, as if none were intended, but that it was only talked of to amuse the Nation till other designs were ripe.

On the other hand, Father *Petre* and his cabal saw that the King was kept off from many things that they proposed, with the expectation of the concurrence of a Parliament: And the fear of giving new disgusts, which might obstruct that, had begot a caution that was very uneasy to them. They thought that much time was already lost, and that they made but a small progress. They began to apprehend, that the Regulators, who were still feeding them with hopes, and were asking more time and more money, did intend only to amuse them, and to wear out the business into more length, and to keep themselves the longer in credit and in pay; but that they did not in their hearts wish well to the main design, and therefore acted but an insincere part with the King. Therefore they resolved to put that matter to the last trial, reckoning that, if the King saw it was in vain to hope for any thing in a Parliamentary way, he might be more easily carried to extream and violent methods.

Which the Clergy were ordered to read.

The King was not satisfied with the publishing his declaration: But he resolved to oblige the Clergy to read it in all their Churches in the time of divine service. And now it appeared, what bad effects were like to follow on that officious motion that *Sancroft* had made, for obliging the Clergy to read the declaration that King *Charles* set out in the year 1681, after the dissolution of the *Oxford* Parliament. An order past in Council, requiring



requiring the Bishops to send copies of the declaration to all their Clergy, and to order them to read it on two several *Sundays* in time of divine service. 1688

This put the Clergy under great difficulties. And they were at first much divided about it. Even many of the best and worthiest of them were under some distraction of thought. They had many meetings, and argued the point long among themselves, in and about *London*. On the one hand it was said, that if they refused to read it, the King would proceed against them for disobedience. It did not seem reasonable to run so great a hazard upon such a point, that was not strong enough to bear the consequences that might follow on a breach. Their reading it did not import their approving it. But was only a publication of an act of their King's. So it was proposed, to save the whole by making some declaration, that their reading it was a meer act of obedience, and did not import any assent and approbation of theirs. Others thought, that the publishing this in such manner was only imposed on them to make them odious and contemptible to the whole Nation, for reading that which was intended for their ruin. If they carried their compliance so far, that might provoke the Nobility and Gentry to carry theirs much further. If they once yielded the point, that they were bound to read every declaration, with this salvo that it did not import their approving it, they would be then bound to read every thing that should be sent to them: The King might make declarations in favour of all the points of Popery, and require them to read them: And they could not see where they must make their stops, if they did it not now. So it seemed necessary to fix on this, as a rule, that they ought to publish nothing in time of divine service, but that which they approved of. The point at present was not, whether a toleration was a lawful or an expedient thing. The declaration was founded on the claim of a dispensing power, which the King did now assume, that tended to the total subversion of the government, and the making it arbitrary; whereas by the constitution it was a legal administration. It also allowed such an infinite liberty, with the suspension of all penal laws, and that without any limitation, that Paganism it self might be now publickly professed. It was visible, that the design in imposing the reading of it on them, was only to make them ridiculous, and to make them contribute to their own ruin. As for the danger that they might incur, they saw their ruin was resolved on: And nothing they could do was like to prevent it, unless they would basely sacrifice their religion to their worldly interests. It would be perhaps a year sooner or



1688 later by any other management: It was therefore fit, that they should prepare themselves for suffering; and not endeavour to prevent it by doing that, which would draw on them the hatred of their friends, and the scorn of their enemies.

To which they would not give obedience.

These reasons prevailed: And they resolved not to read the declaration. They saw of what importance it was, that they should be unanimous in this. Nothing could be of more fatal consequence than their being divided in their practice. For, if any considerable body of the Clergy, such as could carry the name of the Church of *England*, could have been prevailed on to give obedience, and only some number, how valuable soever the men might be, should refuse to obey; then the Court might still pretend, that they would maintain the Church of *England*, and single out all those who had not given obedience, and fall on them, and so break the Church within itself upon this point, and then destroy the one half by the means of the rest. The most eminent resolved not to obey: And those who might be prevailed on to comply would by that means fall under such contempt, that they could not have the credit or strength to support the established religion. The Court depended upon this, that the greater part would obey: And so they would be furnished with a point of State, to give a colour for turning out the disobedient, who were like to be the men that stood most in their way, and crossed their designs most, both with their learning and credit.

Those few Bishops that were engaged in the design of betraying the Church, were persuaded that this would be the event of the matter: And they possessed the King with the hope of it so positively, that he seemed to depend upon it. The correspondence over *England* was managed with that secrecy, that these resolutions were so communicated to the Clergy in the Country, that they were generally engaged to agree in their conduct, before the Court came to apprehend that they would be so unanimous, as it proved in conclusion that they were.

The Archbishop and six Bishops petition the King.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Sancroft*, resolved upon this occasion to act suitably to his post and character. He wrote round his Province, and desired that such of the Bishops as were able would come up, and consult together in a matter of this great concern: And he asked the opinion of those, whom their age and infirmities disabled from taking the journey. He found, that eighteen of the Bishops, and the main body of the Clergy, concurred in the resolution against reading the declaration. So he, with six of the Bishops that came up to *London*, resolved in a petition to the King, to lay before him the reasons that determined them not to obey the order of Council that had been

sent



sent them: This flowed from no want of respect to his Majesty's authority, nor from any unwillingness to let favour be shewed to Dissenters; in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a temper, as should be thought fit, when that matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation: But, this declaration being founded on such a dispensing power, as had been often declared illegal in Parliament, both in the year 1662 and in the year 1672, and in the beginning of his own reign, and was a matter of so great consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State; they could not in prudence, honour, and conscience, make themselves so far parties to it, as the publication of it once and again in God's house, and in the time of divine service, must amount to.

The Archbishop was then in an ill State of health. So he sent over the six Bishops with the petition to the King, signed by himself and the rest. The King was much surprised with this, being flattered and deceived by his spies. *Cartwright*, Bishop of *Chester*, was possessed with a story that was too easily believed by him, and was by him carried to the King, who was very apt to believe every thing that suited with his own designs. The story was, that the Bishops intended by a petition to the King to let him understand that orders of this kind used to be addressed to their Chancellors, but not to themselves; and to pray him to continue that method: And that by this means they hoped to get out of this difficulty. This was very acceptable to the Court, and procured the Bishops a quick admittance. And they had proceeded so carefully that nothing concerted among them had broken out; for they had been very secret and cautious. The King, when he heard their petition, and saw his mistake, spoke roughly to them. He said, he was their King, and he would be obeyed: And they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him. The six Bishops were *St. Asaph*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Chichester*, and *Bristol*. The answer they made the King was in these words: *The will of God be done*. And they came from the Court in a sort of triumph. Now matters were brought to a crisis. The King was engaged on his part, as the Bishops were on theirs. So all people looked on with great expectations, reckoning that upon the issue of this business a great decision would be made, both of the designs of the Court, and of the temper of the Nation.

The King consulted for some days with all that were now employed by him, what he should do upon this emergent; and talked with people of all persuasions. *Lob*, an eminent man among



1688 among the Dissenters, who was entirely gained to the Court, advised the King to send the Bishops to the Tower. Father *Petre* seemed now as one transported with joy: For he thought the King was engaged to break with the Church of *England*. And it was reported, that he broke out into that indecent expression upon it, that they should be made to eat their own dung. The King was long in doubt. Some of the Popish Nobility pressed him earnestly to let the matter fall: For now it appeared, that the body of the Clergy were resolved not to read the declaration. Those who did obey, were few and inconsiderable. Only seven obeyed in the City of *London*, and not above two hundred all *England* over: And of these some read it the first *Sunday*, but changed their minds before the second: Others declared in their sermons, that tho' they obeyed the order, they did not approve of the declaration: And one, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people, that, tho' he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and he stopt till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls: In many places, as soon as the Minister began to read it, all the people rose, and went out.

The King did what he could to encourage those that did obey his order. *Parker*, Bishop of *Oxford*, died about this time. He wrote a book against the Tests full of petulant scurrility, of which I shall only give one instance. He had reflected much on the whole Popish Plot, and on *Oates's* evidence: And upon that he called the Test, the Sacrament of the *Oatesian* villainy. He treated the Parliament that enacted the Tests with a scorn that no Popish writer had yet ventured on: And he said much to excuse transubstantiation, and to free the Church of *Rome* from the charge of idolatry. This raised such a disgust of him, even in those that had been formerly but too much influenced by him, that, when he could not help seeing that, he sunk upon it. I was desired to answer his book with the severity that he deserved: And I did it with an acrimony of stile, that nothing but such a time, and such a man, could in any sort excuse. It was said, the King sent him my papers, hearing that no body else durst put them in his hands, hoping that it would raise his indignation, and engage him to answer them. And one *Hall*, a Conformist in *London*, who was looked on as half a Presbyterian, yet, because he read the declaration, was made Bishop of *Oxford*. One of the Popish Bishops was upon the King's *Mandamus* chosen by the illegal Fellows of *Magdalen's* College their President. The sense of the Nation, as well as of the Clergy, had appeared so signally on this occasion, that it was visible, that the King had not only the seven petitioning Bishops to deal



deal with, but the body of the whole Nation, both Clergy and Laity. 1688

The violent advices of Father *Petre*, and the Jesuite party, were so fatally suited to the King's own temper and passion, that they prevailed over the wiser counsels of almost all that were advised with. But the King, before he would bring the matter to the Council, secretly engaged all the Privy Counsellors to concur with him: And, after a fortnight's consultation, the Bishops were cited to appear before the Council. The petition was offered to them; and they were asked, if they owned it to be their petition. They answered, it seemed they were to be proceeded against upon that account; so they hoped the King would not press them to a confession, and then make use of it against them: After they had offered this, they owned the petition. They were next charged with the publication of it; for it was then printed. But they absolutely denied that was done by their means. The Archbishop had written the petition all in his own hand, without employing any person to copy it out: And tho' there was one draught written of the petition, as it was agreed on, from which he had written out the original which they had all signed, yet he had kept that still in his own possession, and had never shewn it to any person: So it was not published by them: That must have been done by some of those to whom the King had shewed it.

The King ordered the Bishops to be prosecuted for it.

They were in the next place required to enter into bonds to appear in the Court of the King's bench, and answer to an information of misdemeanor. They excepted to this; and said, that by their Peerage they were not bound to do it. Upon their insisting on this, they were sent to the Tower, by a warrant signed by the whole board, except Father *Petre*, who was past over by the King's order. This set all the whole City into the highest fermentation that was ever known in memory of man. The Bishops were sent by water to the Tower: And all along as they past the banks of the river were full of people, who kneeled down and asked their blessing, and with loud shouts expressed their good wishes for them, and their concern in their preservation. The soldiers, and other officers in the Tower, did the same. An universal consternation appeared in all peoples looks. But the King was not moved with all this. And, tho' two days after, upon the Queen's pretended delivery, the King had a fair occasion to have granted a general pardon to celebrate the joy of that birth, (and it was given out by those Papists that had always affected to pass for moderate men, that they had all pressed this vehemently,) the King was inflexible:

They were sent to the Tower.



1688 He said, his authority would become contemptible, if he suffered such an affront to pass unpunished.

A week after their commitment, they were brought upon a *Habeas Corpus* to the King's bench bar, where their Counsel offered to make it appear to be an illegal commitment: But the Court allowed it good in law. They were required to enter into bonds for small sums, to answer to the information that day fortnight.

But soon after discharged. The Bishops were discharged of their imprisonment: And people of all sorts ran to visit them as Confessors, one company going in as another went out. The appearance in *Westminster-Hall* was very solemn: About thirty of the Nobility accompanying them. All the streets were full of shoutings the rest of the day, and with bonfires at night.

They were tried. When the day fixed for their trial came, there was a vast concourse. *Westminster-Hall*, and all the places about, were full of people, who were strangely affected with the matter. Even the Army, that was then encamped on *Hounslow-Heath*, shewed such a disposition to mutiny, that it gave the King no small uneasiness. The trial came on, which was chiefly managed against the Bishops by Sir *William Williams*. He had been Speaker in two successive Parliaments, and was a zealous promoter of the Exclusion: And he had continued many years a bold pleader in all causes against the Court: But he was a corrupt and vicious man, who had no principles, but followed his own interests. *Sawyer* the Attorney General, who had for many years served the ends of the Court in a most abject and obsequious manner, would not support the dispensing power: So he was turned out, *Powis* being advanced to be Attorney General: And *Williams* was made Solicitor General. *Powis* acted his part in this trial as fairly as his post could admit of. But *Williams* took very indecent liberties. And he had great advantages over *Sawyer* and *Finch*, who were among the Bishops Counsel, by reflecting on the precedents and proceedings during their being the King's Counsel. The King's Counsel could not have full proof, that the Bishops hands were truly theirs, and were forced to have recourse to the confession they had made at the Council board; which was thought very dishonourable, since they had made that confession in confidence, trusting to the King's honour, tho' it did not appear that any promise was made, that no advantage should be taken of that confession. No proof was brought of their publishing it, which was the main point. The presenting it to the King, and afterwards their owning it to be their petition, when it was put to them at the Council board, was all that the King's Counsel could offer



offer for proof of this; which was an apparent strain, in which 1688 even those Judges, that were the surest to the Court, did not seem to be satisfied. It was much urged against them, that this petition was a libel, tending to the defaming the King's government.

But to this it was answered, that they having received an order, to which they found they could not give obedience, thought it was incumbent on them, as Bishops, and as subjects, to lay before the King their reasons for it: All subjects had a right to petition the King: They as Peers were of his great Council, and so had yet a better claim to that: And that more particularly in matters of religion; for the act of uniformity in Queen *Elizabeth's* time had required them under a curse to look carefully after those matters: The dispensing power had been often brought into debate in Parliament, and was always voted to be against law: And the late King had yielded the point by recalling his declaration: So they thought, they had a right to represent these things to the King. And occasion was often taken to reflect on the dispensing power. To this the King's Counsel replied, that the votes of one or both Houses were not laws, till they were enacted by King and Parliament: And the late King's passing once from a point of his prerogative did not give it up, but only waved it for that time: They urged much the sacredness of the King's authority; that a paper might be true in fact, and yet be a libel; that in Parliament the two Houses had a right to petition, but it was sedition to do it in a point of government out of Parliament.

The trial did last long, above ten hours. The crowds continued in expectation all the while, and expressed so great a concern for the Bishops, that the witnesses who were brought against them were not only treated with much scorn, and loud laughter upon every occasion, but seemed to be in such danger, that they escaped narrowly, going away by a back passage. Two of the Judges, *Powel* and *Halloway*, delivered their opinion, that there was no seditious matter in the petition, and that it was no libel. *Wright* was now brought into this Court and made Chief Justice; and *Herbert* was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: *Herbert* was with the Court in the main of the King's dispensing power, but was against them in most particulars: So he could not serve their ends in this Court. *Wright* was the properer tool. He in his charge called the petition a libel: But he did not think the publication was proved.

The Jury was fairly returned. When they were shut up, they were soon agreed upon their verdict, to acquit the Bishops. But it was thought to be both the more solemn, and the safer way,



1688 way, to continue shut up till the morning. The King still flattered himself with the hope that the Bishops would be brought in guilty. He went that morning to the camp: For the ill humour the Army was in the day before, made him think it necessary to go and keep them in awe and order by his own presence.

To the great  
joy of the  
Town and  
Nation.

The Court sat again next day. And then the Jury came in with their verdict. Upon which there were such shoutings, so long continued, and as it were echoed into the City, that all people were struck with it. Every man seemed transported with joy. Bonfires were made all about the streets. And the news going over the Nation, produced the like rejoycings and bonfires all *England* over. The King's presence kept the Army in some order. But he was no sooner gone out of the camp, than he was followed with an universal shouting, as if it had been a victory obtained. And so fatally was the King pushed on to his ruin, that he seemed not to be by all this enough convinced of the folly of those violent counsels. He intended still to pursue them. It was therefore resolved on, to bring this matter of the contempt of the order of Council in not reading the declaration before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. They did not think fit to cite the Archbishop and Bishops before them: For they did not doubt they would plead to their jurisdiction, and refuse to acknowledge their authority; which they hoped their Chancellors, and the inferior Clergy, would not venture on.

The Clergy  
was next de-  
signed a-  
gainst.

Citations were sent out requiring the Chancellors, and Archdeacons to send in the lists of all the Clergy, both of such as had obeyed, and of those who had not obeyed the order of Council. Some of these were now so much animated with the sense that the Nation had expressed of the Bishop's imprisonment and trial, that they declared they would not obey this order: And others excused themselves in softer terms. When the day came to which they were cited, the Bishop of *Rochester*, tho' he himself had obeyed the order, and had hitherto gone along, sitting with the other Commissioners, but had always voted on the milder side, yet now, when he saw matters were running so fast to the ruin of the Church, he not only would sit no longer with them, but wrote a letter to them; in which he said, it was impossible for him to go on with them any longer, for tho' he himself had obeyed the order of Council, which he protested he did because he thought he was bound in conscience to do it, yet he did not doubt but that those who had not obeyed it had gone upon the same principle of following their conscience, and he would much rather choose



to suffer with them than to concur in making them suffer. This 1688  
 stopped proceedings for that day, and put the Court to a stand.   
 So they adjourned themselves till *December*: And they never sat  
 any more.

This was the progress of that transaction, which was confi-  
 dered all *Europe* over as the trial whether the King or the Church were like to prevail. The decision was as favourable as  
 was possible. The King did assume to himself a power to make  
 laws void, and to qualify men for employments, whom the law  
 had put under such incapacities that all they did was null and  
 void. The Sheriffs and Mayors of towns were no legal Officers:  
 Judges, (one of them being a professed Papist, *Alibon*,) who took  
 not the Test, were no Judges: So that the government, and the  
 legal administration of it, was broken. A Parliament returned  
 by such men was no legal Parliament. All this was done by  
 virtue of the dispensing power, which changed the whole frame  
 of our government, and subjected all the laws to the King's  
 pleasure: For, upon the same pretence of that power, other de-  
 clarations might have come out voiding any other laws that the  
 Court found stood in their way; since we had scarce any law  
 that was fortified with such clauses to force the execution of  
 it, as those that were laid aside had in them. And when the  
 King pretended, that this was such a sacred point of govern-  
 ment, that a petition, offered in the modestest terms, and in  
 the humblest manner possible, calling it in question, was made  
 so great a crime, and carried so far against men of such emi-  
 nence; this I confess satisfied me, that here was a total destruction of  
 our constitution, avowedly began, and violently prosecuted. Here  
 was not jealousies nor fears: The thing was open and avowed.  
 This was not a single act of illegal violence, but a declared de-  
 sign against the whole of our constitution. It was not only the  
 judgment of a Court of law: The King had now by two pub-  
 lick acts of state, renewed in two successive years, openly pub-  
 lished his design. This appeared such a total subversion, that,  
 according to the principles that some of the highest assertors of  
 submission and obedience, *Barklay* and *Grotius*, had laid down,  
 it was now lawful for the Nation to look to itself, and see to  
 its own preservation. And, as soon as any man was convinced  
 that this was lawful, there remained nothing but to look to the  
 Prince of *Orange*, who was the only person that either could  
 save them, or had a right to it: Since by all the laws in the  
 world, even private as well as publick, he that has in him the  
 reversion of any estate has a right to hinder the possessor, if  
 he goes about to destroy that which is to come to him after the  
 possessor's death.

The Effect  
 this had e-  
 very where.



1688  
*Russel* preferred the Prince.

Upon all this disorder that *England* was falling into, Admiral *Russel* came to the *Hague*. He had a good pretence for coming over to *Holland*, for he had a sister then living in it. He was desired by many of great power and interest in *England* to speak very freely to the Prince, and to know positively of him what might be expected from him. All people were now in a gaze: Those who had little or no religion had no mind to turn Papists, if they could see any probable way of resisting the fury with which the Court was now driving: But men of fortune, if they saw no visible prospect, would be governed by their present interest: They were at present united: But, if a breaking should once happen, and some men of figure should be prevailed on to change, that might go far; especially in a corrupt and dissolute Army, that was as it were let loose to commit crimes and violences every where, in which they were rather encouraged than punished; for it seemed to be set up as a maxim, that the Army by rendring it self odious to the Nation would become thereby entirely devoted to the Court: But after all, tho' soldiers were bad *Englishmen* and worse Christians, yet the Court found them too good Protestants to trust much to them. So *Russel* put the Prince to explain himself what he intended to do.

The Prince's answer.

The Prince answered, that, if he was invited by some men of the best interest, and the most valued in the Nation, who should both in their own name, and in the name of others who trusted them, invite him to come and rescue the Nation and the Religion, he believed he could be ready by the end of *September* to come over. The main confidence we had was in the Electoral Prince of *Brandenburg*; for the old Elector was then dying. And I told *Russel* at parting, that, unless he died, there would be great difficulties, not easily mastered, in the design of the Prince's expedition to *England*.

The Elector of *Brandenburg*'s death.

He was then ill of a dropsy, which, coming after a gout of a long continuance, seemed to threaten a speedy end of his life. I had the honour to see him at *Cleve*; and was admitted to two long audiences, in which he was pleased to speak to me with great freedom. He was a Prince of great courage. He both understood military matters well, and loved them much. He had a very perfect view of the state *Europe* had been in for fifty years, in which he had born a great share in all affairs, having directed his own counsels himself. He had a wonderful memory, even in the smallest matters; for every thing past under his eye. He had a quick apprehension, and a cholerick temper. The heat of his spirits was apt to kindle too quick, till his interest cooled him: And that fetched him back, which

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brought



brought him under the censure of changing sides too soon and too often. He was a very zealous man in all the concerns of religion. His own life was regular and free of all blemishes. He tried all that was possible to bring the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* to some terms of reconciliation. He complained much of the rigidity of the *Lutherans*, more particularly of those in *Prussia*: Nor was he well pleased with the stiffness of the *Calvinists*: And he inveighed against the Synod of *Dort*, as that which had set all on fire, and made matters almost past reconciling. He thought, all positive decisions in those matters ought to be laid aside by both parties, without which nothing could bring them to a better temper.

He had a very splendid Court: And to maintain that, and his great armies, his subjects were pressed hard by many uneasy taxes. He seemed not to have a just sense of the miseries of his people. His Ministers had great power over him in all lesser matters, while he directed the greater: And he suffered them to enrich themselves excessively.

In the end of his life the Electores had gained great credit, and governed his counsels too much. He had set it up for a maxim, that the Electoral families in *Germany* had weakened themselves so much, that they would not be able to maintain the liberty of the Empire against the *Austrian* Family, which was now rising by their victories in *Hungary*: The Houses of *Saxe*, and the *Palatine*, and of *Brunswick*, and *Hesse*, had done this so much, by the dismembring some of their dominions to their younger children, that they were mouldring to nothing: He therefore resolved to keep all his dominions entire in one hand: This would make his Family the balance to the House of *Austria*, on whom the rest of the Empire must depend: And he suffered his Electores to provide for her children, and to enrich herself by all the ways she could think on, since he would not give them any share of his dominions. This she did not fail to do. And the Elector, having just cause of complaint for being abandoned by the Allies in the peace of *Nimeguen*, and so forced to restore what he had got from the *Swedes*, the *French* upon that gave him a great pension, and made the Electores such presents, that he was prevailed on to enter into their interests: And in this he made some ill steps in the decline of his life. But nothing could soften him with relation to that Court, after they broke the edict of *Nantes*, and began the persecution of the Protestants. He took great care of all the Refugees. He set men on the frontier of *France* to receive and defray them; and gave them all the marks of Christian compassion, and of a bounty becoming so great a Prince. But his age and infirmities,



1688 ties, he being crippled with the gout, and the ill understanding that was between the Prince the Electoral and Electorefs, had fo disjointed his Court, that little was to be expected from him.

Death came upon him quicker than was looked for. He received the intimations of it with the firmnefs that became both a Christian and a Hero. He gave his laft advices to his fon, and to his Minifters, with a greatnefs and a tendernefs that both furprised and melted them all: And above all other things he recommended to them the concerns of the Proteftant Religion, then in fuch an univerfal danger. His fon had not his genius. He had not a ftrength of body nor a force of mind capable of great matters. But he was filled with zeal for the Reformed Religion: And he was at that time fo entirely poffeffed with a confidence in the Prince of *Orange*, and with a high eftem of him, as he was his coufin german, that we had a much better profpect of all our affairs by his fucceeding his father. And this was encreafed by the great credit that *Dankelman*, who had been his Governor, continued to have with him: For he had true notions of the affairs of *Europe*, and was a zealous Proteftant, and was like to prove a very good Minifter, tho' he was too abfolute in his favour, and was too much fet on raifing his own family. All at the *Hague* were looking with great concern on the affairs of *Europe*; thefe being, in many refpects, and in many different places, brought to a very critical ftate.

The Queen gave out that ſhe was with child.

I muſt now look back to *England*, where the Queen's delivery was the ſubject of all men's difcourſe. And ſince ſo much depends on this, I will give as full and as diſtinct an account of all that related to that matter, as I could gather up either at that time or afterwards. The Queen had been for fix or ſeven years in ſuch an ill ſtate of health, that every winter brought her very near death. Thoſe about her ſeemed well affured that ſhe, who had buried all her children ſoon after they were born, and had now for ſeveral years ceaſed bearing, would have no more children. Her own Priests apprehended it, and ſeemed to wiſh for her death. She had great and frequent diſtempers, that returned often, which put all people out of their hopes or fears of her having any children. Her ſpirits were now much on the fret. She was eager in the proſecution of all the King's deſigns. It was believed, that ſhe had a main hand in driving him to them all. And he, perhaps to make her gentler to him in his vagrant amours, was more eaſy to her in every thing elſe. The Lady *Dorcheſter* was come back from *Ireland*: And the King went oft to her. But it was viſible, ſhe was not



not like to gain that credit in affairs, to which she had aspired: 1688  
And therefore this was less considered. 

She had another mortification, when *Fitz-James* the King's son was made Duke of *Berwick*. He was a soft and harmless young man, and was much beloved by the King: But the Queen's dislike kept him from making any great figure. He made two campaigns in *Hungary*, that were little to his honour: For, as his Governor diverted the allowance that was given for keeping a table, and sent him always to eat at other tables, so, tho' in the siege of *Buda* there were many occasions given him to have distinguished himself, yet he had appeared in none of them. There was more care taken of his person, than became his age and condition. Yet his Governor's brother was a Jesuit, and in the secret: So every thing was ventured on by him, and all was forgiven him.

In *September*, the former year, the Queen went to the *Bath*, where, as was already told, the King came and saw her, and staid a few days with her. She after that pursued a full course of bathing: And, having resolved to return in the end of *September*, an accident took her to which the sex is subject: And that made her stay there a week longer. She came to *Windsor* on the sixth of *October*. It was said, that, at the very time of her coming to the King, her mother, the Duchess of *Modena*, made a vow to the Lady *Loretto*, that her daughter might by her means have a son. And it went current, that the Queen believed herself to be with child in that very instant, in which her mother made her vow: Of which, some travellers have assured me, there was a solemn record made at *Loretto*. A conception said to be thus begun looked suspicious. It was now fixed to the sixth of *October*: So the nine months were to run to the sixth of *July*. She was in the progress of her big belly let blood several times: And the most astringent things that could be proposed were used.

It was soon observed, that all things about her person were managed with a mysterious secrecy, into which none were admitted but a few Papists. She was not dressed nor undressed with the usual ceremony. Prince *George* told me, that the Princess went as far in desiring to be satisfied by feeling the motion, after she said she was quick, as she could go without breaking with her: And she had sometimes staid by her even indecently long in mornings, to see her rise, and to give her her shift: But she never did either. She never offered any satisfaction in that matter by letter to the Princess of *Orange*, nor to any of the Ladies of quality, in whose word the world would have acquiesced. The thing upon this began to be suspected: And some libels were writ, treating the whole as an imposture. The use the Queen



1688 made of this was, to say, that since she saw some were suspecting her as capable of so black a contrivance, she scorned to satisfy those who could entertain such thoughts of her. How just soever this might be with relation to the libellers, yet certainly, if she was truly with child, she owed it to the King and herself, to the King's daughters, but most of all to the infant she carried in her belly, to give such reasonable satisfaction, as might put an end to jealousy. This was in her power to do every day: And her not doing it gave just grounds of suspicion.

Things went thus on till *Monday* in *Easter* week. On that day the King went to *Rocheſter*, to see some of the naval preparations; but was soon sent for by the Queen, who apprehended she was in danger of miscarrying. Dr. *Scarborough* was come to *Knightsbridge* to see Bishop *Ward*, my predecessor, who had been his antient friend, and was then his patient: But the Queen's coach was sent to call him in all haste, since she was near miscarrying. Dr. *Windebank*, who knew nothing of this matter, staid long that morning upon an appointment for Dr. *Wallgrave*, another of the Queen's physicians, who the next time he saw him excused himself, for the Queen, he said, was then under the most apparent signs of miscarrying. Of this the Doctor made oath: And it is yet extant.

On the same day the Countess of *Clarendon*, being to go out of town for a few days, came to see the Queen before she went, knowing nothing of what had happen'd to her. And she, being a Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen *Dowager*, did, according to the rule of the Court, go into the Queen's Bed-chamber without asking admittance. She saw the Queen a bed, bemoaning herself in a most doleful manner, saying often, *Undone, Undone*: And one that belonged to her carried somewhat out of the bed, which she believed was linen taken from the Queen. She was upon this in some confusion: And the Countess of *Powis* coming in, went to her, and said with some sharpness, what do you here? And carried her to the door. Before she had got out of the Court, one of the Bed-chamber women followed her, and charged her not to speak of any thing she had seen that day. This matter, whatever was in it, was hushed up: And the Queen held on her course.

The Princess had miscarried in the spring. So, as soon as she had recovered her strength, the King pressed her to go to the *Bath*, since that had so good an effect on the Queen. Some of her physicians, and all her other friends, were against her going. *Lower*, one of her physicians told me, he was against it: He thought, she was not strong enough for the *Bath*, tho' the King pressed it with an unusual vehemence. *Millington*, another physician, told the



the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, from whom I had it, that he was pressed 1688  
to go to the Princess, and advise her to go to the *Bath*. The per-  
son that spoke to him told him, the King was much set on it,  
and that he expected it of him, that he would persuade her  
to it. *Millington* answered, he would not advise a patient ac-  
cording to direction, but according to his own reason: So he  
would not go. *Scarborough* and *Witherly* took it upon them to  
advise it: So she went thither in the end of *May*.

As soon as she was gone, those about the Queen did all of  
the sudden change her reckoning, and began it from the King's  
being with her at *Bath*. This came on so quick, that, tho'  
the Queen had set the fourteenth of *June* for her going to  
*Windsor*, where she intended to lie in, and all the preparations  
for the birth and for the child were ordered to be made ready  
by the end of *June*, yet now a resolution was taken for the  
Queen's lying in at *St. James's*; and directions were given to  
have all things quickly ready. The *Bath* water either did not  
agree with the Princess: Or the advices of her friends were so  
pressing, who thought her absence from the Court at that time  
of such consequence, that in compliance with them she gave it  
out it did not, and that therefore she would return in a few  
days.

The day after the Court had this notice, the Queen said,  
she would go to *St. James's*, and look for the good hour.  
She was often told, that it was impossible upon so short a warn-  
ing to have things ready. But she was so positive, that she said,  
she would lie there that night, tho' she should lie upon the  
boards. And at night, tho' the shorter and quicker way was to  
go from *Whitehall* to *St. James's* thro' the Park, and she always  
went that way, yet now, by a sort of affectation, she would be  
carried thither by *Charing-Cross* thro' the *Pall-Mall*. And it  
was given out by all her train, that she was going to be deli-  
vered. Some said, it would be next morning: And the Priests  
said very confidently, that it would be a boy.

The next morning, about nine a clock, she sent word to the  
King, that she was in labour. The Queen Dowager was next  
sent to. But no Ladies were sent for: So that no women were  
in the room, but two dressers and one under dresser, and the mid-  
wife. The Earl of *Arran* sent notice to the Countess of *Sun-  
derland*: So she came. The Lady *Bellasis* came also in time.  
The Protestant Ladies that belonged to the Court were all gone  
to Church before the news was let go abroad: For it happen'd on  
*Trinity Sunday*, it being that year on the tenth of *June*. The  
King brought over with him from *Whitehall* a great many Peers  
and Privy Counsellors. And of these eighteen were let into the  
Bed-chamber



1688 Bed-chamber: But they stood at the furthest end of the room.

The Ladies stood within the alcove. The curtains of the bed were drawn close, and none came within them, but the midwife, and an under dresser. The Queen lay all the while a bed: And, in order to the warming one side of it, a warming pan was brought. But it was not opened, that it might be seen that there was fire and nothing else in it: So here was matter for suspicion, with which all people were filled.

And delivered of a son.

A little before ten, the Queen cried out as in a strong pain, and immediately after the midwife said aloud, she was happily brought to bed. When the Lords all cried out of what, the midwife answered, the Queen must not be surprised: Only she gave a sign to the Countess of *Sunderland*, who upon that touched her forehead, by which, it being the sign before agreed on, the King said he knew it was a boy. No cries were heard from the child: Nor was it shewed to those in the room. It was pretended, more air was necessary. The under dresser went out with the child, or somewhat else, in her arms to a dressing room, to which there was a door near the Queen's bed: But there was another entry to it from other apartments.

Great grounds of jealousy appeared.

The King continued with the Lords in the Bed-chamber for some minutes, which was either a sign of much phlegm upon such an occasion; for it was not known whether the child was alive or dead: Or it looked like the giving time for some management. After a little while they went all into the dressing room: And then the news was published. In the mean while, no body was called to lay their hands on the Queen's belly, in order to a full satisfaction. When the Princess came to town three days after, she had as little satisfaction given her. *Chamberlain*, the man midwife, who was always ordered to attend her labour before, and who brought the plaisters for putting back the milk, wondered that he had not been sent to. He went according to custom with the plaisters: But he was told they had no occasion for him. He fancied, that some other person was put in his place: But he could not find that any had it. All that concerned the milk, or the Queen's purgations, was managed still in the dark. This made all people inclined more and more to believe, there was a base imposture now put on the Nation. That still increased. That night one *Hemings*, a very worthy man, an Apothecary by his trade, who lived in *St. Martin's Lane*, the very next door to a family of an eminent Papist: (*Brown*, brother to the Viscount *Montacute*, lived there:) The wall between his parlour and theirs being so thin, that he could easily hear any thing that was said with a louder voice, he (*Hemings*) was reading in his parlour late at night, when he

heard



heard one coming into the neighbouring parlour, and say with a doleful voice, the Prince of *Wales* is dead: Upon which a great many that lived in the house came down stairs very quick: Upon this confusion he could not hear any thing more; but it was plain, they were in a great consternation. He went with the news next morning to the Bishops in the Tower. The Countess of *Clarendon* came thither soon after, and told them, she had been at the young Prince's door, but was denied access: She was amazed at it; and asked, if they knew her: They said, they did; but that the Queen had ordered, that no person whatsoever should be suffered to come in to him. This gave credit to *Heming's* story, and looked as if all was ordered to be kept shut up close, till another child was found. One, that saw the child two days after, said to me, that he looked strong, and not like a child so newly born. *Windebank* met *Walgrave* the day after this birth, and remembred him of what he had told him eight weeks before. He acknowledged what he had said, but added, that God wrought miracles: To which no reply could, or durst be made by the other: It needed none. So healthy a child being so little like any of those the Queen had born, it was given out, that he had fits, and could not live. But those who saw him every day observed no such thing. On the contrary the child was in a very prosperous state. None of those fits ever happen'd, when the Princess was at Court; for she could not be denied admittance, tho' all others were. So this was believed to be given out to make the matter more credible. It is true, some weeks after that, the Court being gone to *Windsor*, and the child sent to *Richmond*, he fell into such fits, that four physicians were sent for. They all looked on him as a dying child. The King and Queen were sent for. The physicians went to a dinner prepared for them; and were often wondering that they were not called for. They took it for granted, that the child was dead. But, when they went in after dinner to look on him, they saw a sound healthy child, that seemed to have had no sort of illness on him. It was said, that the child was strangely revived of a sudden. Some of the physicians told *Lloyd*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, that it was not possible for them to think it was the same child. They looked on one another, but durst not speak what they thought.

The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room.

Thus I have related such particulars as I could gather of this birth: To which some more shall be added, when I give an account of the proof that the King brought afterwards to put this matter out of doubt; but by which it became indeed more doubtful than ever. I took most of these from the informations that were sent over to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*,



1688 as I had many from the vouchers themselves. I do not mix with these the various reports that were, both then and afterwards, spread of this matter, of which Bishop *Lloyd* has a great collection, most of them well attested. What truth forever may be in these, this is certain, that the method in which this matter was conducted from first to last was very unaccountable. If an imposture had been intended, it could not have been otherwise managed. The pretended excuse that the Queen made, that she owed no satisfaction to those who could suspect her capable of such base forgery, was the only excuse that she could have made, if it had been really what it was commonly said to be. She seemed to be soon recovered, and was so little altered by her labour, either in her looks or voice, that this helped not a little to encrease jealousies. The rejoycings over *England* upon this birth were very cold and forced. Bonfires were made in some places, and a set of congratulatory addresses went round the Nation. None durst oppose them. But all was formal, and only to make a shew.

The Prince and Princess of *Orange* sent to congratulate.

The Prince and Princess of *Orange* received the news of this birth very decently. The first letters gave not those grounds of suspicion that were sent to them afterwards. So they sent over *Zwylestein* to congratulate: And the Princess ordered the Prince of *Wales* to be prayed for in her Chapel. Upon this occasion, it may not be improper to set down what the Princess said to my self on this subject two years before. I had asked her, in the freedom of much discourse, if she knew the temper of her own mind, and how she could bear the Queen's having a son. She said, she was sure it would give her no concern at all on her own account: God knew best what was fit for her: And, if it was not to serve the great ends of providence, she was sure that, as to her self, she would rather wish to live and die in the condition she was then in. The advertisements formerly mentioned came over from so many hands, that it was impossible not to be shaken by them. It was also taken ill in *England*, that the Princess should have begun so early to pray for the pretended Prince: Upon which the naming him discontinued. But this was so highly resented by the Court of *England*, that the Prince, fearing it might precipitate a rupture, ordered him to be again named in the prayers.

The Prince designs an expedition to *England*.

The Prince set himself with great application to prepare for the intended expedition: For *Zwylestein* brought him such positive advices, and such an assurance of the invitation he had desired, that he was fully fixed in his purpose. It was advised from *England*, that the Prince could never hope for a more favourable conjuncture, nor for better grounds to break on, than he



he had at that time. The whole Nation was in a high fermentation. The proceedings against the Bishops, and those that were still kept on foot against the Clergy, made all people think the ruin of the Church was resolved on, and that on the first occasion it would be executed, and that the Religion would be altered. The pretended birth made them reckon that Popery and Slavery would be entailed on the Nation. And, if this heat went off, people would lose heart. It was also visible, that the Army continued well affected. They spoke openly against Popery: They drank the most reproachful healths against them that could be invented, and treated the few Papists that were among them with scorn and aversion. The King saw this so visibly, that he broke up the camp, and sent them to their quarters: And it was believed, that he would bring them no more together, till they were modelled more to his mind. The seamen shewed the same inclinations. The *Dutch* had set out a fleet of twenty four men of war, on pretence to secure their trade: So the King resolved to set out as strong a fleet. *Strickland*, who was a Papist, had the command. He brought some Priests aboard with him, who said Mass, or at least performed such offices of their Religion as are allowed on ships of war: And the Chaplain, that was to serve the Protestants in *Strickland's* ship, was sent away upon a slight pretence. This put the whole Fleet into such a disorder, that it was like to end in a mutiny. *Strickland* punished some for this: And the King came down to accommodate the matter. He spoke very softly to the seamen: Yet this made no great impression: For they hated Popery in general, and *Strickland* in particular. When some gained persons among the seamen tried their affections to the *Dutch*, it appeared they had no inclinations to make war on them. They said aloud, they were their friends and their brethren; but they would very willingly go against the *French*. The King saw all this, and was resolved to take other more moderate measures.

These advices were suggested by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who saw the King was running violently to his own ruin. So, as soon as the Queen admitted men to audiences, he had some very long ones of her. He represented to her, that the state of her affairs was quite changed by her having a son. There was no need of driving things fast, now they had a succession sure: Time would bring all about, if matters were but softly managed. He told her, it would become her to set up for the author of gentle counsels, that she might by another administration lay the flame that was now kindled. By this she would gain the hearts of the Nation, both to her self and to her son: She

*Sunderland*  
advised  
more moderate  
proceedings.



1688 She might be declared Regent, in case the King should die before her son came to be of age. He found these advices began to be hearkned to. But, that he might have the more credit in pressing them, he, who had but too slight notions of religion, resolved to declare himself a Papist. And then, he being in the same interest with her, and most violently hated for this ill step he had made, he gained such an ascendant over her spirit, that things were like to be put in another management.

And he  
turned Pa-  
pist.

He made the step to Popery all of the sudden, without any previous instruction or conference: So that the change he made looked too like a man who, having no religion, took up one, rather for to serve a turn, than that he was truly changed from one religion to another. He has been since accused, as if he had done all this to gain the more credit, that so he might the more effectually ruin the King. There was a suspicion of another nature, that stuck with some in *England*, who thought that Mr. *Sidney*, who had the secret of all the correspondence that was between the Prince and his party in *England*, being in particular friendship with the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Earl had got into that secret: And they fancied he would get into the Prince's confidence by *Sidney's* means. So I was writ to, and desired to put it home to the Prince, whether he was in any confidence or correspondence with the Earl of *Sunderland*, or not? For, till they were satisfied in that matter, they would not go on; since they believed he would betray all, when things were ripe for it, and that many were engaged in the design. The Prince upon that did say very positively, that he was in no sort of correspondence with him. His counsels lay then another way. And, if time had been given him to follow the scheme then laid down by him, things might have turned fatally: And the Nation might have been so laid asleep with new promises, and a different conduct, that in a slow method they might have gained that, which they were so near losing by the violent proceedings in which they had gone so far. The Judges had orders in their circuits to proceed very gently, and to give new promises in the King's name. But they were treated every where with such contempt, that the common decencies were scarce paid them, when they were on the bench. And they now saw that the presentments of Grand Juries, and the verdicts of other Juries, were no more under their direction. Things slept in *England*, as is usual, during the long vacation. But the Court had little quiet, having every day fresh alarms from abroad, as well as great mortifications at home.



I must now change the scene, and give a large account of the affairs abroad, they having such a connection with all that followed in *England*. Upon the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s death, the Prince sent Mr. *Bentink* with the compliment to the new Elector: And he was ordered to lay before him the state of affairs, and to communicate the Prince's design to him, and to ask him, how much he might depend upon him for his assistance. The answer was full and frank. He offered all that was asked, and more. The Prince resolved to carry over to *England* an Army of nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse and dragoons. He intended to choose these out of the whole *Dutch* Army. But for the security of the States, under such a diminution of their force, it was necessary to have a strength from some other Princes. This was soon concerted between the Prince and the new Elector, with the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Duke of *Lunenbourg* and *Zell*, who had a particular affection to the Prince, and was a cordial friend to him on all occasions.

1688  
The Prince  
of *Orange*  
treats with  
some  
Princes of  
the Empire.

His brother, the Duke of *Hannover*, was at that time in some engagements with the Court of *France*. But, since he had married the Princess *Sophia* of the *Palatine* House, I ventured to send a message to her by one of their Court, who was then at the *Hague*. He was a *French* Refugee, named Mr. *Boucour*. It was to acquaint her with our design with relation to *England*, and to let her know, that, if we succeeded, certainly a perpetual exclusion of all Papists from the succession to the Crown would be enacted: And, since she was the next Protestant heir after the two Princesses, and the Prince of *Orange*, of whom at that time there was no issue alive, I was very confident, that, if the Duke of *Hannover* could be disengaged from the interests of *France*, so that he came into our interests, the succession to the Crown would be lodged in her person, and in her posterity; tho' on the other hand, if he continued, as he stood then, engaged with *France*, I could not answer for this. The Gentleman carried the message, and delivered it. The Duchess entertained it with much warmth: And brought him to the Duke to repeat it to him. But at that time this made no great impression on him. He looked on it as a remote and a doubtful project. Yet when he saw our success in *England*, he had other thoughts of it. Some days after this *Frenchman* was gone, I told the Prince what I had done. He approved of it heartily: But was particularly glad, that I had done it, as of my self, without communicating it to him, or any way engaging him in it: For he said, if it should happen to be known that the proposition was made by him, it might do us hurt in *England*, as if he had al-



1688 ready reckoned himself so far master, as to be forming projects concerning the succession to the Crown.

The affairs  
of *Colen*.

But while this was in a secret management, the Elector of *Colen*'s death came in very luckily to give a good colour to intrigues and preparations. The old Elector was brother to *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*. He had been long Bishop, both of *Colen* and *Liege*: He was also elected Bishop of *Munster*: But the Pope would never grant his Bulls for that See: But he had the temporalities, and that was all he thought on. He had thus a revenue of near four millions of Guilders, and four great Bishopricks; for he was likewise Bishop of *Hildesheim*. He could arm and pay twenty thousand men, besides that his dominions lay quite round the *Netherlands*. *Munster* lay between them and the Northern parts of *Germany*; and from thence their best recruits came. *Colen* commanded twenty leagues of the *Rhine*; by which, as an entrance was opened into *Holland*, which they had felt severely in the year 1672, so the *Spanish Netherlands* were entirely cut off from all assistance that might be sent them out of *Germany*: And *Liege* was a country full both of people and wealth, by which an entrance is open into *Brabant*: And if *Maistreicht* was taken, the *Maese* was open down to *Holland*. So it was of great importance to the States to take care who should succeed him. The old man was a weak Prince, much set on chymical processes, in hopes of the Philosopher's stone. He had taken one of the Princes of *Furstenberg* into his particular confidence, and was entirely governed by him. He made him one of the Canons of *Colen*: And he came to be Dean at last. He made him not only his chief Minister, but left the nomination of the Canons that were preferred by him wholly to his choice. The Bishop, and the Dean and Chapter, name those by turns. So, what by those the Elector named on his motion, what by those he got to be chosen, he reckoned he was sure of succeeding the Elector: And nothing but ill management could have prevented it. He had no hopes of succeeding at *Munster*. But he had taken much pains to secure *Liege*.

I need not enlarge further on this story, than to remember that he got the Elector to deliver his Country up to the *French* in the year 1672, and that the treaty opened at *Colen* was broken up on his being seized by the Emperor's order. After he was set at liberty, he was, upon the recommendation of the Court of *France*, made a Cardinal, tho' with much difficulty. In the former winter, the Emperor had been prevailed on by the *Palatine* Family to consent to the election of a Coadjutor in *Colen*. But this was an artifice of the Cardinal's, who

deceived



deceived that family into the hopes of carrying the election for one of their branches. And they obtained the Emperor's consent to it, without which it could not be done. But so ill grounded were the *Palatine's* hopes, that of twenty five voices the Cardinal had nineteen, and they had only six voices.

The contest at *Rome* about the Franchises had now occasioned such a rupture there, that *France* and *Rome* seemed to be in a state of war. The Count *Lavardin* was sent Embassador to *Rome*. But the Pope refused to receive him, unless he would renounce the pretension to the Franchises. So he entered *Rome* in a hostile manner, with some troops of horse, tho' not in form of troops: But the force was too great for the Pope. He kept guards about his house, and in the Franchises, and affronted the Pope's authority on all occasions. The Pope bore all silently; but would never admit him to an audience, nor receive any message nor intercession from the Court of *France*; and kept off every thing, in which they concerned themselves: And therefore he would not confirm the election of a Coadjutor to *Colen*. So, that not being done when the Elector died, the Canons were to proceed to a new election, the former being void, because not confirmed: For if it had been confirmed, there would have been no vacancy.

The cabal against the Cardinal grew so strong, that he began to apprehend he might lose it, if he had not leave from the Pope to resign the Bishoprick of *Strasburg*, which the *French* had forced him to accept, only to lessen the pension that they paid him by giving him that Bishoprick. By the rules of the Empire, a man that is already a Bishop, cannot be chosen to another See, but by a postulation: And to that it is necessary to have a concurrence of two thirds of the Chapter. But it was at the Pope's choice, whether he would accept of the resignation of *Strasburg*, or not: And therefore he refused it. The King of *France* sent a Gentleman to the Pope with a letter writ in his own hand, desiring him to accept of that resignation, and promising him upon it all reasonable satisfaction: But the Pope would not admit the bearer, nor receive the letter. He said, while the *French* Embassador lived at *Rome* like an enemy, that had invaded it, he would receive nothing from that Court.

In the Bishopricks of *Munster* and *Hildesheim*, the Deans were promoted, of whom both the States and the Princes of the Empire were well assured. But a new management was set up at *Colen*. The Elector of *Bavaria* had been disgusted at some things in the Emperor's Court. He complained, that the honour of the success in *Hungary* was given so entirely to the Duke  
of



1688 of *Lorraine*, that he had not the share which belonged to him. The *French* instruments that were then about him took occasion to alienate him more from the Emperor, by representing to him, that, in the management now at *Colen*, the Emperor shewed more regard to the *Palatine* Family than to himself, after all the service he had done him. The Emperor, apprehending the ill consequences of a breach with him, sent and offered him the supreme command of his Armies in *Hungary* for that year, the Duke of *Lorraine* being taken ill of a fever, just as they were upon opening the Campaign. He likewise offered him all the voices that the *Palatine* had made at *Colen*, in favour of his brother Prince *Clement*. Upon this they were again reconciled: And the Elector of *Bavaria* commanded the Emperor's Army in *Hungary* so successfully, that he took *Belgrade* by storm after a short siege. Prince *Clement* was then but seventeen, and was not of the Chapter of *Colen*. So he was not eligible according to their rules, till he obtained a Bull from the Pope dispensing with these things. That was easily got. With it the Emperor sent one to manage the election in his name, with express instructions to offer the Chapter the whole revenue and government of the temporalities for five years, in case they would choose Prince *Clement*, who wanted all that time to be of age. If he could make nine voices sure for him, he was to stick firm to his interest. But, if he could not gain so many, he was to consent to any person that should be set up in opposition to the Cardinal. He was ordered to charge him severely before the Chapter, as one that had been for many years an enemy and traitor to the Empire. This was done with all possible aggravations, and in very injurious words.

The Chapter saw, that this election was like to be attended with a war in their Country, and other dismal consequences: For the Cardinal was chosen by the Chapter Vicar, or Guardian of the temporalities: And he had put garrisons in all their fortified places, that were paid with *French* money: And they knew, he would put them all in the King of *France*'s hands, if he was not elected. They had promised not to vote in favour of the *Bavarian* Prince. So they offered to the Emperor's agent to consent to any third person. But ten voices were made sure to Prince *Clement*: So he was fixed to his interests. At the election, the Cardinal had fourteen voices, and Prince *Clement* had ten. By this means the Cardinal's postulation was defective, since he had not two thirds. And upon that Prince *Clement*'s election was first judged good by the Emperor as to the temporalities; but was transmitted by him to *Rome*, where a congregation of Cardinals examined it: And it was judged in  
favour



favour of Prince *Clement*. The Cardinal succeeded worse at *Liege*, where the Dean was without any difficulty chosen Bishop: And nothing but the Cardinal's purple saved him from the violences of the people of *Liege*. He met with all sorts of injurious usage, being hated there, both on the account of his depending so much on the protection of *France*, and for the effects they had felt of his violent and cruel Ministry under the old Elector. I will add one circumstance in honour of some of the Canons of *Liege*. They not only would accept of no presents from those whom the States appointed to assist in managing that election, before it was made; but they refused them after the election was over. This I saw in the letter that the States Deputy wrote to the *Hague*.

I have given a more particular account of this matter; because I was acquainted with all the steps that were made in it. And it had such an immediate relation to the peace and safety of *Holland*, that, if they had miscarried in it, the expedition designed for *England* would not have been so safe, nor could it have been proposed easily in the States. By this it appeared, what an influence the Papacy, low as it is, may still have in the matters of the greatest consequence. The foolish pride of the *French* Court, which had affronted the Pope, in a point in which, since they allowed him to be the Prince of *Rome*, he certainly could lay down such rules as he thought fit, did now defeat a design that they had been long driving at, and which could not have miscarried by any other means, than those that they had found out. Such great events may and do often rise from inconsiderable beginnings. These things furnished the Prince with a good blind for covering all his preparations; since here a war in their neighbourhood was unavoidable, and it was necessary to strengthen both their alliances and their troops. For it was visible to all the world, that, if the *French* could have fixed themselves in the territory of *Colen*, the way was opened to enter *Holland*, or to seize on *Flanders*, when the King pleased; and he would have the four Electors on the *Rhine* at mercy. It was necessary to dislodge them, and this could not be done without a war with *France*. The Prince got the States to settle a fund for nine thousand seamen to be constantly in their service. And orders were given to put the naval preparations in such a case, that they might be ready to put to sea upon orders. Thus things went on in *July* and *August*, with so much secrecy and so little suspicion, that neither the Court of *England* nor the Court of *France* seemed to be alarmed at them.



1688

Herbert  
came over  
to Holland.

In July, Admiral *Herbert* came over to *Holland*, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill humour: For he was upon every occasion so fullen and peevish, that it was plain he set a high value on himself, and expected the same of all others. He had got his accounts past, in which he complained, that the King had used him not only hardly but unjustly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury. Yet he had a good understanding: And he had gained so great a reputation by his steady behaviour in *England*, that the Prince understood that it was expected he should use him as he himself should desire; in which it was not very easy to him to constrain himself so far as that required. The managing him was in a great measure put on me: And it was no easy thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God, that makes some men instruments in great things, to which they themselves have no sort of affection or disposition: For his private quarrel with the Lord *Dartmouth*, who he thought had more of the King's confidence than he himself had, was believed the root of all the fullness he fell under towards the King, and of all the firmness that grew out of that.

The advices  
from Eng-  
land.  
The Lord  
*Mordaunt's*  
character.

I now return to *England*, to give an account of a secret management there. The Lord *Mordaunt* was the first of all the *English* Nobility that came over openly to see the Prince of *Orange*. He asked the King's leave to do it. He was a man of much heat, many notions, and full of discourse: He was brave and generous: But had not true judgment: His thoughts were crude and indigested: And his secrets were soon known. He was with the Prince in the year 1686: And then he pressed him to undertake the business of *England*: And he represented the matter as so easy, that this appeared too romantical to the Prince to build upon it. He only promised in general, that he should have an eye on the affairs of *England*; and should endeavour to put the affairs of *Holland* in so good a posture, as to be ready to act when it should be necessary: And he assured him, that, if the King should go about either to change the established religion, or to wrong the Princess in her right, or to raise forged plots to destroy his friends, that he would try what he could possibly do. Next year a man of a far different temper came over to him:

The Earl of  
*Shrewsbury's*  
character.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury*. He had been bred a Papist, but had forsaken that religion upon a very critical and anxious enquiry into matters of controversy. Some thought, that, tho' he had forsaken Popery, he was too sceptical, and too little fixed in the points of religion. He seemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high sense of honour. He had

no



no ordinary measure of learning, a correct judgment, with a sweetness of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had at that time just notions of government; and so great a command of himself, that, during all the time that he continued in the Ministry, I never heard any one complaint of him, but for his silent and reserved answers, with which his friends were not always well pleased. His modest deportment gave him such an interest in the Prince, that he never seemed so fond of any of his Ministers, as he was of him. He had only in general laid the state of affairs before the Prince, without pressing him too much.

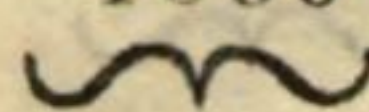
But *Russel* coming over in *May* brought the matter nearer a point. He was a cousin german to the Lord *Russel*. He had been bred at sea, and was Bed-chamber-man to the King, when he was Duke of *York*: But, upon the Lord *Russel*'s death, he retired from the Court. He was a man of much honour, and great courage. He had good principles, and was firm to them. The Prince spoke more positively to him, than he had ever done before. He said, he must satisfy both his honour and conscience, before he could enter upon so great a design, which, if it miscarried, must bring ruin both on *England* and *Holland*: He protested, that no private ambition nor resentment of his own could ever prevail so far with him, as to make him break with so near a relation, or engage in a war, of which the consequences must be of the last importance both to the interests of *Europe* and of the Protestant Religion: Therefore he expected formal and direct invitations. *Russel* laid before him the danger of trusting such a secret to great numbers. The Prince said, if a considerable number of men, that might be supposed to understand the sense of the Nation best, should do it, he would acquiesce in it.

*Russel* told me, that, upon his return to *England*, he communicated the matter, first to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and then to the Lord *Lumby*, who was a late convert from Popery, and had stood out very firmly all this reign. He was a man, who laid his interest much to heart: And he resolved to embark deep in this design.

But the man in whose hands the conduct of the whole design was chiefly deposited, by the Prince's own order, was Mr. *Sidney*, brother to the Earl of *Leicester* and to *Algernoon Sidney*. He was a graceful man, and had lived long in the Court, where he had some adventures that became very publick. He was a man of a sweet and carressing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too great a love of pleasure. He had been sent Envoy to *Holland* in the year 1679, where he entred into such particular



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particular confidences with the Prince, that he had the highest measure of his trust and favour that any *Englishman* ever had. This was well known over *England*: So that all who desired to recommend themselves to the Prince did it thro' his hands. He was so apprehensive of the dangers this might cast him in, that he travelled almost a year round *Italy*. But now matters ripened faster: So all centered in him. But, because he was lazy, and the business required an active man, who could both run about, and write over long and full accounts of all matters, I recommended a kinsman of my own, *Johnstoune*, whom I had formed, and knew to be both faithful and diligent, and very fit for the employment he was now trusted with.

Many engaged in the design.

*Sidney* tried the Marquis of *Hallifax*, if he would advise the Prince's coming over. But, as this matter was opened to him at a great distance, he did not encourage a further freedom. He looked on the thing as impracticable: It depended on so many accidents, that he thought it was a rash and desperate project, that ventured all upon such a dangerous issue, as might turn on seas and winds. It was next opened to the Earl of *Danby*: And he not only went in heartily to it himself, but drew in the Bishop of *London* to join in it. By their advice it was proposed to the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had great credit with the whole Church party: For he was a man possessed with their notions, and was grave and vertuous in the course of his life. He had some knowledge of the law, and of the records of Parliament, and was a copious Speaker, but too florid and tedious. He was much admired by many. He had stood at a great distance from the Court all this reign: For, tho his name was still among the Privy Counsellors, yet he never went to the board. He upon the first proposition entertained it, and agreed to it. But at their next meeting he said, he had considered better of that matter: His conscience was so restrained in those points, that he could not go further with them in it: He said, he had talked with some Divines, and named *Tillotson* and *Stillington*, in general of the thing; and they were not satisfied with it: (Tho' they protested to me afterwards, that they remembered no such thing:) He confessed, he should not have suffered them to go so far with him in such a secret, till he had examined it better: They had now, according to *Italian* notions, a right to murder him: But, tho' his principles restrained him, so that he could not go on with them, his affections would make him to wish well to them, and be so far a criminal as concealment could make him one. The Earl of *Devonshire* was spoke to: And he went into it with great resolution. It was next proposed to three of the chief Officers of the Army, *Trelawny*, *Kirk*,



*Kirk*, and the Lord *Churchill*. These went all into it. And 1688  
*Trelawny* engaged his brother, the Bishop of *Bristol*, into it. 

But, having now named the Lord *Churchill*, who is like to be mentioned oft by me in the sequel of this work, I will say a little more of him. He was a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in the Court with no literature: But he had a solid and clear understanding, with a constant presence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a Court beyond any man in it. He caressed all people with a soft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. He had no fortune to set up on: This put him on all the methods of acquiring one. And that went so far into him, that he did not shake it off, when he was in a much higher elevation: Nor was his expence suited enough to his posts. But, when allowances are made for that, it must be acknowledged, that he is one of the greatest men the age has produced. He was in high favour with the King. But his Lady was much more in Princess *Anne's* favour. She had an ascendant over her in every thing. She was a woman of little knowledge, but of a clear apprehension, and a true judgment, a warm and hearty friend, violent and sudden in her resolutions, and impetuous in her way of speaking. She was thought proud and insolent on her favour, tho' she used none of the common arts of a Court to maintain it: For she did not beset the Princess, nor flatter her. She staid much at home, and looked very carefully after the education of her children. Having thus opened both their characters, I will now give an account of this Lord's engagements in this matter; for which he has been so severely censured, as guilty both of ingratitude and treachery to a very kind and liberal master. He never discovered any of the King's secrets; nor did he ever push him on to any violent proceedings. So that he was in no contrivance to ruin or betray him. On the contrary, whenever he spoke to the King of his affairs, which he did but seldom, because he could not fall in with the King's notions, he always suggested moderate counsels. The Earl of *Galloway* told me, that when he came over with the first compliment upon the King's coming to the Crown, he said then to him, that, if the King was ever prevailed on to alter our religion, he would serve him no longer, but withdraw from him. So early was this resolution fixed in him. When he saw how the King was set, he could not be contented to see all ruined by him. He was also very doubtful as to the pretended birth. So he resolved, when the Prince should come over, to go in to him; but to betray no post, nor do any thing more than the withdrawing himself, with such Officers as he could trust with such a secret.



1688 a secret. He also undertook, that Prince *George* and the Princess *Anne* would leave the Court, and come to the Prince, as soon as was possible.

With these invitations and letters the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and *Russel* came over in *September*: And soon after them came *Sidney* with *Johnstoune*. And they brought over a full scheme of advices, together with the heads of a declaration, all which were chiefly penned by Lord *Danby*. He and the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Lord *Lumby* undertook for the North: And they all dispersed themselves into their several countries, and among their friends. The thing was in the hands of many thousands, who yet were so true to one another, that none of them made any discovery, no not by their rashness: Tho' they were so confident, that they did not use so discreet a conduct as was necessary. Matters went on in *Holland* with great secrecy till *September*. Then it was known, that many arms were bespoke. And, tho' those were bargained for in the name of the King of *Sweden*, and of some of the Princes of *Germany*, yet there was ground enough for suspicion. All those that were trusted proved both faithful and discreet. And here an eminent difference appeared between the hearty concurrence of those who went into a design upon principles of religion and honour, and the forced compliance of mercenary Soldiers, or corrupt Ministers, which is neither cordial nor secret. *France* took the alarm first, and gave it to the Court of *England*.

The Court  
of *France*  
gave the  
alarm.

*D'Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador, could no more give the Court of *France* those advertisements that he was wont to send of all that past in *Holland*. He had great allowances for entertaining agents and spies every where. But *Louvois*, who hated him, suggested that there was no more need of these: So they were stopped: And the Ambassador was not sorry, that the Court felt their error so sensibly. The King published the advertisements he had from *France* a little too rashly: For all people were much animated, when they heard it from such a hand. The King soon saw his error: And, to correct it, he said on many occasions, that whatever the designs of the *Dutch* might be, he was sure they were not against him. It was given out sometimes, that they were against *France*, and then that they were against *Denmark*. Yet the King shewed he was not without his fears: For he ordered fourteen more ships to be put to sea with many fireships. He recalled *Strickland*, and gave the command to the Lord *Dartmouth*; who was indeed one of the worthiest men of his Court: He loved him, and had been long in his service, and in his confidence: But he was much against all the conduct of his affairs: Yet he resolved to stick to him



at all hazards. The seamen came in slowly: And a heavy backwardness appeared in every thing.

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A new and unlooked for accident gave the King a very sensible trouble. It was resolved, as was told before, to model the Army, and to begin with recruits from *Ireland*. Upon which the *English* Army would have become insensibly an *Irish* one. The King made the first trial on the Duke of *Berwick's* Regiment, which being already under an illegal Colonel, it might be supposed they were ready to submit to every thing. Five *Irishmen* were ordered to be put into every company of that Regiment, which then lay at *Portsmouth*. But *Beaumont*, the Lieutenant Colonel, and five of the Captains refused to receive them. They said, they had raised their men upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* invasion, by which their zeal for the King's service did evidently appear. If the King would order any recruits, they doubted not, but that they should be able to make them. But they found, it would give such an universal discontent, if they should receive the *Irish* among them, that it would put them out of a capacity of serving the King any more. But as the order was positive, so the Duke of *Berwick* was sent down to see it obeyed. Upon which they desired leave to lay down their commissions. The King was provoked by this to such a degree that he could not govern his passion. The Officers were put in arrest, and brought before a Council of war, where they were broken with reproach, and declared incapable to serve the King any more. But upon this occasion the whole Officers of the Army declared so great an unwillingness to mix with those of another Nation and Religion, that, as no more attempts were made of this kind, so it was believed that this fixed the King in a point that was then under debate.

Recruits from *Ireland* refused.

The King of *France*, when he gave the King the advertisements of the preparations in *Holland*, offered him such a force as he should call for. Twelve or fifteen thousand were named, or as many more as he should desire. It was proposed, that they should land at *Portsmouth*, and that they should have that place to keep the communication with *France* open, and in their hands. All the Priests were for this: So were most of the Popish Lords. The Earl of *Sunderland* was the only man in credit that opposed it. He said, the offer of an Army of forty thousand men might be a real strength: But then it would depend on the orders that came from *France*: They might perhaps master *England*: But they would become the King's masters at the same time: So that he must govern under such orders as they should give: And thus he would quickly become only a Viceroy to the King of *France*: Any Army less than that

Offers made by the *French*.



1688 that would lose the King the affections of his people, and drive his own Army to desertion, if not to mutiny.

Not entertained at that time.

The King did not think matters were yet so near a crisis: So he did neither entertain the proposition, nor let it fall quite to the ground. There was a treaty set on foot, and the King was to have an hundred merchant ships ready for the transportation of such forces as he should desire, which it was promised should be ready when called for. It is certain, that the *French* Embassador then at *London*, who knew the Court better than he did the Nation, did believe, that the King would have been able to have made a greater division of the Nation, than it proved afterwards he was able to do. He believed, it would have gone to a civil war; and that then the King would have been forced to have taken assistance from *France* on any terms: And so he encouraged the King of *France* to go on with his designs that winter, and he believed he might come in good time next year to the King's assistance. These advices proved fatal to the King, and to *Barillon* himself: For, when he was sent over to *France*, he was so ill looked on, that it was believed it had an ill effect on his health; for he died soon after.

*Albeville* came over fully persuaded that the *Dutch* designed the expedition against *England*, but plaid the Minister so, that he took pains to infuse into all people that they designed no such thing; which made him to be generally laughed at. He was soon sent back: And, in a memorial he gave into the States, he asked, what was the design of those great and surprising preparations at such a season. The States, according to their slow forms let this lie long before them, without giving it an answer.

The French own an alliance with the King.

But the Court of *France* made a greater step. The *French* Embassador in a memorial told the States, that his master understood their design was against *England*, and in that case he signified to them, that there was such a strait alliance between him and the King of *England*, that he would look on every thing done against *England*, as an invasion of his own Crown. This put the King and his Ministers much out of countenance: For, upon some surmises of an alliance with *France*, they had very positively denied there was any such thing. *Albeville* did continue to deny it at the *Hague*, even after the memorial was put in. The King did likewise deny it to the *Dutch* Embassador at *London*. And the blame of the putting it into the memorial was cast on *Shelton* the King's Envoy at *Paris*, who was disowned in it, and upon his coming over was put in the Tower for it. This was a short disgrace; for he was soon after made Lieutenant of the Tower. His rash folly might have procur-



ed the order from the Court of *France*, to own this alliance: 1688  
He thought it would terrify the States: And so he pressed this officiously, which they easily granted. That related only to the owning it in so publick a manner. But this did clearly prove, that such an alliance was made: Otherwise no instances, how pressing soever, would have prevailed with the Court of *France* to have owned it in so solemn a manner: For what Embassadors say in their master's name, when they are not immediately disowned, passes for authentick. So that it was a vain cavil that some made afterwards, when they asked, how was this alliance proved? The memorial was a full proof of it: And the shew of a disgrace on *Shelton* did not at all weaken that proof.

But I was more confirmed of this matter by what Sir *William Trumball*, then the *English* Ambassador at *Constantinople*, told me at his return to *England*. He was the eminentest of all our Civilians, and was by much the best pleader in those Courts, and was a learned, a diligent, and a vertuous man. He was sent Envoy to *Paris* upon the Lord *Preston's* being recalled. He was there, when the edict that repealed the edict of *Nantes* was past, and saw the violence of the persecution, and acted a great and worthy part in harbouring many, in covering their effects, and in conveying over their jewels and plate to *England*; which disgusted the Court of *France*, and was not very acceptable to the Court of *England*, tho' it was not then thought fit to disown or recall him for it. He had orders to put in memorials, complaining of the invasion of the Principality of *Orange*; which he did in so high a strain, that the last of them was like a denunciation of war. From thence he was sent to *Turkey*. And, about this time, he was surprized one morning by a visit that the *French* Ambassador made him, without those ceremonies that pass between Embassadors. He told him, there was no ceremony to be between them any more; for their masters were now one. And he shewed him Monsieur *de Croissy's* letter, which was written in cypher. The decyphering he read to him, importing that now an alliance was concluded between the two Kings. So, this matter was as evidently proved, as a thing of such a nature could possibly be.

The conduct of *France* at that time with relation to the States was very unaccountable; and proved as favourable to the Prince of *Orange's* designs, as if he had directed it. All the manufacture of *Holland* both linen and woollen was prohibited in *France*. The importation of herrings was also prohibited, except they were cured with *French* salt. This was contrary to the treaty of commerce. The manufacture began to suffer much. And

The strange  
conduct of  
*France*.



1688 this was sensible to those who were concerned in the herring trade. So the States prohibited the importing of *French* wine or brandy, till the trade should be set free again of both sides. There was nothing that the Prince had more reason to apprehend, than that the *French* should have given the States some satisfaction in the point of trade, and offered some assurances with relation to the territory of *Colen*. Many of the towns of *Holland* might have been wrought on by some temper in these things; great bodies being easily deceived, and not easily drawn into wars, which interrupt that trade which they subsist by. But the height the Court of *France* was then in, made them despise all the world. They seemed rather to wish for a war, than to fear it. This disposed the States to an unanimous concurrence in the great resolutions that were now agreed on, of raising ten thousand men more, and of accepting thirteen thousand *Germans*, for whom the Prince had, as was formerly mentioned, agreed with some of the Princes of the Empire. *Amsterdam* was at first cold in the matter: But they consented with the rest. Reports were given out, that the *French* would settle a regulation of commerce, and that they would abandon the Cardinal, and leave the affairs of *Colen* to be settled by the laws of the Empire. Expedients were also spoke of for accommodating the matter, by Prince *Clement's* being admitted Coadjutor, and by his having some of the strong places put in his hands. This was only given out to amuse.

A Manifesto  
of war a-  
gainst the  
Empire.

But while these things were discoursed of at the *Hague*, the world was surprised with a Manifesto set out, in the King of *France's* name, against the Emperor. In it, the Emperor's ill designs against *France* were set forth. It also complained of the Elector *Palatine's* injustice to the Duchess of *Orleans*, in not giving her the succession that fell to her by her brother's death, which consisted in some lands, cannon, furniture, and other moveable goods. It also charged him with the disturbances in *Colen*, he having intended first to gain that to one of his own sons, and then engaging the *Bavarian* Prince into it; whose elder brother having no children, he hoped, by bringing him into an Ecclesiastical State, to make the succession of *Bavaria* fall into his own family. It charged the Emperor likewise with a design to force the Electors to choose his son King of the *Romans*; and that the Elector *Palatine* was pressing him to make peace with the *Turks*, in order to the turning his arms against *France*. By their means a great alliance was projected among many Protestant Princes to disturb Cardinal *Furstemberg* in the possession of *Colen*, to which he was postulated by the majority of the Chapter. And this might turn to the prejudice of the



Catholick Religion in that territory. Upon all these considerations, the King of *France*, seeing that his enemies could not enter into *France* by any other way but by that of *Philipsburg*, resolved to possess himself of it, and then to demolish it. He resolved also to take *Kaiserslauter* from the *Palatine*, and to keep it, till the *Duchess of Orleans* had justice done her in her pretensions. And he also resolved to support the Cardinal in his possession of *Colen*. But, to balance this, he offered to the House of *Bavaria*, that Prince *Clement* should be chosen Coadjutor. He offered also to rase *Fribourg*, and to restore *Kaiserslauter*, as soon as the Elector *Palatine* should pay the *Duchess of Orleans* the just value of her pretensions. He demanded, that the truce between him and the Empire should be turned into a peace. He proposed, that the King of *England* and the Republick of *Venice* should be the mediators of this peace. And he concluded all, declaring that he would not bind himself to stand to the conditions now offered by him, unless they were accepted of before *January*.

I have given a full abstract of this Manifesto: For upon it did the great war begin, which lasted till the peace of *Ryswick*. And, upon the grounds laid down in this Manifesto, it will evidently appear, whether the war was a just one, or not. This declaration was much censured, both for the matter and for the stile. It had not the air of greatness, which became crowned heads. The *Duchess of Orleans's* pretensions to old furniture, was a strange rise to a war; especially when it was not alledged, that these had been demanded in the forms of law, and that justice had been denied, which was a course necessarily to be observed in things of that nature. The judging of the secret intentions of the Elector *Palatine* with relation to the House of *Bavaria* was absurd. And the complaints of designs to bring the Emperor to a peace with the *Turks*, that so he might make war on *France*, and of the Emperor's design to force an election of a King of the *Romans*, was the entring into the secrets of those thoughts, which were only known to God. Such conjectures, so remote and uncertain, and that could not be proved, were a strange ground of war. If this was once admitted, all treaties of peace were vain things, and were no more to be reckoned or relied on. The reason given of the intention to take *Philipsbourg*, because it was the properest place by which *France* could be invaded, was a throwing off all regards to the common decencies observed by Princes. All fortified places on frontiers are intended both for resistance and for magazines; and are of both sides conveniencies for entring into the neighbouring territory, as there is occasion for it. So here was a pre-  
tence

Reflections  
made upon  
it.



1688 tence set up, of beginning a war, that puts an end to all the securities of peace.

The business of *Colen* was judged by the Pope, according to the laws of the Empire: And his sentence was final: Nor could the postulation of the majority of the Chapter be valid, unless two thirds joined in it. The Cardinal was commended in the Manifesto, for his care in preserving the peace of *Europe*. This was ridiculous to all, who knew that he had been for many years the great incendiary, who had betrayed the Empire, chiefly in the year 1672. The charge that the Emperor's agent had laid on him before the Chapter was also complained of, as an infraction of the Amnesty stipulated by the peace of *Nimeguen*. He was not indeed to be called to an account, in order to be punished for any thing done before that peace. But that did not bind up the Emperor from endeavouring to exclude him from so great a dignity, which was like to prove fatal to the Empire. These were some of the censures that past on this Manifesto; which was indeed looked on, by all who had considered the rights of peace and the laws of war, as one of the most avowed and solemn declarations, that ever was made, of the perfidiousness of that Court. And it was thought to be some degrees beyond that in the year 1672, in which that King's glory was pretended as the chief motive of that war. For, in that, particulars were not reckoned up: So it might be supposed, he had met with affronts, which he did not think consistent with his greatness to be mentioned. But here all that could be thought on, even the hangings of *Heidelberg*, were enumerated: And all together amounted to this, that the King of *France* thought himself tied by no peace; but that, when he suspected his neighbours were intending to make war upon him, he might upon such a suspicion begin a war on his part.

Another against the Pope.

This Manifesto against the Emperor was followed by another against the Pope, writ in the form of a letter to Cardinal *D'Estrees*, to be given by him to the Pope. In it, he reckoned all the partiality that the Pope had shewed during his whole Pontificate, both against *France* and in favour of the House of *Austria*. He mentioned the business of the Regale; his refusing the Bulls to the Bishops nominated by him; the dispute about the franchises, of which his Embassadors had been long in possession; the denying audience, not only to his Embassador, but to a Gentleman whom he had sent to *Rome* without a character, and with a letter writ in his own hand: In conclusion, he complained of the Pope's breaking the Canons of the Church, in granting Bulls in favour of Prince *Clement*, and in denying justice to Cardinal *Furstemberg*: For all these reasons the King was re-

solved



solved to separate the character of the Most Holy Father from that of a temporal Prince: And therefore he intended to seize on *Avignon*, as likewise on *Castro*, untill the Pope should satisfy the pretensions of the Duke of *Parma*. He complained of the Pope's not concurring with him in the concerns of the Church, for the extirpation of heresy: In which the Pope's behaviour gave great scandal both to the old Catholics, and to the new converts. It also gave the Prince of *Orange* the boldness to go and invade the King of *England*, under the pretence of supporting the Protestant religion, but indeed to destroy the Catholic religion, and to overturn the Government: Upon which his emissaries and the writers in *Holland* gave out, that the birth of the Prince of *Wales* was an imposture.

This was the first publick mention that was made of the imposture of that birth: For the author of a book writ to that purpose was punished for it in *Holland*. It was strange to see the disputes about the Franchises made a pretence for a war: For certainly all sovereign Princes can make such regulations as they think fit in those matters. If they cut Embassadors short in any privilege, their Embassadors are to expect the same treatment from other Princes: And as long as the sacredness of an Embassador's person, and of his family, was still preserved, which was all that was a part of the law of Nations, Princes may certainly limit the extent of their other privileges, and may refuse any Embassadors, who will not submit to their regulation. The number of an Embassador's retinue is not a thing that can be well defined: But if an Embassador comes with an army about him, instead of a retinue, he may be denied admittance. And if he forces it, as *Lavardin* had done, it was certainly an act of hostility: And, instead of having a right to the character of an Embassador, he might well be considered and treated as an enemy.

The Pope had observed the Canons in rejecting Cardinal *Furstemburg's* defective postulation. And, whatever might be brought from ancient Canons, the practice of that Church for many ages allowed of the dispensations that the Pope granted to Prince *Clement*. It was looked on by all people, as a strange reverse of things, to see the King of *France*, after all his cruelty to the Protestants, now go to make war on the Pope; and on the other hand to see the whole Protestant body concurring to support the authority of the Pope's Bulls in the business of *Colen*; and to defend the two Houses of *Austria* and *Bavaria*, by whom they were laid so low but threescore years before this. The *French*, by the war that they had now begun, had sent their troops towards *Germany* and the upper *Rhine*; and so had



1688 rendered their sending an Army over to *England* impracticable: Nor could they send such a force into the Bishoprick of *Colen*, as could any ways alarm the States. So that the invasion of *Germany* made the designs that the Prince of *Orange* was engaged in both practicable and safe.

Marshal  
Schomberg  
sent to  
Cleve.

Marshal *Schomberg* came at this time into the country of *Cleve*. He was a *German* by birth: So when the persecution was begun in *France*, he desired leave to return into his own Country. That was denied him. All the favour he could obtain, was leave to go to *Portugal*. And so cruel is the spirit of Popery, that, though he had preserved that Kingdom from falling under the yoke of *Castille*, yet now that he came thither for refuge, the Inquisition represented that matter of giving harbour to a heretick so odiously to the King, that he was forced to send him away. He came from thence, first to *England*: And then he passed thro' *Holland*, where he entred into a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*. And being invited by the old Elector of *Brandenburgh*, he went to *Berlin*: Where he was made Governor of *Prussia*, and set at the head of all the Elector's armies. The son treated him now with the same regard that the father had for him: And sent him to *Cleve*, to command the troops that were sent from the Empire to the defence of *Colen*. The Cardinal offered a neutrality to the Town of *Colen*. But they choose rather to accept a garrison that *Schomberg* sent them: By which not only that Town was secured, but a stop was put to any progress the *French* could make, till they could get that great Town into their hands. By these means the States were safe on all hands for this winter: And this gave the Prince of *Orange* great quiet in prosecuting his designs upon *England*. He had often said, that he would never give occasion to any of his enemies to say, that he had carried away the best force of the States, and had left them exposed to any impressions that might be made on them in his absence. He had now reason to conclude, that he had no other risk to run in his intended expedition, but that of the seas and the weather. The seas were then very boisterous: And the season of the year was so far spent, that he saw he was to have a campaign in winter. But all other things were now well secured by this unexpected conduct of the *French*.

The Dutch  
fleet at sea.

There was a fleet now set to sea of about fifty sail. Most of them were third or fourth rates, commanded by *Dutch* Officers. But *Herbert*, as representing the Prince's person, was to command in chief, as Lieutenant General Admiral. This was not very easy to the States, nor indeed to the Prince himself; who thought it an absurd thing to set a stranger at the head of their fleet.



fleet. Nothing less would content *Herbert*. And it was said, 1688  
that nothing would probably make the *English* fleet come over,  
and join with the Prince, so much as the seeing one that had  
lately commanded them at the head of the *Dutch* fleet. There  
was a transport fleet hired for carrying over the Army. And  
this grew to be about five hundred vessels: For, tho' the horse  
and dragoons in pay were not four thousand, yet the horses  
for officers and voluntiers, and for artillery and baggage,  
were above seven thousand. There were arms provided for  
twenty thousand more. And, as things were thus made ready,

The declaration that the Prince was to publish came to be considered. A great many draughts were sent from *England* by different hands. All these were put in the Pensioner *Fagel's* hands, who upon that made a long and heavy draught, founded on the grounds of the civil law, and of the law of Nations. That was brought to me to be put in *English*. I saw he was fond of his own draught: And the Prince left that matter wholly to him: Yet I got it to be much shortned, tho' it was still too long. It set forth at first a long recital of all the violations of the laws of *England*, both with relation to religion, to the civil government, and to the administration of justice, which have been all opened in the series of the history. It set forth next all remedies that had been tried in a gentler way; all which had been ineffectual. Petitioning by the greatest persons, and in the privatest manner, was made a crime. Endeavours were used to pack a Parliament, and to pre-engage both the votes of the electors, and the votes of such as upon the election should be returned to sit in Parliament. The writs were to be addressed to unlawful officers, who were disabled by law to execute them: So that no legal Parliament could now be brought together. In conclusion, the reasons of suspecting the Queen's pretended delivery were set forth in general terms. Upon these grounds the Prince, seeing how little hope was left of succeeding in any other method, and being sensible of the ruin both of the Protestant religion, and of the constitution of *England* and *Ireland*, that was imminent, and being earnestly invited by men of all ranks, and in particular by many of the Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal, he resolved, according to the obligation he lay under, both on the Princess's account, and on his own, to go over into *England*, and to see for proper and effectual remedies for redressing such growing evils in a Parliament that should be lawfully chosen, and should sit in full freedom, according to the ancient custom and constitution of *England*, with which he would concur in all things that might tend to the peace and happiness of the Nation. And he promised in particular,

The Prince  
of Orange's  
declaration.



1688 particular, that he would preserve the Church and the established religion, and that he would endeavour to unite all such as divided from the Church to it by the best means that could be thought on, and that he would suffer such as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their consciences, and that he would refer the enquiry into the Queen's delivery to a Parliament, and acquiesce in its decision. This the Prince signed and sealed on the tenth of *October*. With this the Prince ordered letters to be writ in his name, inviting both the soldiers, seamen, and others to come and join with him, in order to the securing their religion, laws, and liberties. Another short paper was drawn by me concerning the measures of obedience, justifying the design, and answering the objections that might be made to it. Of all these many thousand copies were printed, to be dispersed at our landing.

I was desired to go with the Prince.

The Prince desired me to go along with him as his Chaplain, to which I very readily agreed: For, being fully satisfied in my conscience that the undertaking was lawful and just, and having had a considerable hand in advising the whole progress of it, I thought it would have been an unbecoming fear in me to have taken care of my own person, when the Prince was venturing his, and the whole was now to be put to hazard. It is true, I being a *Scotish* man by birth, had reason to expect, that, if I had fallen into the enemies hands, I should have been sent to *Scotland*, and put to the torture there. And, having this in prospect, I took care to know no particulars of any one of those who corresponded with the Prince. So that knowing nothing against any, even torture it self could not have drawn from me that by which any person could be hurt. There was another declaration prepared for *Scotland*. But I had no other share in that, but that I corrected it in several places, chiefly in that which related to the Church: For the *Scots* at the *Hague*, who were all Presbyterians, had drawn it so, that, by many passages in it, the Prince by an implication declared in favour of Presbytery. He did not see what the consequences of those were, till I explained them. So he ordered them to be altered. And by the declaration that matter was still entire.

Advices from England.

As *Sidney* brought over letters from the persons formerly mentioned, both inviting the Prince to come over to save and rescue the Nation from ruin, and assuring him that they wrote that which was the universal sense of all the wise and good men in the Nation: So they also sent over with him a scheme of advices. They advised his having a great Fleet, but a small Army: They thought, it should not exceed six or seven thousand men. They apprehended, that an ill use might be made of it, if he brought



brought over too great an Army of foreigners, to infuse in 1688 people a jealousy that he designed a conquest: They advised his landing in the North, either in *Burlington* bay, or a little below *Hull*: *Yorkshire* abounded in horse: And the Gentry were generally well affected, even to zeal, for the design: The country was plentiful, and the roads were good till within fifty miles of *London*. The Earl of *Danby* was earnest for this, hoping to have had a share in the whole management by the interest he believed he had in that country. It was confessed, that the western counties were well affected: But it was said, that the miscarriage of *Monmouth's* invasion, and the executions which followed it, had so dispirited them, that it could not be expected they would be forward to join the Prince: Above all things they pressed dispatch, and all possible haste: The King had then but eighteen ships riding in the *Downs*: But a much greater Fleet was almost ready to come out: They only wanted seamen, who came in very slowly.

When these things were laid before the Prince, he said, he could by no means resolve to come over with so small a force: He could not believe what they suggested, concerning the King's Army's being disposed to come over to him: Nor did he reckon, so much as they did, on the people of the country's coming in to him: He said, he could trust to neither of these: He could not undertake so great a design, the miscarriage of which would be the ruin both of *England* and *Holland*, without such a force, as he had reason to believe would be superior to the King's own, tho' his whole Army should stick to him. Some proposed, that the Prince would divide his force, and land himself with the greatest part in the North, and send a detachment to the West under Marshal *Schomberg*. They pressed the Prince very earnestly to bring him over with him, both because of the great reputation he was in, and because they thought it was a security to the Prince's person, and to the whole design, to have another General with him, to whom all would submit in case of any dismal accident: For it seemed too much to have all depend on a single life: And they thought that would be the safer, if their enemies saw another person capable of the command, in case they should have a design upon the Prince's person. With this the Prince complied easily, and obtained the Elector's consent to carry him over with him. But he rejected the motion of dividing his Fleet and Army. He said, such a divided force might be fatal: For if the King should send his chief strength against the detachment, and have the advantage, it might lose the whole business; since a misfortune in any one part might be the ruin of the whole.



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When these advices were proposed to *Herbert*, and the other seamen, they opposed the landing in the North vehemently. They said, no seamen had been consulted in that: The North coast was not fit for a Fleet to ride in in an East wind, which it was to be expected in winter might blow so fresh that it would not be possible to preserve the Fleet: And if the Fleet was left there, the Channel was open for such forces as might be sent from *France*: The Channel was the safer sea for the Fleet to ride in, as well as to cut off the assistance from *France*. Yet the advices for this were so positive, and so often repeated from *England*, that the Prince was resolved to have split the matter, and to have landed in the North, and then to have sent the Fleet to lie in the Channel.

Artifices to  
cover the de-  
sign.

The Prince continued still to cover his design, and to look towards *Colen*. He ordered a review of his Army, and an encampment for two months at *Nimeguen*. A train of artillery was also ordered. By these orders the Officers saw a necessity of furnishing themselves for so long a time. The main point remained, how money should be found for so chargeable an expedition. The *French* Embassador had his eye upon this; and reckoned that, whensoever any thing relating to it should be moved, it would be then easy to raise an opposition, or at least to create a delay. But *Fagel's* great foresight did prevent this. In the *July* before, it was represented to the States, that now by reason of the neighbourhood of *Colen*, and the war that was like to rise there, it was necessary to repair their places, both on the *Rhine* and the *Iffel*, which were in a very bad condition. This was agreed to: And the charge was estimated at four millions of Guilders. So the States created a fund for the interest of that money, and ordered it to be taken up by a loan. It was all brought in in four days. About the end of *September* a message was delivered to the States from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, by which he undertook to send an Army into his country of *Cleve*, and to secure the States from all danger on that side for this winter.

Upon this, it was proposed, to lend the Prince the four millions. And this passed easily in the States, without any opposition, to the amazement of all that saw it: For it had never been known, that so great and so dangerous an expedition in such a season had been so easily agreed to, without so much as one disagreeing vote, either at the *Hague*, or in any of the Towns of *Holland*. All people went so cordially into it, that it was not necessary to employ much time in satisfying them, both of the lawfulness and of the necessity of the undertaking. *Fagel* had sent for all the eminent Ministers of the chief Towns of *Holland*:



*Holland*: And, as he had a vehemence as well as a tenderness in speaking, he convinced them evidently, that both their religion and their country were in such imminent danger, that nothing but this expedition could save them: They saw the persecution in *France*: And in that they might see what was to be expected from that religion: They saw the violence with which the King of *England* was driving matters in his country, which if not stopped would soon prevail. He sent them thus full of zeal, to dispose the people to a hearty approbation and concurrence in this design. The Ministers in *Holland* are so watched over by the States, that they have no more authority when they meet in a body, in a Synod or in a Classis, than the States think fit to allow them. But I was never in any place, where I thought the Clergy had generally so much credit with the people, as they have there: And they employed it all upon this occasion very diligently, and to good purpose. Those who had no regard to religion, yet saw a war began in the Empire by the *French*. And the publication of the alliance between *France* and *England* by the *French* Ambassador, made them conclude that *England* would join with *France*. They reckoned, they could not stand before such an united force, and that therefore it was necessary to take *England* out of the hands of a Prince, who was such a firm ally to *France*. All the *English* that lived in *Holland*, especially the merchants that were settled in *Amsterdam*, where the opposition was like to be strongest, had such positive advices of the disposition that the Nation, and even the Army were in; that, as this undertaking was considered as the only probable means of their preservation, it seemed so well concerted, that little doubt was made of success, except what arose from the season; which was not only far spent, but the winds were both so contrary and so stormy for many weeks, that a forcible stop seemed put to it by the hand of heaven.

*Herbert* went to sea with the *Dutch* Fleet: And was ordered to stand over to the *Downs*, and to look on the *English* Fleet, to try if any would come over, of which some hopes were given; or to engage them, while they were then not above eighteen or twenty ships strong. But the contrary winds made this not only impracticable, but gave great reason to fear that a great part of the Fleet would be either lost or disabled. These continued for above a fortnight, and gave us at the *Hague* a melancholy prospect. *Herbert* also found, that the Fleet was neither so strong, nor so well manned, as he had expected.

The *Dutch*  
put to sea.

All



1688

Some facti-  
ous motions  
at the Hague.

All the *English*, that were scattered about the Provinces, or in *Germany*, came to the *Hague*. Among these there was one *Wildman*, who, from being an agitator in *Cromwell's* Army, had been a constant meddler on all occasions in every thing that looked like sedition, and seemed inclined to oppose every thing that was uppermost. He brought his usual ill humour along with him, having a peculiar talent in possessing others by a sort of contagion with jealousy and discontent. To these the Prince ordered his declaration to be shewed. *Wildman* took great exceptions to it, with which he possessed many to such a degree, that they began to say, they would not engage upon those grounds. *Wildman* had drawn one, in which he had laid down a scheme of the government of *England*, and then had set forth many particulars in which it had been violated, carrying these a great way into King *Charles's* reign; all which he supported by many authorities from law books. He objected to the Prince's insisting so much on the Dispensing Power, and on what had been done to the Bishops. He said, there was certainly a Dispensing Power in the Crown, practised for some ages: Very few Patents passed in which there was not a *non obstante* to one or more acts of Parliament: This power had been too far stretched of late: But the stretching of a power that was in the Crown, could not be a just ground of war: The King had a right to bring any man to a trial: The Bishops had a fair trial, and were acquitted, and discharged upon it: In all which there was nothing done contrary to law. All this seemed mysterious, when a known Republican was become an advocate for Prerogative. His design in this was deep and spiteful. He saw that, as the declaration was drawn, the Church party would come in, and be well received by the Prince: So he, who designed to separate the Prince and them at the greatest distance from one another, studied to make the Prince declare against those grievances, in which many of them were concerned, and which some among them had promoted. The Earl of *Macclesfield*, with the Lord *Mordaunt*, and many others, joined with him in this. But the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, together with *Sidney*, *Russel*, and some others, were as positive in their opinion, that the Prince ought not to look so far back as into King *Charles's* reign: This would disgust many of the Nobility and Gentry, and almost all the Clergy: So they thought the declaration was to be so conceived, as to draw in the body of the whole Nation: They were all alarmed with the Dispensing Power: And it would seem very strange to see an invasion, in which this was not set out as the main ground of it: Every man could distinguish between the dispensing with a special



cial act in a particular case, and a total dispensing with laws to secure the Nation and the Religion: The ill designs of the Court, as well as the affections of the Nation, had appeared so evidently in the Bishops trial, that if no notice was taken of it, it would be made use of to possess all people with an opinion of the Prince's ill will to them. *Ruffel* said, that any reflections made on King *Charles's* reign would not only carry over all the high Church party, but all the Army, entirely to the King. *Wildman's* declaration was much objected to. The Prince could not enter into a discussion of the law and government of *England*: That was to be left to the Parliament: The Prince could only set forth the present and publick grievances, as they were transmitted to him by those upon whose invitation he was going over. This was not without some difficulty overcome, by altering some few expressions in the first draught, and leaving out some circumstances. So the declaration was printed over again, with some amendments.

In the beginning of *October* the troops marched from *Nime-*  
*guen* were put on board in the *Zwyder* sea, where they lay above  
ten days before they could get out of the *Texel*. Never was  
so great a design executed in so short a time. A transport fleet of  
five hundred vessels was hired in three days time. All things,  
as soon as they were ordered, were got to be so quickly ready,  
that we were amazed at the dispatch. It is true, some things  
were wanting, and some things had been forgot. But when the  
greatness of the equipage was considered, together with the se-  
crecy with which it was to be conducted till the whole design  
was to be avowed, it seemed much more strange that so little  
was wanting, or that so few things had been forgot. *Benthink*,  
*Dykvelt*, *Herbert*, and *Van Hulst*, were for two months con-  
stantly at the *Hague*, giving all necessary orders, with so little  
noise that nothing broke out all that while. Even in lesser mat-  
ters favourable circumstances concurred to cover the design.  
*Benthink* used to be constantly with the Prince, being the per-  
son that was most entirely trusted and constantly employed by  
him: So that his absence from him, being so extraordinary a  
thing, might have given some umbrage. But all the summer  
his Lady was so very ill, that she was looked on every day as  
one that could not live three days to an end: So that this was  
a very just excuse for his attendance at the *Hague*.

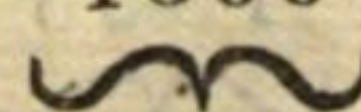
I waited on the Princess a few days before we left the *Hague*.  
She seemed to have a great load on her spirits, but to have  
no scruple as to the lawfulness of the design. After much other  
discourse, I said, that if we got safe to *England*, I made no great  
doubt of our success in all other things. I only begged her

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The Army  
was shipped.

The Prin-  
cess's sense  
of things.



1688  pardon to tell her, that if there should happen to be at any time any disjointing between the Prince and her, that would ruin all. She answered me, that I needed fear no such thing: If any person should attempt that, she would treat them so, as to discourage all others from venturing on it for the future. She was very solemn and serious, and prayed God earnestly to bless and direct us.

The Prince  
took leave  
of the States.

On the sixteenth of *October O. S.* the wind that had stood so long in the West, came into the East. So orders were sent to all to haste to *Helvoet-Sluis*. That morning the Prince went into the assembly of the States General, to take leave of them. He said to them, he was extream sensible of the kindness they had all shewed him upon many occasions: He took God to witness, he had served them faithfully, ever since they had trusted him with the government, and that he had never any end before his eyes but the good of the country: He had pursued it always: And if at any time he erred in his judgment, yet his heart was ever set on procuring their safety and prosperity. He took God to witness, he went to *England* with no other intentions, but those he had set out in his declaration: He did not know how God might dispose of him: To his providence he committed himself: Whatsoever might become of him, he committed to them the care of their country, and recommended the Princess to them in a most particular manner: He assured them, she loved their country perfectly, and equally with her own: He hoped, that whatever might happen to him, they would still protect her, and use her as she well deserved: And so he took leave. It was a sad, but a kind parting. Some of every Province offered at an answer to what the Prince had said: But they all melted into tears and passion: So that their speeches were much broken, very short, and extream tender. Only the Prince himself continued firm in his usual gravity and phlegm. When he came to *Helvoet-Sluis*, the transport fleet had consumed so much of their provisions, that three days of the good wind were lost, before all were supplied anew.

We sailed  
out of the  
*Maes*.

At last, on the nineteenth of *October*, the Prince went aboard, and the whole Fleet sailed out that night. But the next day the wind turned into the North, and settled in the North-West. At night a great storm rose. We wrought against it all that night, and the next day. But it was in vain to struggle any longer. And so vast a Fleet run no small hazard, being obliged to keep together, and yet not to come too near one another. On the twenty first in the afternoon the signal was given to go in again: And on the twenty second the far greater part got safe into port. Many ships were at first wanting, and were believ-



ed to be lost. But after a few days all came in. There was 1688  
 not one ship lost; nor so much as any one man, except one that  
 was blown from the shrouds into the sea. Some ships were so <sup>But were</sup> forced back.  
 shattered, that as soon as they came in, and all was taken out  
 of them, they immediately sunk down. Only five hundred horses  
 died for want of air. Men are upon such occasions apt to flat-  
 ter themselves upon the points of providence. In *France* and  
*England*, as it was believed that our loss was much greater than  
 it proved to be, so they triumphed not a little, as if God had  
 fought against us, and defeated the whole design. We on our  
 part, who found our selves delivered out of so great a storm and  
 so vast a danger, looked on it as a mark of God's great care  
 of us, who, tho' he had not changed the course of the winds  
 and seas in our favour, yet had preserved us while we were in  
 such apparent danger, beyond what could have been imagined.  
 The States were not at all discouraged with this hard beginning,  
 but gave the necessary orders for supplying us with every thing  
 that we needed. The Princess behaved herself at the *Hague* suit-  
 ably to what was expected from her. She ordered prayers four  
 times a day, and assisted at them with great devotion. She spoke  
 to no body of affairs, but was calm and silent. The States or-  
 dered some of their body to give her an account of all their  
 proceedings. She indeed answered little: But in that little she  
 gave them cause often to admire her judgment.

In *England* the Court saw now, that it was in vain to dis- <sup>Consultati-</sup>  
 semble or disguise their fears any more. Great consultations were <sup>ons in Eng-</sup>  
 held there. The Earl of *Melfort*, and all the Papists, propos- <sup>land.</sup>  
 ed the seizing on all suspected persons, and the sending them  
 to *Portsmouth*. The Earl of *Sunderland* opposed this vehement-  
 ly. He said, it would not be possible to seize on many at the  
 same time: And the seizing on a few would alarm all the rest:  
 It would drive them in to the Prince, and furnish them with a  
 pretence for it: He proposed rather, that the King would do  
 such popular things, as might give some content, and lay that  
 fermentation with which the Nation was then, as it were, di-  
 stracted. This was at that time complied with: But all the  
 Popish party continued upon this to charge Lord *Sunderland*,  
 as one that was in the King's counsels only to betray them; that  
 had before diverted the offer of assistance from *France*, and now  
 the securing those who were the most likely to join and assist the  
 Prince. By their importunities the King was at last so prevail-  
 ed on, that he turned him out of all his places: And Lord  
*Preston* was made Secretary of State. The Fleet was now put out,  
 and was so strong, that, if they had met the *Dutch* Fleet, pro-  
 bably they would have been too hard for them, especially con-  
 sidering



1688 sidering the great transport fleet that they were to cover. All the forces that were in *Scotland* were ordered into *England*: And that Kingdom was left in the hands of their Militia. Several Regiments came likewise from *Ireland*. So that the King's Army was then about thirty thousand strong. But, in order to lay the heat that was raised in the Nation, the King sent for the Bishops; and set out the injustice of this unnatural invasion that the Prince was designing: He assured them of his affections to the Church of *England*; and protested, he had never intended to carry things further than to an equal liberty of conscience: He desired, they would declare their abhorrence of this invasion, and that they would offer him their advice, what was fit for him to do. They declined the point of abhorrence, and advised the present summoning a Parliament; and that in the mean while the Ecclesiastical Commission might be broken, the proceedings against the Bishop of *London* and *Magdalen* College might be reversed, and that the law might be again put in its channel. This they delivered with great gravity, and with a courage that recommended them to the whole Nation. There was an order sent them from the King afterwards, requiring them to compose an office for the present occasion. The prayers were so well drawn, that even those who wished for the Prince might have joined in them. The Church party did now shew their approbation of the Prince's expedition in such terms, that many were surprized at it, both then, and since that time. They spoke openly in favour of it. They expressed their grief to see the wind so cross. They wished for an East wind, which on that occasion was called the Protestant wind. They spoke with great scorn of all that the Court was then doing to regain the hearts of the Nation. And indeed the proceedings of the Court that way were so cold, and so forced, that few were like to be deceived by them, but those who had a mind to be deceived. The writs for a Parliament were often ordered to be made ready for the Seal, and were as often stopt. Some were sealed, and given out: But they were quickly called in again. The old Charters were ordered to be restored again. *Jefferies* himself carried back the Charter of the City of *London*, and put on the appearances of joy and heartiness when he gave it to them. All men saw thro' that affectation: For he had raised himself chiefly upon the advising, or promoting, that matter of the surrender, and the forfeiture of the Charters. An order was also sent to the Bishop of *Winchester*, to put the President of *Magdalen* College again in possession. Yet, that order not being executed when the news was brought that the Prince and his Fleet were blown back, it was countermanded; which plainly shewed



shewed what it was that drove the Court into so much compliance, and how long it was like to last.

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The matter of the greatest concern, and that could not be dropt, but was to be supported, was the birth of the Prince of *Wales*. And therefore the Court thought it necessary, now in an after game, to offer some satisfaction in that point. So a great meeting was called; not only of all the Privy Counsellors and Judges, but of all the Nobility then in Town. To these the King complained of the great injury that was done both him and the Queen by the Prince of *Orange*, who accused them of so black an imposture: He said, he believed there were few Princes then alive, who had been born in the presence of more witnesses than were at his son's birth: He had therefore called them together, that they might hear the proof of that matter. It was first proved, that the Queen was delivered abed, while many were in the room; and that they saw the child soon after he was taken from the Queen by the midwife. But in this the midwife was the single witness; for none of the Ladies had felt the child in the Queen's belly. The Countess of *Sunderland* did indeed depose, that the Queen called to her to give her her hand, that she might feel how the child lay, to which she added, *which I did*; but did not say, whether she felt the child, or not: And she told the Duchess of *Hamilton*, from whom I had it, that when she put her hand into the bed, the Queen held it, and let it go no lower than her breasts. So that really she felt nothing. And this deposition, brought to make a shew, was an evidence against the matter, rather than for it; and was a violent presumption of an imposture, and of an artifice to cover it. Many Ladies deposed, that they had often seen the marks of milk on the Queen's linen, near her breasts. Two or three deposed, that they saw it running out at the nipple. All these deposed, that they saw milk before the pretended delivery. But none of them deposed concerning milk after the delivery, tho' nature sends it then in greater abundance: And the Queen had it always in such a plenty, that some weeks passed after her delivery, before she was quite freed from it. The Ladies did not name the time in which they saw the milk, except one, who named the month of *May*. But, if the particulars mentioned before, that happen'd on *Easter Monday*, are reflected on, and if it appears probable by these that the Queen miscarried at that time; then all that the Ladies mentioned of milk in her breasts, particularly she that fixed it to the month of *May*, might have followed upon that miscarriage, and be no proof concerning the late birth. Mrs. *Pierce*, the landress, deposed that she took linen from the Queen's body

Proofs brought for the birth of the Prince of *Wales*.



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once, which carried the marks of a delivery. But she spoke only to one time. That was a main circumstance. And, if it had been true, it must have been often done, and was capable of a more copious proof, since there is occasion for such things to be often looked on, and well considered. The Lady *Wentworth* was the single witness that deposed, that she had felt the child move in the Queen's belly. She was a Bed-chamber woman, as well as a single witness: And she fixed it on no time. If it was very early, she might have been mistaken: Or if it was before *Easter Monday*, it might be true, and yet have no relation to this birth. This was the substance of this evidence, which was ordered to be enrolled and printed. But, when it was published, it had a quite contrary effect to what the Court expected from it. The presumption of law before this was all in favour of the birth, since the parents owned the child: So that the proof lay on the other side, and ought to be offered by those who called it in question. But, now that this proof was brought, which was so apparently defective, it did not lessen but increase the jealousy with which the Nation was possessed: For all people concluded, that, if the thing had been true, it must have been easy to have brought a much more copious proof than was now published to the world. It was much observed, that Princess *Anne* was not present. She indeed excused herself. She thought she was breeding: And all motion was forbidden her. None believed that to be the true reason; for it was thought, that the going from one apartment of the Court to another could not hurt her. So it was looked on as a colour that shewed she did not believe the thing, and that therefore she would not by her being present seem to give any credit to it.

This was the state of affairs in *England*, while we lay at *Helvoet-Sluis*, where we continued till the first of *November*. Here *Wildman* created a new disturbance. He plainly had a shew of courage, but was, at least then, a coward. He possessed some of the *English* with an opinion, that the design was now irrecoverably lost. This was entertained by many, who were willing to hearken to any proposition that set danger at a distance from themselves. They were still magnifying the *English* Fleet, and undervaluing the *Dutch*. They went so far in this, that they proposed to the Prince, that *Herbert* should be ordered to go over to the coast of *England*, and either fight the *English* Fleet, or force them in: And in that case the Transport Fleet might venture over; which otherwise they thought could not be safely done. This some urged with such earnestness, that nothing but the Prince's authority, and *Schomberg's* credit,



credit, could have withstood it. The Prince told them, the season was now so far spent, that the losing of more time was the losing the whole design: Fleets might lie long in view of one another, before it could be possible for them to come to an engagement, tho' both sides equally desired it; but much longer, if any one of them avoided it: It was not possible to keep the Army, especially the horse, long at sea: And it was no easy matter to take them all out, and to ship them again: After the wind had stood so long in the West, there was reason to hope it would turn to the East: And when that should come, no time was to be lost: For it would sometimes blow so fresh in a few days as to freeze up the river; so that it would not be possible to get out all the winter long. With these things he rather silenced than quieted them. All this while the men of war were still riding at sea, it being a continued storm for some weeks. The Prince sent out several advice boats with orders to them to come in. But they could not come up to them. On the twenty seventh of *October* there was for six hours together a most dreadful storm: So that there were few among us, that did not conclude, that the best part of the Fleet, and by consequence that the whole design, was lost. Many, that have past for Heroes, yet shewed then the agonies of fear in their looks, and whole deportment. The Prince still retained his usual calmness, and the same tranquillity of spirit, that I had observed in him in his happiest days. On the twenty eighth it calmed a little, and our Fleet came all in, to our great joy. The rudder of one third rate was broken: And that was all the hurt that the storm had done. At last the much longed for East wind came. And so hard a thing it was to set so vast a body in motion, that two days of this wind were lost before all could be quite ready.

On the first of *November* O. S. we sailed out with the evening tide; but made little way that night, that so our Fleet might come out, and move in order. We tried next day till noon, if it was possible to sail Northward: But the wind was so strong, and full in the East, that we could not move that way. About noon the signal was given to steer Westward. This wind not only diverted us from that unhappy course, but it kept the *English* Fleet in the river: So that it was not possible for them to come out, tho' they were come down as far as to the Gunfleet. By this means we had the sea open to us, with a fair wind, and a safe navigation. On the third we past between *Dover* and *Calais*, and before night came in sight of the isle of *Wight*. The next day being the day in which the Prince was both born and married, he fancied, if he could land that day, it would look auspicious to the Army, and animate the soldiers.

We sailed out more happily a second time.

We landed at Wight.



1688 soldiers. But we all, who considered, that the day following, being Gunpowder Treason day, our landing that day might have a good effect on the minds of the *English* Nation, were better pleased to see that we could land no sooner. *Torbay* was thought the best place for our great Fleet to lie in: And it was resolved to land the Army, where it could be best done near it; reckoning, that being at such a distance from *London*, we could provide our selves with horses, and put every thing in order before the King could march his Army towards us, and that we should lie some time at *Exeter* for the refreshing our men. I was in the ship, with the Prince's other domesticks, that went in the van of the whole Fleet. At noon on the fourth *Russel* came on board us with the best of all the *English* pilots that they had brought over. He gave him the steering of the ship; and ordered him to be sure to sail so, that next morning we should be short of *Dartmouth*: For it was intended that some of the ships should land there, and that the rest should sail into *Torbay*. The pilot thought, he could not be mistaken in measuring our course; and believed that he certainly kept within orders, till the morning shewed us we were past *Torbay* and *Dartmouth*. The wind, tho' it had abated much of its first violence, yet was still full in the East: So now it seemed necessary for us to sail on to *Plymouth*, which must have engaged us in a long and tedious campaign in winter, thro' a very ill Country. Nor were we sure to be received at *Plymouth*. The Earl of *Bath*, who was Governor, had sent by *Russel* a promise to the Prince to come and join him: Yet it was not likely, that he would be so forward as to receive us at our first coming. The delays he made afterwards, pretending that he was managing the garrison, whereas he was indeed staying till he saw how the matter was like to be decided, shewed us how fatal it had proved, if we had been forced to sail on to *Plymouth*. But while *Russel* was in no small disorder, after he saw the pilot's error, (upon which he bid me go to my prayers, for all was lost,) and as he was ordering the boat to be cleared to go aboard the Prince, on a sudden to all our wonder it calmed a little. And then the wind turned into the South: And a soft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole Fleet in four hourstime into *Torbay*. Immediately as many landed as conveniently could. As soon as the Prince and Marshal *Schomberg* got to shore, they were furnished with such horses as the village of *Broxholme* could afford; and rode up to view the grounds which they found as convenient as could be imagined for the foot in that season. It was not a cold night: Otherwise the soldiers, who had been kept warm aboard, might have suffered much by it. As soon

We landed  
at *Torbay*.



as I landed, I made what haste I could to the place where the Prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me, if I would not now believe predestination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared so signally on this occasion. He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned soon to his usual gravity. The Prince sent for all the fishermen of the place; and asked them, which was the properest place for landing his horse, which all apprehended would be a tedious business, and might hold some days. But next morning he was shewed a place, a quarter of a mile below the village, where the ships could be brought very near the land, against a good shore, and the horses would not be put to swim above twenty yards. This proved to be so happy for our landing, tho' we came to it by meer accident, that, if we had ordered the whole Island round to be sounded, we could not have found a properer place for it. There was a dead calm all that morning: And in three hour's time all our horse were landed, with as much baggage as was necessary till we got to *Exeter*. The artillery and heavy baggage were left aboard, and ordered to *Topsham* the sea-port to *Exeter*. All that belonged to us was so soon and so happily landed, that by the next day at noon we were in full march, and marched four miles that night. We had from thence twenty miles to *Exeter*: And we resolved to make haste thither. But, as we were now happily landed, and marching, we saw new and unthought of characters of a favourable providence of God watching over us. We had no sooner got thus disengaged from our Fleet, than a new and great storm blew from the West; from which our Fleet, being covered by the land, could receive no prejudice: But the King's Fleet had got out as the wind calmed, and in pursuit of us was come as far as the isle of *Wight*, when this contrary wind turned upon them. They tried what they could to pursue us: But they were so shattered by some days of this storm, that they were forced to go into *Portsmouth*, and were no more fit for service that year. This was a greater happiness than we were then aware of: For the Lord *Dartmouth* assured me some time after, that, whatever stories we had heard and believed, either of Officers or seamen, he was confident they would all have fought very heartily. But now, by the immediate hand of heaven, we were masters of the sea without a blow. I never found a disposition to superstition in my temper: I was rather inclined to be philosophical upon all occasions. Yet I must confess, that this strange ordering of the winds and seasons, just to change as our affairs required it, could not but make deep impressions on me, as well as on all that observed it. Those famous verses



1688 of *Claudian* seemed to be more applicable to the Prince, than to him they were made on:

*O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,*

*Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!*

Heaven's favourite, for whom the skies do fight,

And all the winds conspire to guide thee right!

The Prince made haste to *Exeter*, where he staid ten days, both for refreshing his troops, and for giving the Country time to shew their affections. Both the Clergy and Magistrates of *Exeter* were very fearful, and very backward. The Bishop and the Dean ran away. And the Clergy stood off, tho' they were sent for, and very gently spoke to by the Prince. The truth was, the doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance had been carried so far, and preached so much, that Clergymen either could not all on the sudden get out of that entanglement, into which they had by long thinking and speaking all one way involved themselves, or they were ashamed to make so quick a turn. Yet care was taken to protect them and their houses every where: So that no sort of violence nor rudeness was offered to any of them. The Prince gave me full authority to do this: And I took so particular a care of it, that we heard of no complaints. The Army was kept under such an exact discipline, that every thing was paid for where it was demanded; tho' the soldiers were contented with such moderate entertainment, that the people generally asked but little for what they did eat. We staid a week at *Exeter*, before any of the Gentlemen of the country about came in to the Prince. Every day some persons of condition came from other parts. The first were the Lord *Colchester* the eldest son of the Earl of *Rivers*, and the Lord *Wharton*, Mr. *Russel* the Lord *Russel's* brother, and the Earl of *Abington*.

The King's  
Army began  
to come  
over to the  
Prince.

The King came down to *Salisbury*, and sent his troops twenty miles further. Of these, three Regiments of horse and dragoons were drawn on by their Officers, the Lord *Cornbury* and Coll. *Langston*, on design to come over to the Prince. Advice was sent to the Prince of this. But because these Officers were not sure of their subalterns, the Prince ordered a body of his men to advance, and assist them in case any resistance was made. They were within twenty miles of *Exeter*, and within two miles of the body that the Prince had sent to join them, when a whisper ran about among them that they were betrayed. Lord *Cornbury* had not the presence of mind that so critical a thing required. So they fell in confusion, and many rode back. Yet



one Regiment came over in a body, and with them about a hundred of the other two. This gave us great courage; and shewed us, that we had not been deceived in what was told us of the inclinations of the King's Army. Yet, on the other hand, those who studied to support the King's spirit by flatteries told him, that in this he saw that he might trust his Army, since these who intended to carry over those Regiments, were forced to manage it with so much artifice, and durst not discover their design either to Officers or soldiers; and that, as soon as they perceived it, the greater part of them had turned back. The King wanted support: For his spirits sunk extreamly. His blood was in such fermentation, that he was bleeding much at the nose, which returned oft upon him every day. He sent many spies over to us. They all took his money, and came and joined themselves to the Prince, none of them returning to him. So that he had no intelligence brought him of what the Prince was doing, but what common reports brought him, which magnified our numbers, and made him think we were coming near him, while we were still at *Exeter*. He heard that the City of *London* was very unquiet. News were brought him, that the Earls of *Devonshire* and *Danby*, and the Lord *Lumley*, were drawing great bodies together, and that both *York* and *Newcastle* had declared for the Prince. The Lord *Delamere* had raised a Regiment in *Cheshire*. And the body of the Nation did every where discover their inclinations for the Prince so evidently, that the King saw he had nothing to trust to, but his Army. And the ill disposition among them was so apparent, that he reckoned he could not depend on them. So that he lost both heart and head at once. But that which gave him the last and most confounding stroke was, that the Lord *Churchill* and the Duke of *Grafton* left him, and came and joined the Prince at *Axminster*, twenty miles on that side of *Exeter*. After this he could not know on whom he could depend. The Duke of *Grafton* was one of King *Charles's* sons by the Duchess of *Cleveland*. He had been some time at sea, and was a gallant but rough man. He had more spirit than any one of the King's sons. He made an answer to the King about this time, that was much talked of. The King took notice of somewhat in his behaviour that looked factious: And he said, he was sure he could not pretend to act upon principles of conscience; for he had been so ill bred, that as he knew little of religion so he regarded it less. But he answered the King, that, tho' he had little conscience, yet he was of a party that had conscience. Soon after that, Prince *George*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Drumlanerick* the Duke of *Queensbury's* eldest son, left him, and came over



1688 to the Prince, and joined him, when he was come as far as the Earl of *Bristol's* house at *Sherburn*. When the news came to *London*, the Princess was so struck with the apprehensions of the King's displeasure, and of the ill effects that it might have, that she said to the Lady *Churchill*, that she could not bear the thoughts of it, and would leap out at window rather than venture on it. The Bishop of *London* was then lodged very secretly in *Suffolk* street. So the Lady *Churchill*, who knew where he was, went to him, and concerted with him the method of the Princess's withdrawing from the Court. The Princess went sooner to bed than ordinary. And about midnight she went down a backstairs from her closet, attended only by the Lady *Churchill*, in such haste that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the Bishop of *London*, who carried them to the Earl of *Dorset's*, whose Lady furnished them with every thing. And so they went Northward, as far as *Northampton*; where that Earl attended on them with all respect, and quickly brought a body of horse to serve for a guard to the Princess. And in a little while a small Army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of *London*; of which he too easily accepted.

These things put the King in an unexpressible confusion. He saw himself now forsaken, not only by those whom he had trusted and favoured most, but even by his own children. And the Army was in such distraction, that there was not any one body that seemed entirely united and firm to him. A foolish ballad was made at that time, treating the Papists, and chiefly the *Irish*, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden, said to be *Irish* words, *lero lero lilibulero*, that made an impression on the Army, that cannot be well imagined by those who saw it not. The whole Army, and at last all people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually. And perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an effect.

An Association among those who came to the Prince.

While the Prince staid at *Exeter*, the rabble of the people came in to him in great numbers. So that he could have raised many Regiments of foot, if there had been any occasion for them. But what he understood of the temper the King's Army was in, made him judge it was not necessary to arm greater numbers. After he had staid eight days at *Exeter*, *Seimour* came in with several other Gentlemen of quality and estate. As soon as he had been with the Prince, he sent to seek for me. When I came to him, he asked me, why we had not an Association signed by all that came to us, since, till we had that done, we were as a rope of sand: Men might leave us when they pleased, and we had them under no tie: Whereas, if they signed an Association,



ciation, they would reckon themselves bound to stick to us. I answered, it was because we had not a man of his authority and credit to offer and support such an advice. I went from him to the Prince, who approved of the motion; as did also the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and all that were with us. So I was ordered to draw it. It was, in few words, an engagement to stick together in pursuing the ends of the Prince's declaration; and that, if any attempt should be made on his person, it should be revenged on all by whom or from whom any such attempt should be made. This was agreed to by all about the Prince. So it was engrossed in parchment, and signed by all those that came in to him. The Prince put *Devonshire* and *Exeter* under *Seimour's* government, who was Recorder of *Exeter*. And he advanced with his Army, leaving a small garrison there with his heavy artillery under Coll. *Gibson*, whom he made Deputy Governor as to the military part.

At *Crookhorn*, Dr. *Finch*, son to the Earl of *Winchelsea*, then made Warden of All-Souls College in *Oxford*, was sent to the Prince from some of the Heads of Colleges; assuring him, that they would declare for him, and inviting him to come thither, telling him, that their plate should be at his service, if he needed it. This was a sudden turn from those principles that they had carried so high a few years before. The Prince had designed to have secured *Bristol* and *Glocester*, and so to have gone to *Oxford*, the whole West being then in his hands, if there had been any appearance of a stand to be made against him by the King and his Army; for, the King being so much superior to him in horse, it was not advisable to march thro' the great plains of *Dorsetshire* and *Wiltshire*. But the King's precipitated return to *London* put an end to this precaution. The Earl of *Bath* had prevailed with the garrison of *Plymouth*: And they declared for the Prince. So now all behind him was safe. When he came to *Sherburn*, all *Dorsetshire* came in a body, and joined him. He resolved to make all the haste he could to *London*, where things were in a high fermentation.

A bold man ventured to draw and publish another declaration in the Prince's name. It was penned with great spirit: And it had as great an effect. It set forth the desperate designs of the Papists, and the extream danger the Nation was in by their means, and required all persons immediately to fall on such Papists as were in any employments, and to turn them out, and to secure all strong places, and to do every thing else that was in their power to execute the laws, and to bring all things again into their proper channels. This set all men at work: For no doubt was made, that it was truly the Prince's declaration.

1688

The Heads in Oxford sent to him.

Great disorders in London.



1688 But he knew nothing of it. And it was never known, who was the author of so bold a thing. No person ever claimed the merit of it: For, tho' it had an amazing effect, yet, it seems, he that contrived it apprehended, that the Prince would not be well pleased with the author of such an imposture in his Name. The King was under such a consternation, that he neither knew what to resolve on, nor whom to trust. This pretended declaration put the City in such a flame, that it was carried to the Lord Mayor, and he was required to execute it. The prentices got together, and were falling upon all Mass houses, and committing many irregular things. Yet their fury was so well governed, and so little resisted that no other mischief was done: No blood was shed.

A treaty begun with the Prince.

The King now sent for all the Lords in Town, that were known to be firm Protestants. And, upon speaking to some of them in private, they advised him to call a general meeting of all the Privy Counsellors, and Peers, to ask their advice, what was fit to be done. All agreed in one opinion, that it was fit to send Commissioners to the Prince to treat with him. This went much against the King's own inclinations: Yet the dejection he was in, and the desperate state of his affairs, forced him to consent to it. So the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, were ordered to go to the Prince, and to ask him, what it was that he demanded. The Earl of *Clarendon* reflected the most on the King's former conduct of any in that assembly, not without some indecent and insolent words, which were generally condemned. He expected, as was said, to be one of the Commissioners: And, upon his not being named, he came and met the Prince near *Salisbury*. Yet he suggested so many peevish and peculiar things, when he came, that some suspected, all this was but collusion, and that he was sent to raise a faction among those that were about the Prince. The Lords sent to the Prince to know where they should wait on him: And he named *Hungerford*. When they came thither, and had delivered their message, the Prince called all the Peers and others of chief note about him, and advised with them what answer should be made. A day was taken to consider of an answer. The Marquis of *Hallifax* sent for me. But the Prince said, tho' he would suspect nothing from our meeting, others might. So I did not speak with him in private, but in the hearing of others. Yet he took occasion to ask me, so as no body observed it, if we had a mind to have the King in our hands. I said, by no means; for we would not hurt his person. He asked next, what if he had a mind to go away. I said, nothing was so much to be wished for. This I told the Prince. And he approved of both my answers.



answers. The Prince ordered the Earls of *Oxford*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Clarendon* to treat with the Lords the King had sent. And they delivered the Prince's answer to them on *Sunday* the eighth of *December*.

He desired a Parliament might be presently called, that no men should continue in any employment, who were not qualified by law, and had not taken the Tests, that the Tower of *London* might be put in the keeping of the City; that the Fleet, and all the strong places of the Kingdom, might be put in the hands of Protestants; that a proportion of the revenue might be set off for the pay of the Prince's Army; and that during the sitting of the Parliament, the Armies of both sides might not come within twenty miles of *London*; but, that the Prince might come on to *London*, and have the same number of his guards about him, that the King kept about his person. The Lords seemed to be very well satisfied with this answer. They sent it up by an express, and went back next day to *London*.

But now strange counsels were suggested to the King and Queen. The Priests, and all the violent Papists, saw a treaty was now opened. They knew, that they must be the sacrifice. The whole design of Popery must be given up, without any hope of being able in an age to think of bringing it on again. Severe laws would be made against them. And all those who intended to stick to the King, and to preserve him, would go into those laws with a particular zeal: So that they, and their hopes, must be now given up, and sacrificed for ever. They infused all this into the Queen. They said, she would certainly be impeached: And witnesses would be set up against her, and her son: The King's Mother had been impeached in the long Parliament: And she was to look for nothing but violence. So the Queen took up a sudden resolution of going to *France* with the child. The midwife, together with all who were assisting at the birth, were also carried over, or so disposed of, that it could never be learned what became of them afterwards. The Queen prevailed with the King, not only to consent to this, but to promise to go quickly after her. He was only to stay a day or two after her, in hope that the shadow of authority that was still left in him might keep things so quiet, that she might have an undisturbed passage. So she went to *Portsmouth*. And from thence, in a man of war, she went over to *France*, the King resolving to follow her in disguise. Care was also taken to send all the Priests away. The King staid long enough to get the Prince's answer. And when he had read it, he said, he did not expect so good terms. He ordered the Lord Chancellor to come to him next morning. But he

The King  
left the  
Kingdom.



1688 he had called secretly for the Great Seal. And the next morning, being the tenth of *December*, about three in the morning he went away in disguise with Sir *Edward Hales*, whose servant he seemed to be. They past the river, and flung the Great Seal into it; which was some months after found by a fisherman near *Fox-Hall*. The King went down to a miserable fisher boat, that *Hales* had provided for carrying them over to *France*.

He is much censured.

Thus a great King, who had a good Army and a strong Fleet, did choose rather to abandon all, than either to expose himself to any danger with that part of the Army that was still firm to him, or to stay and see the issue of a Parliament. Some put this mean and unaccountable resolution on a want of courage. Others thought it was the effect of an ill conscience, and of some black thing under which he could not now support himself. And they who censured it the most moderately, said, that it shewed, that his Priests had more regard to themselves than to him; and that he considered their interest more than his own; and that he chose rather to wander abroad with them, and to try what he could do by a *French* force to subdue his people, than to stay at home, and be shut up within the bounds of law, and be brought under an incapacity of doing more mischief; which they saw was necessary to quiet those fears and jealousies, for which his bad government had given so much occasion. It seemed very unaccountable, since he was resolved to go, that he did not choose rather to go in one of his Yatches or Fregats, than to expose himself in so dangerous and ignominious a manner. It was not possible to put a good construction on any part of the dishonourable scene which he then acted.

With this his reign ended: For this was a plain deserting his people, and the exposing the Nation to the pillage of an Army, which he had ordered the Earl of *Feversham* to disband. And the doing this without paying them, was the letting so many armed men loose upon the Nation; who might have done much mischief, if the execution of those orders that he left behind him had not been stopped. I shall continue the recital of all that past in this *Interregnum*, till the Throne, which he now left empty, was filled.

But is brought back.

He was not got far, when some fishermen of *Feversham*, who were watching for such Priests, and other delinquents, as they fancied were making their escape, came up to him. And they, knowing Sir *Edward Hales*, took both the King and him, and brought them to *Feversham*. The King told them who he was. And that flying about brought a vast croud together, to



look on that astonishing instance of the uncertainty of all worldly greatness; when he who had ruled three Kingdoms, and might have been the arbiter of all *Europe*, was now in such mean hands, and so low an equipage. The people of the town were extremely disordered with this unlooked for accident: And, tho' for a while they kept him as a prisoner, yet they quickly changed that into as much respect as they could possibly pay him. Here was an accident that seemed of no great consequence. Yet all the strugglings which that party have made ever since that time to this day, which from him were called afterwards the Jacobites, did rise out of this: For, if he had got clear away, by all that could be judged, he would not have had a party left: All would have agreed, that here was a desertion, and that therefore the Nation was free, and at liberty to secure it self. But what followed upon this gave them a colour to say, that he was forced away, and driven out. Till now, he scarce had a party, but among the Papists. But from this incident a party grew up, that has been long very active for his interests. As soon as it was known at *London* that the King was gone, the prentices and the rabble, who had been a little quieted when they saw a treaty on foot between the King and the Prince, now broke out again upon all suspected houses, where they believed there was either Priests or Papists. They made great havock of many places, not sparing the houses of Embassadors. But none were killed, no houses burnt, nor were any robberies committed. Never was so much fury seen under so much management. *Jefferies*, finding the King was gone, saw what reason he had to look to himself: And, apprehending that he was now exposed to the rage of the people, whom he had provoked with so particular a brutality, he had disguised himself to make his escape. But he fell into the hands of some who knew him. He was insulted by them with as much scorn and rudeness as they could invent. And, after many hours tossing him about, he was carried to the Lord Mayor; whom they charged to commit him to the Tower, which the Lord *Lucas* had then seized, and in it had declared for the Prince. The Lord Mayor was so struck with the terror of this rude populace, and with the disgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits upon it, of which he died soon after.

To prevent the further growth of such disorders, he called a meeting of the Privy Counsellors and Peers, who met at *Guild-Hall*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was there. They gave a strict charge for keeping the peace; and agreed to send an invitation to the Prince, desiring him to come and take

The Prince is desired to come and take the government into his hands.



1688 the government of the Nation into his hands, till a Parliament should meet to bring all matters to a just and full settlement. This they all signed; and sent it to the Prince by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Viscount of *Weymouth*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Culpepper*. The Prince went on from *Hungerford* to *Newbury*, and from thence to *Abington*, resolving to have gone to *Oxford* to receive the compliments of the University, and to meet the Princess *Anne* who was coming thither. At *Abington* he was surprized with the news of the strange catastrophe of affairs now at *London*, the King's desertion, and the disorders which the City and neighbourhood of *London* were falling into. One came from *London*, and brought him the news, which he knew not well how to believe, till he had an express sent him from the Lords, who had been with him from the King. Upon this the Prince saw, how necessary it was to make all possible haste to *London*. So he sent to *Oxford*, to excuse his not coming thither, and to offer the Association to them, which was signed by almost all the Heads, and the chief men of the University; even by those, who, being disappointed in the preferments they aspired to, became afterwards his most implacable enemies.

Hitherto the expedition had been prosperous, beyond all that could have been expected. There had been but two small engagements, during this unseasonable campaign. One was at *Winkington* in *Dorsetshire*, where an advanced party of the Prince's met one of the King's that was thrice their number: Yet they drove them before them into a much greater body, where they were overpowered with numbers. Some were killed of both sides. But there were more prisoners taken of the Prince's men. Yet, tho' the loss was of his side, the courage that his men shewed in so a great an inequality as to number, made us reckon that we gained more than we lost on that occasion. Another action happen'd at *Reading*, where the King had a considerable body, who, as some of the Prince's men advanced, fell into a great disorder, and ran away. One of the Prince's Officers was shot. He was a Papist: And the Prince in consideration of his religion was willing to leave him behind him in *Holland*: But he very earnestly begged he might come over with his company: And he was the only Officer that was killed in the whole expedition.

Different advice given to the Prince concerning the King's person.

Upon the news of the King's desertion, it was proposed that the Prince should go on with all possible haste to *London*. But that was not advisable. For the King's Army lay so scattered thro' the road all the way to *London*, that it was not fit for him to advance faster, than as his troops marched before him: Otherwise,



Otherwise, any resolute Officer might have seized or killed him. Tho', if it had not been for that danger, a great deal of mischief, that followed, would have been prevented by his speedy advance: For now began that turn, to which all the difficulties, that did afterwards disorder our affairs, may be justly imputed. Two Gentlemen of *Kent* came to *Windsor* the morning after the Prince came thither. They were addressed to me. And they told me of the accident at *Feversham*, and desired to know the Prince's pleasure upon it. I was affected with this dismal reverse of the fortune of a great Prince, more than I think fit to express. I went immediately to *Bentink*, and wakened him, and got him to go in to the Prince, and let him know what had happen'd, that some order might be presently given for the security of the King's person, and for taking him out of the hands of a rude multitude, who said, they would obey no orders but such as came from the Prince. The Prince ordered *Zuytlestein* to go immediately to *Feversham*, and to see the King safe, and at full liberty to go whithersoever he pleased. But, as soon as the news of the King's being at *Feversham* came to *London*, all the indignation that people had formerly conceived against him was turned to pity and compassion. The Privy Council met upon it. Some moved, that he should be sent for. Others said, he was King, and might send for his guards and coaches, as he pleased: But it became not them to send for him. It was left to his General, the Earl of *Feversham*, to do what he thought best. So he went for him with his coaches and guards. And, as he came back thro' the City, he was welcomed with expressions of joy by great numbers: So flight and unstable a thing is a multitude, and so soon altered. At his coming to *Whitehall*, he had a great Court about him. Even the Papists crept out of their lurking holes, and appeared at Court with much assurance. The King himself began to take heart. And both at *Feversham*, and now at *Whitehall*, he talked in his ordinary high strain, justifying all he had done: Only he spoke a little doubtfully of the business of *Magdalen College*. But when he came to reflect on the state of his affairs, he saw it was so broken, that nothing was now left to deliberate upon. So he sent the Earl of *Feversham* to *Windsor*, without demanding any passport: And ordered him to desire the Prince to come to *St. James's*, to consult with him of the best way for settling the Nation.

When the news of what had past at *London* came to *Windsor*, the Prince thought the Privy Council had not used him well, who, after they had sent to him to take the government upon him, had made this step without consulting him. Now



1688 the scene was altered, and new counsels were to be taken. The Prince heard the opinions, not only of those who had come along with him, but of such of the Nobility as were now come to him, among whom the Marquis of *Hallifax* was one. All agreed, that it was not convenient that the King should stay at *Whitehall*. Neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the City, could have been safe, if they had been both near one another. Tumults would probably have arisen out of it. The guards, and the officious flatterers, of the two Courts, would have been unquiet neighbours. It was thought necessary to stick to the point of the King's deserting his people, and not to give up that, by entering upon any treaty with him. And since the Earl of *Feverham*, who had commanded the Army against the Prince, was come without a passport, he was for some days put in arrest.

It was a tender point how to dispose of the King's person. Some proposed rougher methods: The keeping him a prisoner, at least till the Nation was settled, and till *Ireland* was secured. It was thought, his being kept in custody, would be such a tie on all his party, as would oblige them to submit, and be quiet. *Ireland* was in great danger. And his restraint might oblige the Earl of *Tirconnell* to deliver up the government, and to disarm the Papists, which would preserve that Kingdom, and the Protestants in it. But, because it might raise too much compassion, and perhaps some disorder, if the King should be kept in restraint within the Kingdom, therefore the sending him to *Breda* was proposed. The Earl of *Clarendon* pressed this vehemently, on the account of the *Irish* Protestants, as the King himself told me: For those that gave their opinions in this matter did it secretly, and in confidence to the Prince. The Prince said, he could not deny, but that this might be good and wise advice: But it was that to which he could not hearken: He was so far satisfied with the grounds of this expedition, that he could act against the King in a fair and open war: But for his person, now that he had him in his power, he could not put such a hardship on him, as to make him a prisoner: And he knew the Princess's temper so well, that he was sure she would never bear it: Nor did he know what disputes it might raise, or what effect it might have upon the Parliament that was to be called: He was firmly resolved never to suffer any thing to be done against his person: He saw it was necessary to send him out of *London*: And he would order a guard to attend upon him, who should only defend and protect his person, but not restrain him in any sort.

A



1688

A resolution was taken of sending the Lords *Hallifax*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Delamere*, to *London*, who were first to order the *English* guards that were about the Court to be drawn off, and sent to quarters out of town: And, when that was done, the Count of *Solms* with the *Dutch* guards was to come and take all the posts about the Court. This was obeyed without any resistance or disorder, but not without much murmuring. It was midnight before all was settled. And then these Lords sent to the Earl of *Middleton*, to desire him to let the King know, that they had a message to deliver to him from the Prince. He went in to the King; and sent them word from him, that they might come with it immediately. They came, and found him abed. They told him, the necessity of affairs required, that the Prince should come presently to *London*: And he thought, it would conduce to the safety of the King's person, and the quiet of the town, that he should retire to some house out of town: And they proposed *Ham*. The King seemed much dejected; and asked, if it must be done immediately. They told him, he might take his rest first: And they added, that he should be attended by a guard, who should only guard his person, but should give him no sort of disturbance. Having said this they withdrew. The Earl of *Middleton* came quickly after them, and asked them, if it would not do as well, if the King should go to *Rocheſter*; for since the Prince was not pleased with his coming up from *Kent*, it might be perhaps acceptable to him, if he should go thither again. It was very visible, that this was proposed in order to a second escape.

They promised to send word immediately to the Prince of *Orange*, who lay that night at *Sion*, within eight miles of *London*. He very readily consented to it. And the King went next day to *Rocheſter*, having ordered all that which is called the moving Wardrobe to be sent before him, the Count of *Solms* ordering every thing to be done, as the King desired. A guard went with him that left him at full liberty, and paid him rather more respect than his own guards had done of late. Most of that body, as it happen'd, were Papists. So when he went to Mass, they went in, and assisted very reverently. And, when they were asked, how they could serve in an expedition that was intended to destroy their own religion, one of them answered, his soul was God's, but his sword was the Prince of *Orange*'s. The King was so much delighted with this answer, that he repeated it to all that came about him. On the same day the Prince came to *St. James's*. It happen'd to be a very rainy day. And yet great numbers came to see him. But, after they had stood long in the wet, he disappointed them:



1688 For he, who neither loved shews nor shoutings, went thro' the park. And even this trifle helped to set peoples spirits on edge.

The Revolution was thus brought about, with the universal applause of the whole Nation: Only these last steps began to raise a fermentation. It was said, here was an unnatural thing, to waken the King out of his sleep, in his own Palace, and to order him to go out of it, when he was ready to submit to every thing. Some said, he was now a prisoner, and remembered the saying of King *Charles* the first, that the prisons and the graves of Princes lay not far distant from one another: The person of the King was now struck at, as well as his government: And this specious undertaking would now appear to be only a disguised and designed usurpation. These things began to work on great numbers. And the posting the *Dutch* guards, where the *English* guards had been, gave a general disgust to the whole *English* Army. They indeed hated the *Dutch* besides, on the account of the good order and strict discipline they were kept under; which made them to be as much beloved by the Nation, as they were hated by the soldiery. The Nation had never known such an inoffensive march of an Army. And the peace and order of the suburbs, and the freedom of markets in and about *London*, was so carefully maintained, that in no time fewer disorders had been committed, than were heard of this winter.

None of the Papists or Jacobites were insulted in any sort. The Prince had ordered me, as we came along, to take care of the Papists, and to secure them from all violence. When he came to *London*, he renewed these orders, which I executed with so much zeal and care, that I saw all the complaints that were brought me fully redressed. When we came to *London* I procured passports for all that desired to go beyond sea. Two of the Popish Bishops were put in *Newgate*. I went thither in the Prince's name. I told them, the Prince would not take upon him yet to give orders about prisoners: As soon as he did that, they should feel the effects of it. But in the mean while I ordered them to be well used, and to be taken care of, and that their friends might be admitted to come to them. So truly did I pursue the principle of moderation, even towards those from whom nothing of that sort was to be expected.

The Prince was welcomed by all sorts of people.

Now that the Prince was come, all the bodies about the town came to welcome him. The Bishops came the next day. Only the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, tho' he had once agreed to it, yet would not come. The Clergy of *London* came next. The City, and a great many other bodies, came likewise, and expressed a great deal of joy for the deliverance wrought for them



them by the Prince's means. Old Serjeant *Maynard* came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The Prince took notice of his great age, and said, that he had out-lived all the men of the law of his time: He answered, he had like to have out-lived the law it self, if his Highness had not come over.

The first thing to be done after the compliments were over, was to consider how the Nation was to be settled. The lawyers were generally of opinion, that the Prince ought to declare himself King, as *Henry* the seventh had done. This, they said, would put an end to all disputes, which might otherwise grow very perplexing and tedious: And, they said, he might call a Parliament which would be a legal assembly, if summoned by the King in fact, tho' his title was not yet recognized. This was plainly contrary to his declaration, by which the settlement of the Nation was referred to a Parliament: Such a step would make all that the Prince had hitherto done pass for an aspiring ambition, only to raise himself: And it would disgust those who had been hitherto the best affected to his designs; and make them less concerned in the quarrel, if, instead of staying till the Nation should offer him the Crown, he would assume it as a conquest. These reasons determined the Prince against that proposition. He called all the Peers, and the members of the three last Parliaments, that were in town, together with some of the Citizens of *London*. When these met, it was told them, that, in the present distraction, the Prince desired their advice about the best methods of settling the Nation. It was agreed in both these Houses, such as they were, to make an address to the Prince, desiring him to take the administration of the government into his hands in the interim. The next proposition past not so unanimously: For, it being moved that the Prince should be likewise desired to write missive letters to the same effect, and for the same persons to whom writs were issued out for calling a Parliament, that so there might be an assembly of men in the form of a Parliament, tho' without writs under the Great Seal, such as that was that had called home King *Charles* the second. To this the Earl of *Nottingham* objected, that such a Convention of the States could be no legal assembly, unless summoned by the King's writ. Therefore he moved, that an address might be made to the King, to order the writs to be issued out. Few were of his mind. The matter was carried the other way: And orders were given for those letters to be sent round the Nation.

The

1688  
Consultations about the settlement of the Nation.



1688

The King  
went over  
into France.

The King continued a week at *Rockester*. And both he himself, and every body else, saw that he was at full liberty, and that the guard about him put him under no sort of restraint. Many that were zealous for his interests went to him, and pressed him to stay, and to see the issue of things: A party would appear for him: Good terms would be got for him: And things would be brought to a reasonable agreement. He was much distracted between his own inclinations, and the importunities of his friends. The Queen, hearing what had happen'd, writ a most vehement letter to him, pressing his coming over, reminding him of his promise, which she charged on him in a very earnest, if not in an imperious strain. This letter was intercepted. I had an account of it from one that read it. The Prince ordered it to be conveyed to the King: And that determin'd him. So he gave secret orders to prepare a vessel for him; and drew a paper, which he left on his table, reproaching the Nation for their forsaking him. He declared, that tho' he was going to seek for foreign aid to restore him to his Throne, yet he would not make use of it to overthrow either the religion established, or the laws of the land. And so he left *Rockester* very secretly, on the last day of this memorable year, and got safe over to *France*.

The affairs  
of Scotland.

But, before I enter into the next year, I will give some account of the affairs of *Scotland*. There was no force left there, but a very small one, scarce able to defend the Castle of *Edenburgh*, of which the Duke of *Gordon* was Governor. He was a Papist; but had neither the spirit, nor the courage, which such a post required at that time. As soon as the news came to *Scotland* of the King's desertion, the rabble got together there, as they had done in *London*. They broke into all Popish Chapels, and into the Church of Holy Rood House, which had been adorned at a great charge to be a Royal Chapel, particularly for the order of St. *Andrew* and the *Thistle*, which the King had resolved to set up in *Scotland* in imitation of the order of the Garter in *England*. They defaced it quite, and seized on some that were thought great delinquents, in particular on the Earl of *Pertb*, who had disguised himself, and had got aboard a small vessel: But he was seized on, and put in prison. The whole Kingdom, except only the Castle of *Edenburgh*, declared for the Prince, and received his declaration for that Kingdom with great joy. This was done in the North very unanimously, by the Episcopal, as well as by the Presbyterian party. But in the Western Counties, the Presbyterians, who had suffered much in a course of many years, thought that the time was now come, not only to procure themselves ease and



and liberty, but to revenge themselves upon others. They generally broke in upon the Episcopal Clergy with great insolence and much cruelty. They carried them about the parishes in a mock procession: They tore their gowns, and drove them from their Churches and houses. Nor did they treat those of them, who had appeared very zealously against Popery, with any distinction. The Bishops of that Kingdom had writ a very indecent letter to the King, upon the news of the Prince's being blown back by the storm, full of injurious expressions towards the Prince, expressing their abhorrence of his design: And, in conclusion, they wished that the King might have the necks of his enemies. This was sent up as a pattern to the *English* Bishops, and was printed in the *Gazette*. But they did not think fit to copy after it in *England*. The Episcopal party in *Scotland* saw themselves under a great cloud: So they resolved all to adhere to the Earl of *Dundee*, who had served some years in *Holland*, and was both an able Officer, and a man of good parts, and of some very valuable vertues: But, as he was proud and ambitious, so he had taken up a most violent hatred of the whole Presbyterian party, and had executed all the severest orders against them with great rigour; even to the shooting many on the highway, that refused the oath required of them. The Presbyterians looked on him, as their most implacable enemy: And the Episcopal party trusted most entirely to him. Upon the Prince's coming to *London*, the Duke of *Hamilton* called a meeting of all the men of Quality of the *Scottish* Nation then in town: And these made an address to the Prince with relation to *Scotland*, almost in the same terms in which the *English* address was conceived. And now the administration of the government of the whole isle of *Britain* was put in the Prince's hands.

The prospect from *Ireland* was more dreadful. *Tyrconnell* gave out new commissions for levying thirty thousand men. And reports were spread about that Island, that a general massacre of the Protestants was fixed to be in *November*. Upon which the Protestants began to run together for their common defence, both in *Munster* and in *Ulster*. They had no great strength in *Munster*. They had been disarmed, and had no store of ammunition for the few arms that were left them. So they despaired of being able to defend themselves, and came over to *England* in great numbers, and full of dismal apprehensions for those they had left behind them. They moved earnestly, that a speedy assistance might be sent to them. In *Ulster* the Protestants had more strength: But they wanted a head. The Lords of *Grenard* and *Mountjoy*, who were the chief military men among them,



1688 them, in whom they confided most, kept still such measures with *Tyrconnell*, that they would not take the conduct of them. Two towns, that had both very little defence about them, and a very small store of provisions within them, were by the rashness or boldness of some brave young men secured: So that they refused to receive a Popish garrison, or to submit to *Tyrconnell's* orders. These were *London-Derry*, and *Iniskilling*. Both of them were advantageously situated. *Tyrconnell* sent troops into the North to reduce the country. Upon which great numbers fled into those places, and brought in provisions to them. And so they resolved to defend themselves, with a firmness of courage that cannot be enough admired: For when they were abandoned, both by the Gentry and the military men, those two small unfurnished and unfortified places, resolved to stand to their own defence, and at all perils to stay till supplies should come to them from *England*. I will not enlarge more upon the affairs of that Kingdom; both because I had no occasion to be well informed about them, and because Dr. *King*, now Archbishop of *Dublin*, wrote a copious history of the government of *Ireland* during this reign, which is so well received, and so universally acknowledged to be as truly as it is finely written, that I refer my reader to the account of those matters, which is fully and faithfully given by that learned and zealous Prelate.

1689 And now I enter upon the year 1689. In which the two first things to be considered, before the Convention could be brought together, were, the settling the *English* Army, and the affairs of *Ireland*. As for the Army, some of the bodies, those chiefly that were full of Papists, and of men ill affected, were to be broken. And, in order to that, a loan was set on foot in the City, for raising the money that was to pay their arrears at their disbanding, and for carrying on the pay of the *English* and *Dutch* Armies till the Convention should meet, and settle the Nation. This was the great distinction of those who were well affected to the Prince: For, whereas those who were ill affected to him refused to join in the loan, pretending there was no certainty of their being repayed; the others did not doubt but the Convention would pay all that was advanced in so great an exigence, and so they subscribed liberally, as the occasion required.

As for the affairs of *Ireland*, there was a great variety of opinions among them. Some thought, that *Ireland* would certainly follow the fate of *England*. This was managed by an artifice of *Tyrconnell's*, who, what by deceiving, what by threatening the eminentest Protestants in *Dublin*, got them to write



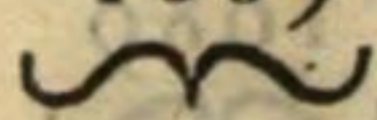
over to *London*, and give assurances that he would deliver up *Ireland*, if he might have good terms for himself, and for the *Irish*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was much depended on by the Protestants of *Ireland*, who made all their applications to the Prince by him. Those, who were employed by *Tyrconnell* to deceive the Prince, made their applications by Sir *William Temple*, who had a long and well established credit with him. They said, *Tyrconnell* would never lay down the government of *Ireland*, unless he was sure that the Earl of *Clarendon* was not to succeed: He knew his peevishness and spite, and that he would take severe revenges for what he thought had been done to himself, if he had them in his power: And therefore he would not treat, till he was assured of that. Upon this the Prince did avoid the speaking to the Earl of *Clarendon* of those matters. And then he, who had possessed himself in his expectation of that post, seeing the Prince thus shut him out of the hopes of it, became a most violent opposer of the new settlement. He reconciled himself to King *James*: And has been ever since one of the hottest promoters of his interest of any in the Nation. *Temple* entred into a management with *Tyrconnell's* agents, who, it is very probable, if things had not taken a great turn in *England*, would have come to a composition. Others thought, that the leaving *Ireland* in that dangerous state, might be a mean to bring the Convention to a more speedy settlement of *England*; and that therefore the Prince ought not to make too much haste to relieve *Ireland*. This advice was generally believed to be given by the Marquis of *Hallifax*: And it was like him. The Prince did not seem to apprehend enough the consequences of the revolt of *Ireland*; and was much blamed for his slowness in not preventing it in time.

The truth was, he did not know whom to trust. A general discontent, next to mutiny, began to spread it self thro' the whole *English* Army. The turn, that they were now making from him, was almost as quick as that which they had made to him. He could not trust them. Probably, if he had sent any of them over, they would have joined with *Tyrconnell*. Nor could he well send over any of his *Dutch* troops. It was to them that he chiefly trusted, for maintaining the quiet of *England*. Probably the *English* Army would have become more insolent, if the *Dutch* force had been considerably diminished. And the King's magazins were so exhausted, that till new stores were provided, there was very little ammunition to spare. The raising new troops was a work of time. There was no ship of war in those seas, to secure the transport. And

The Prince  
in treaty  
with the Earl  
of *Tyrconnell*.



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to send a small company of Officers with some ammunition, which was all that could be done on the sudden, seemed to be an exposing them to the enemy. These considerations made him more easy to entertain a proposition that was made to him, as was believed, by the *Temples*; (for Sir *William* had both a brother and a son that made then a considerable figure;) which was, to send over Lieutenant General *Hamilton*, one of the Officers that belonged to *Ireland*. He was a Papist, but was believed to be a man of honour: And he had certainly great credit with the Earl of *Tyrconnell*. He had served in *France* with great reputation, and had a great interest in all the *Irish*, and was now in the Prince's hands; and had been together with a body of *Irish* soldiers, whom the Prince kept for some time as prisoners in the isle of *Wight*; whom he gave afterwards to the Emperor, tho', as they passed thro' *Germany*, they deserted in great numbers, and got into *France*. *Hamilton* was a sort of prisoner of war. So he undertook to go over to *Ireland*, and to prevail with the Earl of *Tyrconnell* to deliver up the government; and promised, that he would either bring him to it, or that he would come back, and give an account of his negotiation. This step had a very ill effect: For before *Hamilton* came to *Dublin*, the Earl of *Tyrconnell* was in such despair, looking on all as lost, that he seemed to be very near a full resolution of entering on a treaty, to get the best terms that he could. But *Hamilton's* coming changed him quite. He represented to him, that things were turning fast in *England* in favour of the King: So that, if he stood firm, all would come round again. He saw, that he must study to manage this so dextrously, as to gain as much time as he could, that so the Prince might not make too much haste, before a Fleet and supplies might come from *France*. So several letters were writ over by the same management, giving assurances that the Earl of *Tyrconnell* was fully resolved to treat and submit. And, to carry this further, two Commissioners were sent from the Council-board to *France*. The one was a zealous Protestant, the other was a Papist. Their instructions were, to represent to the King the necessity of *Ireland's* submitting to *England*. The Earl of *Tyrconnell* pretended, that in honour he could do no less than disengage himself to his master, before he laid down the government. Yet he seemed resolved not to stay for an answer, or a consent; but, that, as soon as this message was delivered, he would submit upon good conditions: And for these, he knew, he would have all that he asked. With this management he gained his point, which was much time. And he now fancied, that the honour of restoring the King would belong chiefly to himself. Thus *Hamilton*,  
by



by breaking his own faith, secured the Earl of *Tyrconnell* to the King: And this gave the beginning to the war of *Ireland*. *Mountjoy*, the Protestant Lord that was sent to *France*, instead of being heard to deliver his message, was clapt up in the *Bastille*; which, since he was sent in the name of a Kingdom, was thought a very dishonourable thing, and contrary to the law of Nations. Those who had advised the sending over *Hamilton* were now much out of countenance: And the Earl of *Clarendon* was a loud declaimer against it. It was believed, that it had a terrible effect on Sir *William Temple*'s son, who had raised in the Prince a high opinion of *Hamilton*'s honour. Soon after that, he, who had no other visible cause of melancholy, besides this, went in a boat on the *Thames*, near the Bridge, where the river runs most impetuously, and leaped into the river, and was drowned.

The sitting of the Convention was now very near. And all men were forming their schemes, and fortifying their party all they could. The elections were managed fairly all *England* over. The Prince did in no sort interpose in any recommendation, directly or indirectly. Three parties were formed about the town. The one was for calling back the King, and treating with him for such securities to religion and the laws, as might put them out of the danger for the future of a Dispensing or Arbitrary Power. These were all of the high Church party, who had carried the point of Submission and Non-resistance so far, that they thought nothing less than this could consist with their duty and their oaths. When it was objected to them, that, according to those notions that they had been possessed with, they ought to be for calling the King back without conditions: When he came, they might indeed offer him their petitions, which he might grant or reject as he pleased: But that the offering him conditions, before he was recalled, was contrary to their former doctrine of unconditioned allegiance. They were at such a stand upon this objection, that it was plain, they spoke of conditions, either in compliance with the humour of the Nation; or that, with relation to their particular interest, nature was so strong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine.

When this notion was tossed and talked of about the town, so few went into it, that the party which supported it went over to the scheme of a second party; which was, that King *James* had by his ill administration of the government brought himself into an incapacity of holding the exercise of the sovereign authority any more in his own hand: But, as in the case of lunatics, the right still remained in him: Only the guardian-

The Convention met.

Some are for a Prince Regent.



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ship, or the exercise, of it was to be lodged with a Prince Regent: So that the right of sovereignty should be owned to remain still in the King, and that the exercise of it should be vested in the Prince of *Orange* as Prince Regent. A third party was for setting King *James* quite aside, and for setting the Prince on the Throne.

When the Convention was opened on the twenty fourth of *January*, the Archbishop came not to take his place among them. He resolved neither to act for nor against the King's interest; which, considering his high post, was thought very unbecoming. For if he thought, as by his behaviour afterwards it seems he did, that the Nation was running into treason, rebellion, and perjury, it was a strange thing to see one, who was at the head of the Church, sit silent all the while that this was in debate; and not once so much as declare his opinion by speaking, voting, or protesting, not to mention the other Ecclesiastical methods that certainly became his character. But he was a poor spirited, and fearful man; and acted a very mean part in all this great transaction. The Bishop's Bench was very full, as were also the Benches of the Temporal Lords. The Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, and *Rocheſter*, were the men that managed the debates in favour of a Regent, in opposition to those who were for setting up another King.

They thought, this would save the Nation, and yet secure the honour of the Church of *England*, and the sacredness of the Crown. It was urged, that if, upon any pretence whatsoever, the Nation might throw off their King, then the Crown must become precarious, and the power of judging the King must be in the people. This must end in a Commonwealth. A great deal was brought from both the laws and history of *England*, to prove, that not only the person, but the authority of the King was sacred. The law had indeed provided a remedy of a Regency for the infancy of our Kings. So, if a King should fall into such errors in his conduct, as shewed that he was as little capable of holding the government as an infant was, then the Estates of the Kingdom might, upon this parity of the case, seek to the remedy provided for an infant, and lodge the power with a Regent. But the right was to remain, and to go on in a lineal succession: For, if that was once put ever so little out of its order, the Crown would in a little time become elective; which might rend the Nation in pieces by a diversity of elections, and by the different factions that would adhere to the person whom they had elected. They did not deny, but that great objections lay against the methods that they proposed. But affairs were brought into so desperate a state by King *James's* conduct,



conduct, that it was not possible to propose a remedy, that might not be justly excepted to. But they thought, their expedient would take in the greatest, as well as the best, part of the Nation: Whereas all other expedients gratified a Republican party, composed of the Dissenters, and of men of no religion, who hoped now to see the Church ruined, and the government set upon such a bottom, as that we should have only a titular King; who, as he had his power from the people, so should be accountable to them for the exercise of it, and should forfeit it at their pleasure. The much greater part of the House of Lords was for this, and stuck long to it: And so was about a third part of the House of Commons. The greatest part of the Clergy declared themselves for it. 1689

But of those who agreed in this expedient, it was visible there were two different parties. Some intended to bring King *James* back; and went into this, as the most probable way for laying the Nation asleep, and for overcoming the present aversion that all people had to him. That being once done, they reckoned it would be no hard thing, with the help of some time, to compass the other. Others seemed to mean more sincerely. They said, they could not vote or argue but according to their own principles, as long as the matter was yet entire: But they owned that they had taken up another principle, both from the law and from the history of *England*; which was, that they would obey and pay allegiance to the King for the time being: They thought a King thus *de facto* had a right to their obedience, and that they were bound to adhere to him, and to defend him, even in opposition to him with whom they thought the right did still remain. The Earl of *Nottingham* was the person that owned this doctrine the most during these debates. He said to my self, that tho' he could not argue nor vote, but according to the scheme and principles he had, concerning our laws and constitution, yet he should not be sorry to see his side out voted; and that, tho' he could not agree to the making a King as things stood, yet if he found one made, he would be more faithful to him, than those that made him could be according to their own principles.

The third party was made up of those, who thought that there was an original contract between the Kings and the people of *England*; by which the Kings were bound to defend their people, and to govern them according to law, in lieu of which the people were bound to obey and serve the King. The proof of this appeared in the ancient forms of Coronations still observed: By which the people were asked, if they would have that person before them to be their King: And, upon their shouts of Others are for another King.



1689 of consent, the Coronation was gone about. But, before the King was crowned, he was asked, if he would not defend and protect his people, and govern them according to law: And, upon his promising and swearing this, he was crowned: And then homage was done him. And, tho' of late the Coronation has been considered rather as a solemn instalment, than that which gave the King his authority, so that it was become a maxim in law that the King never died, and that the new King was crowned in the right of his succession, yet these forms, that were still continued, shewed what the government was originally. Many things were brought to support this from the *British* and *Saxon* times. It was urged, that *William* the Conqueror was received upon his promising to keep the laws of *Edward* the Confessor, which was plainly the original contract between him and the Nation. This was often renewed by his successors. *Edward* the second, and *Richard* the second, were deposed for breaking these laws: And these depositions were still good in law, since they were not reversed, nor was the right of deposing them ever renounced or disowned. Many things were alledged, from what had past during the Barons wars, for confirming all this. Upon which I will add one particular circumstance, that the original of King *John's Magna Charta*, with his Great Seal to it, was then given to me by a Gentleman that found it among his Father's papers, but did not know how he came by it: And it is still in my hands. It was said in this argument, what did all the limitations of the Regal Power signify, if upon a King's breaking thro' them all, the people had not a right to maintain their laws, and to preserve their constitution? It was indeed confessed, that this might have ill consequences, and might be carried too far. But the denying this right in any case whatsoever, did plainly destroy all liberty, and establish tyranny. The present alteration proposed would be no precedent, but to the like case. And it was fit that a precedent should be made for such occasions; if those of *Edward* the second, and *Richard* the second, were not acknowledged to be good ones. It was said, that, if King *James* had only broken some laws, and done some illegal acts, it might be justly urged, that it was not reasonable on account of these to carry severities too far. But he had broken thro' the laws in many publick and avowed instances: He had set up an open treaty with *Rome*: He had shaken the whole settlement of *Ireland*; and had put that Island, and the *English* and Protestants that were there, in the power of the *Irish*: The Dispensing Power took away not only those laws to which it was applied, but all other laws whatsoever by the precedent it had set, and



by the consequences that followed upon it: By the Ecclesiastical Commission he had invaded the liberty of the Church, and subjected the Clergy to meer will and pleasure: And all was concluded by his deserting his people, and flying to a foreign power, rather than stay and submit to the determinations of a free Parliament. Upon all which it was inferred, that he had abdicated the government, and had left the Throne vacant: Which therefore ought now to be filled, that so the Nation might be preserved, and the Regal government continued in it.

As to the proposition for a Prince Regent, it was argued, that this was as much against Monarchy, or rather more, than what they moved for. If a King's ill government did give the people a right in any case to take his power from him, and to lodge it with another, owning that the right to it remained still with him, this might have every whit as bad consequences, as the other seemed to have: For recourse might be had to this violent remedy too often, and too rashly. By this proposition of a Regent, here were to be upon the matter two Kings at the same time: One with the title, and another with the power of a King. This was both more illegal, and more unsafe, than the method they proposed. The law of *England* had settled the point of the subjects security in obeying the King in possession, in the statute made by *Henry* the seventh. So every man knew he was safe under a King, and so would act with zeal and courage. But all such as should act under a Prince Regent, created by this Convention, were upon a bottom that had not the necessary forms of law for it. All that was done by them would be thought null and void in law: So that no man could be safe that acted under it. If the oaths to King *James* were thought to be still binding, the subjects were by these not only bound to maintain his title to the Crown, but all his prerogatives and powers. And therefore it seemed absurd to continue a government in his name, and to take oaths still to him, when yet all the power was taken out of his hands. This would be an odious thing, both before God and the whole world, and would cast a reproach on us at present, and bring certain ruin for the future on any such mixed and unnatural sort of government. Therefore, if the oaths were still binding, the Nation was still bound by them, not by halves, but in their whole extent. It was said, that, if the government should be carried on in King *James's* name, but in other hands, the body of the Nation would consider him as the person that was truly their King. And if any should plot

1689  
And against  
a Regency.



1689 or act for him, they could not be proceeded against for high treason, as conspiring against the King's person or government; when it would be visible, that they were only designing to preserve his person, and to restore him to his government. To proceed against any, or to take their lives for such practices, would be to add murder to perjury. And it was not to be supposed, that Juries would find such men guilty of treason. In the weakness of infancy, a Prince Regent was in law the same person with the King, who had not yet a will: And it was to be presumed, the Prince Regent's will was the King's will. But that could not be applied to the present case; where the King and the Regent must be presumed to be in a perpetual struggle, the one to recover his power, the other to preserve his authority. These things seemed to be so plainly made out in the debate, that it was generally thought that no man could resist such force of argument, but those who intended to bring back King *James*. And it was believed, that those of his party, who were looked on as men of conscience, had secret orders from him to act upon this pretence; since otherwise they offered to act clearly in contradiction to their own oaths and principles.

But those who were for continuing the government, and only for changing the persons, were not at all of a mind. Some among them had very different views and ends from the rest. These intended to take advantage from the present conjuncture, to depress the Crown, to render it as much precarious and elective as they could, and to raise the power of the people upon the ruine of Monarchy. Among those some went so far as to say, that the whole government was dissolved. But this appeared a bold and dangerous assertion: For that might have been carried so far, as to infer from it, that all men's properties, honours, rights, and franchises, were dissolved. Therefore it was thought safer to say, that King *James* had dissolved the tie that was between him and the Nation. Others avoided going into new speculations, or schemes of government. They thought it was enough to say, that in extream cases all obligations did cease; and that in our present circumstances the extremity of affairs, by reason of the late ill government, and by King *James's* flying over to the enemy of the Nation, rather than submit to reasonable terms, had put the people of *England* on the necessity of securing themselves upon a legal bottom. It was said, that tho' the vow of marriage was made for term of life, and without conditions expressed, yet a breach in the tie it self sets the innocent party at liber-



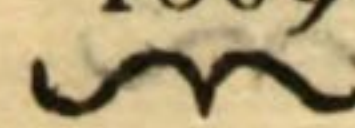
ty. So a King, who had his power both given him and defined by the law, and was bound to govern by law, when he set himself to break all laws, and in conclusion deserted his people, did, by so doing, set them at liberty to put themselves in a legal and safe state. There was no need of fearing ill consequences from this. Houses were pulled down or blown up in a fire: And yet men found themselves safe in their houses. In extream dangers the common sense of mankind would justify extream remedies; tho' there was no special provision that directed to them, or allowed of them. Therefore, they said, a Nation's securing it self against a King, who was subverting the government, did not expose Monarchy, nor raise a popular authority, as some did tragically represent the matter.

There were also great disputes about the original contract: Some denying there was any such thing, and asking where it was kept, and how it could be come at. To this others answered, that it was implied in a legal government: Tho' in a long tract of time, and in dark ages, there was not such an explicit proof of it to be found. Yet many hints from law-books and histories were brought to shew, that the Nation had always submitted, and obeyed in consideration of their laws, which were still stipulated to them.

There were also many debates on the word *abdicate*: For the Commons came soon to a resolution, that King *James*, by breaking the original contract, and by withdrawing himself, had abdicated the government; and that the Throne was thereby become vacant. They sent this vote to the Lords, and prayed their concurrence. Upon which many debates and conferences arose. At last it came to a free conference, in which, according to the sense of the whole Nation, the Commons had clearly the advantage on their side. The Lords had some more colour for opposing the word *abdicate*, since that was often taken in a sense that imported the full purpose and consent of him that abdicated; which could not be pretended in this case. But there were good authorities brought, by which it appeared, that when a person did a thing upon which his leaving any office ought to follow, he was said to abdicate. But this was a critical dispute: And it scarce became the greatness of that assembly, or the importance of the matter.

It was a more important debate, whether, supposing King *James* had abdicated, the Throne could be declared vacant. It was urged, that, by the law, the King did never die; but that with the last breath of the dying King the Regal authority went to the next heir. So it was said, that, supposing King *James* had



1689  had abdicated, the Throne was (*ipso facto*) filled in that instant by the next heir. This seemed to be proved by the heirs of the King being sworn to in the oath of allegiance; which oath was not only made personally to the King, but likewise to his heirs and successors. Those who insisted on the Abdication said, that, if the King dissolved the tie between him and his subjects to himself, he dissolved their tie likewise to his posterity. An heir was one that came in the room of a person that was dead; it being a maxim that no man can be the heir of a living man. If therefore the King had fallen from his own right, as no heir of his could pretend to any inheritance from him, as long as he was alive, so they could succeed to nothing, but to that which was vested in him at the time of his death. And, as in the case of attainder every right that a man was divested of before his death was, as it were, annihilated in him; and by consequence could not pass to his heirs by his death, not being then in himself: So, if a King did set his people free from any tie to himself, they must be supposed to be put in a state, in which they might secure themselves; and therefore could not be bound to receive one, who they had reason to believe would study to dissolve and revenge all they had done. If the principle of self preservation did justify a Nation in securing it self from a violent invasion, and a total subversion, then it must have its full scope, to give a real, and not a seeming and fraudulent, security. They did acknowledge, that upon the grounds of natural equity, and for securing the Nation in after times, it was fit to go as near the lineal succession as might be: Yet they could not yield that point, that they were strictly bound to it.

Some mov'd  
to examine  
the birth of  
the Prince of  
Wales.

It was proposed, that the birth of the pretended Prince might be examined into. Some pressed this, not so much from an opinion that they were bound to assert his right, if it should appear that he was born of the Queen, as because they thought it would justify the Nation, and more particularly the Prince and the two Princesses, if an imposture in that matter could have been proved. And it would have gone far to satisfy many of the weaker sort, as to all the proceeding against King James. Upon which I was ordered to gather together all the presumptive proofs that were formerly mentioned, which were all ready to have been made out. It is true, these did not amount to a full and legal proof: Yet they seemed to be such violent presumptions, that, when they were all laid together, they were more convincing than plain and downright evidence: For that was liable to the suspicion of subornation:

†

Whereas



Whereas the other seemed to carry on them very convincing characters of truth and certainty. But, when this matter was in private debated, some observed, that, as King *James* by going about to prove the truth of the birth, and yet doing it so defectively, had really made it more suspicious than it was before; so, if there was no clear and positive proof made of an imposture, the pretending to examine into it, and then the not being able to make it out beyond the possibility of contradiction, would really give more credit to the thing, than it then had, and, instead of weakning it, would strengthen the pretension of his birth. 1689

When this debate was proposed in the House of Lords, it was rejected with indignation. He was now sent out of *England* to be bred up in *France*, an enemy both to the Nation, and to the established religion: It was impossible for the people of *England* to know, whether he was the same person that had been carried over, or not: If he should die, another might be put in his room, in such a manner that the Nation could not be assured concerning him: The *English* Nation ought not to send into another country for witnesses to prove that he was their Prince; much less receive one upon the testimony of such, as were not only aliens, but ought to be presumed enemies: It was also known, that all the persons, who had been the confidents in that matter, were conveyed away: So it was impossible to come at them, by whose means only the truth of that birth could be found out. But while these things were fairly debated by some, there were others who had deeper and darker designs in this matter. But it was rejected.

They thought, it would be a good security for the Nation, to have a dormant title to the Crown lie as it were neglected, to oblige our Princes to govern well, while they would apprehend the danger of a revolt to a pretender still in their eye. *Wildman* thought, it was a deep piece of policy to let this lie in the dark, and undecided. Nor did they think it an ill precedent, that they should so neglect the right of succession, as not so much as to enquire into this matter. Upon all these considerations no further enquiry was made into it. It is true, this put a plausible objection in the mouth of all King *James's* party: Here, they said, an infant was condemned, and denied his right, without either proof or enquiry. This still takes with many in the present age. And, that it may not take more in the next, I have used more than ordinary care to gather together all the particulars that were then laid before me as to that matter.



1689

Some were  
for making  
the Prince  
King.

The next thing in debate was, who should fill the Throne. The Marquis of *Hallifax* intended, by his zeal for the Prince's interest, to atone for his backwardness in not coming early in to it: And, that he might get before Lord *Danby*, who was in great credit with the Prince, he moved, that the Crown should be given to the Prince, and to the two Princesses after him. Many of the Republican party approved of this: For by it they gained another point: The people in this case would plainly elect a King, without any critical regard to the order of succession. How far the Prince himself entertained this, I cannot tell. But I saw it made a great impression on *Bentink*. He spoke of it to me, as asking my opinion about it, but so, that I plainly saw what was his own: For he gave me all the arguments that were offered for it; as that it was most natural that the sovereign power should be only in one person; that a man's wife ought only to be his wife; that it was a suitable return to the Prince for what he had done for the Nation; that a divided sovereignty was liable to great inconveniencies; and, tho' there was less to be apprehended from the Princess of any thing of that kind than from any woman alive, yet all mortals were frail, and might at some time or other of their lives be wrought on.

To all this I answered, with some vehemence, that this was a very ill return for the steps the Princess had made to the Prince three years ago: It would be thought both unjust and ungrateful: It would meet with great opposition, and give a general ill impression of the Prince, as insatiable and jealous in his ambition: There was an ill humour already spreading it self thro' the Nation, and thro' the Clergy: It was not necessary to encrease this; which such a step, as was now proposed, would do out of measure: It would engage the one sex generally against the Prince: And in time they might feel the effects of that very sensibly: And, for my own part, I should think my self bound to oppose it all I could, considering what had passed in *Holland* on that head. We talked over the whole thing for many hours, till it was pretty far in the morning. I saw he was well instructed in the argument: And he himself was possessed with it. So next morning I came to him, and desired my *Congè*. I would oppose nothing in which the Prince seemed to be concerned, as long as I was his servant. And therefore I desired to be disengaged, that I might be free to oppose this proposition with all the strength and credit I had. He answered me, that I might desire that when I saw a step made: But till then he wished me to stay where I was. I heard no



more of this; in which the Marquis of *Hallifax* was single 1689 among the Peers: For I did not find there was any one of them of his mind; unless it was the Lord *Culpepper*, who was a vicious and corrupt man, but made a figure in the debates that were now in the House of Lords, and died about the end of them. Some moved, that the Princess of *Orange* might be put in the Throne; and that it might be left to her, to give the Prince such a share either of dignity or power as she should propose, when she was declared Queen. The agents of Princess *Anne* began to go about, and to oppose any proposition for the Prince to her prejudice. But she thought fit to disown them. Dr. *Doughty*, one of her Chaplains, spoke to me in her room on the subject. But she said to my self, that she knew nothing of it.

The proposition, in which all that were for the filling the Throne agreed at last, was, that both the Prince and Princess should be made conjunct Sovereigns. But, for the preventing of any distractions, that the administration should be singly in the Prince. The Princess continued all the while in *Holland*, being shut in there, during the East winds, by the freezing of the rivers, and by contrary winds after the thaw came. So that she came not to *England* till all the debates were over. The Prince's enemies gave it out, that she was kept there by order, on design that she might not come over to *England* to claim her right. So parties began to be formed, some for the Prince, and others for the Princess. Upon this the Earl of *Danby* sent one over to the Princess, and gave her an account of the present state of that debate: And desired to know her own sense of the matter; for, if she desired it, he did not doubt but he should be able to carry it for setting her alone on the Throne. She made him a very sharp answer: She said, she was the Prince's wife, and would never be other, than what she should be in conjunction with him, and under him; and that she would take it extream unkindly, if any, under a pretence of their care of her, would set up a divided interest between her and the Prince. And, not content with this, she sent both Lord *Danby's* letter, and her answer, to the Prince. Her sending it thus to him was the most effectual discouragement possible to any attempt for the future to create a misunderstanding or jealousy between them. The Prince bore this with his usual phlegm: For he did not expostulate with the Earl of *Danby* upon it, but continued still to employ and to trust him. And afterwards he advanced him, first to be a Marquis, and then to be a Duke.

During



1689

The Prince  
declared his  
mind after  
long silence.

During all these debates, and the great heat with which they were managed, the Prince's own behaviour was very mysterious. He staid at St. James's: He went little abroad: Access to him was not very easy. He heard all that was said to him: But seldom made any answers. He did not affect to be affable, or popular: Nor would he take any pains to gain any one person over to his party. He said, he came over, being invited, to save the Nation: He had now brought together a free and true representative of the Kingdom: He left it therefore to them to do what they thought best for the good of the Kingdom: And, when things were once settled, he should be well satisfied to go back to *Holland* again. Those who did not know him well, and who imagined that a Crown had charms which human nature was not strong enough to resist, looked on all this as an affectation, and as a disguised threatening, which imported, that he would leave the Nation to perish, unless his method of settling it was followed. After a reservedness, that had continued so close for several weeks, that no body could certainly tell what he desired, he called for the Marquis of *Halifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Danby*, and some others, to explain himself more distinctly to them.

He told them, he had been till then silent, because he would not say or do any thing that might seem in any sort to take from any person the full freedom of deliberating and voting in matters of such importance: He was resolved neither to court nor threaten any one: And therefore he had declined to give out his own thoughts: Some were for putting the government in the hands of a Regent: He would say nothing against it, if it was thought the best mean for settling their affairs: Only he thought it necessary to tell them, that he would not be the Regent: So, if they continued in that design, they must look out for some other person to be put in that post: He himself saw what the consequences of it were like to prove: So he would not accept of it: Others were for putting the Princess singly on the Throne, and that he should reign by her courtesy: He said, no man could esteem a woman more than he did the Princess: But he was so made, that he could not think of holding any thing by apron-strings: Nor could he think it reasonable to have any share in the government, unless it was put in his person, and that for term of life: If they did think it fit to settle it otherwise, he would not oppose them in it: But he would go back to *Holland*, and meddle no more in their affairs: He assured them, that whatsoever others might think of a Crown, it was no such thing in his eyes, but that he could live very well



well, and be well pleased without it. In the end he said, that <sup>1689</sup> he could not resolve to accept of a dignity, so as to hold it only the life of another: Yet he thought, that the issue of Princess *Anne* should be preferred, in the succession, to any issue that he might have by any other wife than the Princess. All this he delivered to them in so cold and unconcerned a manner, that those, who judged of others by the dispositions that they felt in themselves, looked on it all as artifice and contrivance.

This was presently told about, as it was not intended to be kept secret. And it helped not a little to bring the debates at *Westminster* to a speedy determination. Some were still in doubt with relation to the Princess. In some it was conscience: For they thought the equitable right was in her. Others might be moved by interest, since, if she should think herself wronged, and ill used in this matter, she, who was like to outlive the Prince, being so much younger and healthier than he was, might have it in her power to take her revenges on all that should concur in such a design. Upon this, I, who knew her sense of the matter very perfectly by what had passed in *Holland*, as was formerly told, was in a great difficulty. I had promised her never to speak of that matter, but by her order. But I presumed, in such a case I was to take orders from the Prince. So I asked him, what he would order me to do. He said, he would give me no orders in that matter, but left me to do as I pleased. I looked on this, as the allowing me to let the Princess's resolution in that be known; by which many, who stood formerly in suspense, were fully satisfied. Those to whom I gave the account of that matter were indeed amazed at it; and concluded, that the Princess was either a very good, or a very weak woman. An indifferency for power and rule seemed so extraordinary a thing, that it was thought a certain character of an excess of goodness or simplicity. At her coming to *England*, she not only justified me, but approved of my publishing that matter; and spoke particularly of it to her sister Princess *Anne*. There were other differences in the form of the settlement. The Republican party were at first for deposing King *James* by a formal sentence, and for giving the Crown to the Prince and Princess by as formal an election. But that was over-ruled in the beginning. I have not pursued the relation of the debates according to the order in which they passed, which will be found in the journal of both Houses during the Convention. But, having had a great share myself in the private managing of those debates, particularly with many of the Clergy, and with the men of the most scrupulous and tender consciences,

It was resolved to put the Prince and Princess both in the Throne.



1689 consciences, I have given a very full account of all the reasonings on both sides, as that by which the reader may form and guide his own judgment of the whole affair. Many protestations past in the House of Lords, in the progress of the debate. The party for a Regency was for some time most prevailing: And then the protestations were made by the Lords that were for the new settlement. The House was very full: About a hundred and twenty were present. And things were so near an equality, that it was at last carried by a very small majority, of two or three, to agree with the Commons in voting the Abdication, and the Vacancy of the Throne: Against which a great protestation was made; as also against the final vote, by which the Prince and Princess of *Orange* were desired to accept of the Crown, and declared to be King and Queen; which went very hardly. The poor Bishop of *Durham*, who had absconded for some time, and was waiting for a ship to get beyond sea, fearing publick affronts, and had offered to compound by resigning his Bishoprick, was now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new settlement to merit at least a pardon for all that he had done: Which, all things considered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the rest of his life and character.

They drew  
an Instru-  
ment about  
it.

But, before matters were brought to a full conclusion, an enumeration was made of the chief heads of King *James's* ill government. And in opposition to these, the rights and liberties of the people of *England* were stated. Some officious people studied to hinder this at that time. They thought they had already lost three weeks in their debates: And the doing this, with the exactness that was necessary, would take up more time: Or it would be done too much in a hurry, for matters of so nice a nature. And therefore it was moved, that this should be done more at leisure after the settlement. But that was not hearkned to. It was therefore thought necessary to frame this Instrument so, that it should be like a new *Magna Charta*. In the stating these grievances and rights, the Dispensing Power came to be discussed. And then the power of the Crown to grant a *Non-obstante* to some statutes was objected. Upon opening this, the debate was found to be so intricate, that it was let fall at that time only for dispatch. But afterwards an act past condemning it singly. And the power of granting a *Non-obstante* was for the future taken away. Yet King *James's* party took great advantage from this; and said, that, tho' the main clamour of the Nation was against the Dispensing Power, yet when the Convention brought things to a settlement, that did  
not



not appear to be so clear a point as had been pretended: And it was not so much as mentioned in this Instrument of government: So that, by the confession of his enemies, it appeared to be no unlawful power: Nor was it declared contrary to the liberties of the people of *England*. Whereas, its not being mentioned then was only upon the opposition that was made, that so more time might not be lost, nor this Instrument be clogged with disputable points.

The last debate was, concerning the oaths that should be taken to the King and Queen. Many arguments were taken during the debate from the oaths in the form in which the allegiance was sworn to the Crown, to shew that in a new settlement these could not be taken. And to this it was always answered, that care should be taken, when other things were settled, to adjust these oaths, so that they should agree to the new settlement. In the oaths, as they were formerly conceived, a previous title seemed to be asserted, when the King was sworn to, *as rightful and lawful King*. It was therefore said, that these words could not be said of a King who had not a precedent right, but was set up by the Nation. So it was moved, that the oaths should be reduced to the ancient simplicity, of swearing to bear faith and true allegiance to the King and Queen. This was agreed to. And upon this began the notion of a King *de facto*, but not *de jure*. It was said, that according to the common law, as well as the statute in King *Henry* the seventh's reign, the subjects might securely obey any King that was in possession, whether his title was good, or not. This seemed to be a doctrine necessary for the peace and quiet of mankind, that so the subjects may be safe in every Government, that bringeth them under a superior force, and that will crush them, if they do not give a security for the protection that they enjoy under it. The Lawyers had been always of that opinion, that the people were not bound to examine the titles of their Princes, but were to submit to him that was in possession. It was therefore judged just and reasonable, in the beginning of a new government, to make the oaths as general and comprehensive as might be: For it was thought, that those who once took the oaths to the government, would be after that faithful and true to it. This tenderness, which was shewed at this time to a sort of people that had shewed very little tenderness to men of weak or ill informed consciences, was afterwards much abused by a new explanation, or rather a gross equivocation, as to the signification of the words in which the oath was conceived. The true meaning of the words, and the express sense of the imposers was, that, whether men were satisfied or

The Oaths  
were alter-  
ed.



1689 not with the putting the King and Queen on the Throne, yet, now they were on it, they would be true to them, and defend them. But the sense that many put on them was, that they were only to obey them as usurpers, during their usurpation, and that therefore, as long as they continued in quiet possession, they were bound to bear them, and to submit to them: But that it was still lawful for them to assist King *James*, if he should come to recover his Crown, and that they might act and talk all they could, or durst, in his favour, as being still their King *de jure*. This was contrary to the plain meaning of the words; *faith, and true allegiance*; and was contrary to the express declaration in the act that enjoined them. Yet it became too visible, that many in the Nation, and particularly among the Clergy, took the oath in this sense, to the great reproach of their profession. The prevarication of too many in so sacred a matter contributed not a little to fortify the growing Atheism of the present age. The truth was, the greatest part of the Clergy had entangled themselves so far with those strange conceits of the divine right of Monarchy, and the unlawfulness of resistance in any case: And they had so engaged themselves, by asserting these things so often and so publickly, that they did not know how to disengage themselves in honour or conscience.

A notion was started, which by its agreement with their other principles had a great effect among them, and brought off the greatest number of those who came in honestly to the new government. This was chiefly managed by Dr. *Lloyd*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, now translated to *Worcester*. It was laid thus: The Prince had a just cause of making war on the King. In that most of them agreed. In a just war, in which an appeal is made to God, success is considered as the decision of heaven. So the Prince's success against King *James* gave him the right of conquest over him. And by it all his rights were transferred to the Prince. His success was indeed no conquest of the Nation; which had neither wronged him, nor resisted him. So that, with relation to the people of *England*, the Prince was no conqueror, but a preserver, and a deliverer, well received, and gratefully acknowledged. Yet with relation to King *James*, and all the right that was before vested in him, he was, as they thought, a conqueror. By this notion they explained those passages of Scripture that speak of God's disposing of Kingdoms, and of pulling down one and setting up another; and also our Saviour's arguing from the inscription on the coin, that they ought to render to *Cesar* the things that were *Cesar's*; and St. *Paul's* charging the *Romans* to obey the powers that then were,

†

who



who were the Emperors that were originally the invaders of public liberty which they had subdued, and had forced the people and Senate of *Rome* by subsequent acts to confirm an authority that was so ill begun. This might have been made use of more justly, if the Prince had assumed the Kingship to himself, upon King *James's* withdrawing; but did not seem to belong to the present case. Yet this had the most universal effect on the far greater part of the Clergy.

And now I have stated all the most material parts of these debates, with the fulness that I thought became one of the most important transactions that is in our whole History, and by much the most important of our time.

All things were now made ready for filling the Throne. And the very night before it was to be done the Princess arriv'd safely. It had been given out, that she was not well pleased with the late transaction, both with relation to her father and to the present settlement. Upon which the Prince wrote to her, that it was necessary she should appear at first so chearful, that no body might be discouraged by her looks, or be led to apprehend that she was uneasy by reason of what had been done. This made her put on a great air of gaiety when she came to *Whitehall*, and, as may be imagined, had great crouds of all sorts coming to wait on her. I confess, I was one of those that censured this in my thoughts. I thought a little more seriousness had done as well, when she came into her father's Palace, and was to be set on his Throne next day. I had never seen the least indecency in any part of her deportment before: Which made this appear to me so extraordinary, that some days after I took the liberty to ask her, how it came that what she saw in so sad a revolution, as to her father's person, made not a greater impresson on her. She took this freedom with her usual goodness. And she assured me, she felt the sense of it very lively upon her thoughts. But she told me, that the letters which had been writ to her had obliged her to put on a chearfulness, in which she might perhaps go too far, because she was obeying directions, and acting a part which was not very natural to her. This was on the 12<sup>th</sup> of *February*, being *Shrove-Tuesday*. The thirteenth was the day set for the two Houses to come with the offer of the Crown. So here ends the *Interregnum*.

And thus I have given the fullest and most particular account that I could gather of all that pass'd during this weak, unactive, violent, and superstitious reign; in which all regard to the affairs of *Europe* seem'd to be laid aside, and nothing was thought on but the spitefull humours of a revengeful *Italian* Lady, and the ill laid,



1689 and worse managed, projects of some hot meddling Priests, whose learning and politicks were of a piece, the one exposing them to contempt, and the other to ruin; involving in it a Prince, who, if it had not been for his being delivered up to such counsels, might have made a better figure in history. But they managed both themselves and him so ill, that a reign, whose rise was bright and prosperous, was soon set in darkness and disgrace. But I break off here, lest I should seem to aggravate misfortunes, and load the unfortunate too much.

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## BOOK III.

Of the rest of King Charles II.'s Reign, from the year 1673 to the year 1685, in which he died.

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## BOOK IV.

### Of the Reign of King James the Second 617

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 Reign happily begun, but inglorious all over  
*The King's first education*  
*He learned war under Turenne*  
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